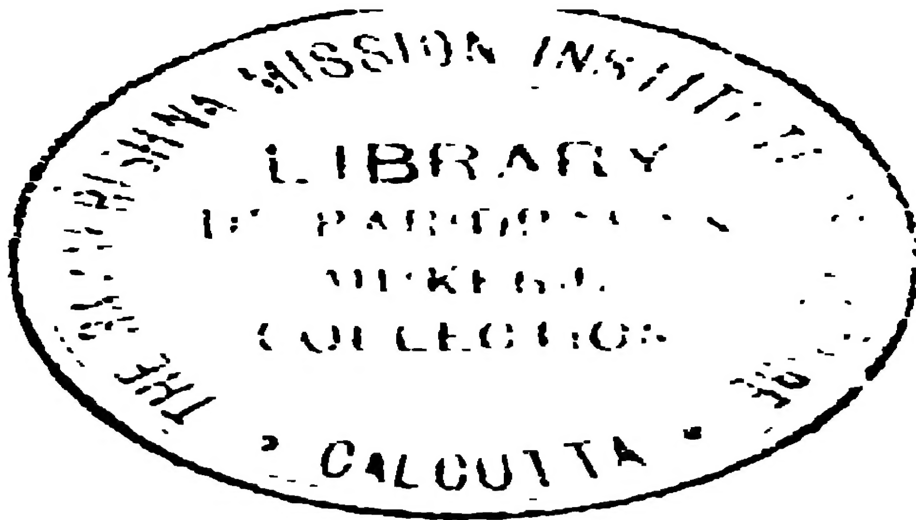
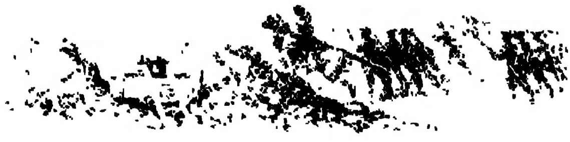
18418





U. S. Grant



THE

WAR WITH THE SOUTH

A HISTORY OF

THE GREAT AMERICAN REBELLION

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF LEADING STATESMEN

AND

DISTINGUISHED NAVAL AND MILITARY COMMANDERS, ETC.

By ROBERT TOMES, M.D.

CONTINUED FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 1864 TO THE END OF THE WAR

By BENJAMIN G. SMITH, Esq.

VOLUME III.



VIRTUE & YORSTON,
294 CITY ROAD, LONDON; 12 DEY STREET, NEW YORK.

W. Hunter.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOLUME III.

THE WAR WITH THE SOUTH:

A HISTORY OF THE

GREAT AMERICAN REBELLION.

CHAPTER I.

The Condition of Vicksburg after the Surrender.—Comparatively little Ruins.—Marks of the Bombardment.—The Hospitals.—Persistence of the Defenders of Vicksburg.—Starved out.—Mule Meat.—A Soldier's Bill of Fare.—The Efforts made by the Enemy to relieve Vicksburg.—Proofs of Weakness.—Determination of General Pemberton.—Fighting to the "last dog."—Effects throughout Mississippi. Retreat of Johnston.—General Sherman in Pursuit. Jackson evacuated.—Sherman occupies Jackson.—Destruction of Railroad Property.—"Nothing goes well in the Southwest."—Mississippi abandoned by Johnston.—Sherman's return to Vicksburg.—Surrender of Port Hudson.—Operations of General Banks in Louisiana.—Operations in the Teche Region.—Capture of the Diana.—Battle of Beasland.—Advance of Banks to Franklin.—Co-operation of the Navy.—The Queen of the West burned.—The Diana blown up.—A Fleet of Transports destroyed.—Fort Butte La Rose captured.—General Grover forms a junction with Banks. Banks at New Iberia.—At Martinsville.—At Opelousas.—At Alexandria.

1863.

THE condition of the city of Vicksburg and its defences, when entered by the victorious army of General Grant, was such, notwithstanding the tremendous fire to which they had been so long exposed, as to surprise every observer. It was natural to expect a general scene of ruin, yet few of the buildings were demolished, and most of the houses were so little injured as to be easily rendered habitable. The shot and shell which had been poured so continually into the city had, however, left their marks everywhere. The streets were ploughed up, the pavements shattered, and the yards, gardens, and other inclosed spaces, pitted with great holes. The shrubberies and cultivated grounds which once so greatly adorned the picturesque Vicksburg, presented a scene of confused ruin.

With a daring mockery of the cruel spirit of war, the people had ornamented their houses with the missiles of destruction.

"Nearly every gate in the city," writes a visitor,* "is adorned with unexploded thirteen-inch shells placed atop of each post. The porches and piazzas (nearly every house has one) are also adorned with curious collections of shot and shells that have fallen in the yards." He adds: "It is said that there are some houses in the city that have escaped unscathed; but in my rambles

* New York Tribune.

through the streets I could not find them.

"I entered perhaps twenty buildings in all, and found frightful-looking holes in the walls and floors of every one. The house occupied by General Pemberton as his headquarters, has a hole in the first room you enter on the left side of the hall, which a mule could crawl through without difficulty. The publisher of the Vicksburg *Citizen* invited me into his residence, and interspersed his remarks while showing me around with frequent cautions not to tread here and there, for fear a shattered piece of its flooring would let me through into the cellar. And so it is all over the place. The northern portion of the city suffered most, and I cannot convey any idea of the damage sustained better than by saying it has been smashed.

"Notwithstanding the evidences every where visible of the terrible ordeal through which the people and city have passed, the Vicksburgers persistently assert that they have not been much damaged; that shells are comparatively innocent things—'nothing when you get used to them;' that they could have held out a year if they had had provisions, etc. They also claim to have learned how to dodge shells, and say that those fired from the mortars had become favorites with the people. Shots from Parrott guns were not so popular.

"The most noticeable feature of the city is the group of caves in every hillside. In these caves the women and children were sheltered during the night, and occasionally in day-time when the firing was very severe. The excavations branch out in various directions after passing the entrance. I should not imagine them very desirable bed-chambers, but they seem to have answered a very good purpose. In one or two instances shells entered them, and two women and a number of children were thus killed during the siege."

The inhabitants and the soldiers of the garrison, though they had suffered severely, as the hospitals indicated, which were filled with from four to five thousand sick and wounded, persisted in declaring that they would have still held out if there had been any hopes of relief.

"There is but one reason," says the observer already quoted, "given by the rebels for their surrender. They say they discovered that they would be starved out before it would be possible for Johnston or anybody else to raise the siege; and although they could have held out six or seven days longer, they would have gained nothing thereby, the prospect being that at the end of that time Johnston would be as far off as he is now. They repel the suggestion that they were afraid of an assault in column on the 4th of July, and say that they would have been able to repel any such assault. However this may be, the fact that they were brought to desperate straits for something to eat is indisputable. All prejudices against mule meat were thoroughly conquered by hunger, and the army was using it freely, esteeming it better food than the blue beef and rancid pork upon which they

formerly subsisted. The little remnant of breadstuff which they have on hand also attests the extremity to which they were reduced, and their soldiers are this moment praising the 'hard tack' or pilot bread given them by our men, as if it were the most delicious bread ever baked.

"A rebel staff officer informed me, while making inquiries on this subject, that they have frequently communicated with Johnston, and that their last hope of relief was destroyed by a communication from him. * * * * *

"The citizens of Vicksburg were in much worse plight than the army in many respects. No food was issued to them from the army stores, and speculators had run up the prices upon them to a most prodigious extent. A man could not procure a good meal of victuals for one thousand dollars. The following list of prices was made out for me by the publisher of the *Citizen*, who assures me that he has not over-priced anything:

"Flour, $5 per lb., equal to $1,000 per bbl.

"Beef, $1 to $1 25 per lb., supply exhausted.

"Pork, $2 50 to $3 per lb., supply exhausted.

"Butter sold five weeks ago at $2 50 to $3 per lb., since which time there has been none in market.

"Rice, 75 to 80 cents per lb.

"Sugar, 70 cents per lb.

"Molasses or treacle, $10 per gallon.

"Corn meal, $40 per bushel, supply exhausted.

"Tea, $15 to $20 per lb.; none on hand for four weeks past.

"Coffee, $7 50 to $10 per lb.; none on hand for four weeks.

"Mule meat, $1 per lb.

"Louisiana rum (only liquor in market), $40 to $100 per gallon.

"Clothing beyond all price, a man refusing $100 for an ordinary white shirt.

"That these stunning prices were freely paid by all who could produce money enough to buy them is a fact beyond all dispute. That those who did not pay them suffered much, is equally true. The victims are loud and bitter in their denunciations of the extortioners, who were protected by the military authorities from robbery or interference. One of the first things done after the surrender was the breaking open and sacking of a few of the most obnoxious Jew stores. The outbreak was promptly suppressed, but I would gladly have seen them emptied of all their contents."

Notwithstanding the failure of the enemy to relieve the beleaguered city, great efforts were made. That they were unsuccessful, proved not only the skilful disposition by General Grant of his great resources to render them abortive, but the weakness to which the enemy had been reduced. With a full consciousness of the importance to their cause of holding Vicksburg, they made the most desperate attempts to defend and relieve it. General Pemberton, who commanded the place, was stimulated to almost superhuman effort, for the sake of his own good name, which had been tarnished by his failure to prevent the approach of General Grant. Every word he uttered proved the passionate resolve of a man who had but one throw of the dice left to retrieve himself, and upon which he was determined to risk his all.

While retiring before the victorious troops of Grant, he uttered this passionate appeal to his soldiers:

"The hour of trial has come. The

enemy who has so long threatened Vicksburg in front, has at last effected a landing in this department, and his march into the interior of Mississippi has been marked by the devastation of one of the fairest portions of the State. He seeks to break communication between the members of the Confederacy, and to control the navigation of the Mississippi River. The issue involves everything endeared to a free people. The enemy fight for the privilege of plunder and oppression. You fight for your country, homes, wives, children, and the birthrights of freemen. Your Commanding-General, believing in the truth and sacredness of this cause, has cast his lot with you, and stands ready to peril his life and all he holds dear for the triumph of the right. God, who rules in the affairs of men and nations, loves justice and hates wickedness. He will not allow a cause so just to be trampled in the dust. In the day of conflict let each man, appealing to Him for strength, strike home for victory, and our triumph is at once assured. A grateful country will hail us as deliverers, and cherish the memory of those who may fall as martyrs in her defence.

"Soldiers! be vigilant, brave, and active; let there be no cowards, nor laggards, nor stragglers from the ranks; and the God of battles will certainly crown our efforts with success."

Again, while at bay, within the closely beleaguered walls of Vicksburg, the unfortunate Pemberton is said to have exclaimed to his soldiers:

"You have heard that I was incompetent, and a traitor, and that it was my intention to sell Vicksburg. Follow me, and you will see the cost at which I will sell Vicksburg. When the last pound of beef, bacon, and flour; the last grain of corn; the last cow, and hog, and horse, and dog, shall have been consumed, and the last man shall have perished in the trenches, then, and only then, will I sell Vicksburg."

Throughout Mississippi and its border States, great efforts were made to arouse citizens of all ages to rally under General Johnston, who strove, but in vain, to recruit a force of sufficient strength to attack Grant's large army, and compel it to raise the siege of Vicksburg. When Pemberton, at last hopeless of relief and reduced to starvation, surrendered the place, Johnston, who had been hovering in the neighborhood in impotent menace, was obliged to retreat hastily with his meagre and ill-conditioned army. General Sherman was at once sent out with a strong force in pursuit. At Bolton, on the 5th of July, the enemy's rear-guard was overtaken, surrounded, and forced to surrender. Johnston succeeded, however, in escaping with his main body to Jackson, the capital of Mississippi. Here, within the intrenchments, he made a brief stand, but Sherman coming up and attacking him briskly, he was forced to evacuate during the night. On the next morning, July 16th, General Sherman occupied Jackson, and thus obtained, although much had been destroyed by Johnston before his retreat, a large quantity of the enemy's

property, consisting chiefly of the rolling stock of the New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern, the Mississippi Central and Mississippi and Tennessee railroads. The motive power alone consisted of over forty engines. The enemy* bewailed the loss as "incalculable, important, and wholly irreparable," and was forced to the confession: "Nothing goes well in the Southwest."

Johnston continued his flight westward, toward the borders of Alabama, and thus virtually abandoned the whole State of Mississippi to the conquering arms of the North. Sherman did not persist in the pursuit, but after destroying most of the public property at Jackson, returned with his troops to Vicksburg.

The surrender of Vicksburg was followed, as a direct consequence, by that of Port Hudson. It will be necessary, however, before recording the details of the latter event, to narrate the movements in Louisiana of General Banks, which preceded it. This commander, on succeeding General Butler in Louisiana, passed several months in organizing the department, and then with a largely reinforced army entered upon a campaign against the enemy occupying the Attakapa and Teche regions, lying between the western bank of the Mississippi and the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. General Weitzel, who had been operating in this quarter with more or less success, in advance of the main army, having fallen back to Brashear City, there awaited the arrival of General Banks. In the mean time, a "reconnoitring" expedition was sent out, which resulted in the loss of the steamer Diana, which was captured by the enemy, with all on board.

The main body of General Banks' army having reached Brashear City, the campaign was begun by the advance of General Weitzel, on the 11th of April. Little resistance was met on the route through Brashear City to Pattersonville, which was occupied by the troops on the night of the first day. On the next morning the army continued its march along the borders of the Bayou Teche, with "General Weitzel," says the chronicler whom we quote,* "having the extreme right of the line, Colonel Ingraham with the first brigade of General Emory and General Paine, of the second brigade, with five batteries, and the Second Rhode Island Cavalry as the main body, and Colonel Gooding with the third brigade in the reserve.

"It was the same order all day. On the opposite or north side of the bayou, Colonel Bryan, with the One Hundred and Seventy-fifth New York, marched parallel with the main body. Captain Ellis, of this regiment, was deployed far in the advance and opposite General Weitzel's brigade as skirmishers, and was very hotly engaged all day with the Eighteenth Louisiana Infantry. In the afternoon he was so hotly pressed, that Lieutenant Geisse, with half of his company, took the bayou side, and Captain Ellis with the other half, the right, skirting the woods, and Captain McCarthy,

* Richmond *Whig*, July 28.

* Correspondent N. Y. *Herald*.

with Company A, took the centre. Colonel Bryan reported that he was too hotly pressed, and the Thirty-first Massachusetts was sent over to support him.

"In the afternoon the main army had reached the enemy's works, and for half an hour an artillery duel ensued of the fiercest description. The object on our part was to try ere night to feel the enemy's works and prove their position and strength, so that we could commence the attack understandingly in the morning. The enemy seemed to have field-works of an extensive character. In the bayou, the rebel gun-boat* Diana took a very active part, and was plainly seen delivering her fire. At last the firing ceased. During it, the balls struck among the reserves, who were ordered to fall back and lie down. The loss on our side was very small. General Banks unexpectedly found himself beyond his extreme advance, and had one of his orderlies shot beside him. This taught us greater caution. The army bivouacked on the field."

Early on the next morning, April 13th, the army made ready for immediate conflict with the enemy, who, says the writer† previously quoted, "had a field about a mile and a half broad, bordered on the north by the bayou and on the south by thick woods. On the side of the bayou was a large mansion, which the enemy had set on fire the night before to prevent our creeping upon them unperceived. This was in a pretty thick wood.

"Immediately beyond this and from the bayou commenced their fortifications, consisting of a breast-work and ditch in front. The ditch was an old plantation ditch enlarged and deepened, and had water in it. It had a large earth-work, called the Star work, which commanded the bayou. This earth-work commencing here, ran away across the field to the woods, and entirely concealed by them was a work which was not discovered until late in the day. Behind this work was a line of rifle-pits, and still farther back was a second line, with a slight ditch. In the rear of this were woods. We were to take these works, commanded by artillery and sharp-shooters. The Diana ran up as near us as she dare, but did not come up as near as it had been hoped she would. On learning that the left bank would be hotly contested, Colonel Gooding was ordered to take that bank with his entire brigade and hold it, and drive the enemy, not pressing them beyond the lines on the opposite side.

"Meanwhile the main body advanced, and soon an artillery duel ensued, with varying success. The whole line was engaged in skirmishing, and on the extreme left, as the enemy's fire seemed very severe, an attempt was made to turn their flank by Colonel Ingraham's brigade, which drew upon them so severe a fire from the masked battery behind the woods, as to compel them to retire. The enemy served their guns from every part of their works, and with

* The vessel captured from the Unionists.

† The enemy's position was on a plantation belonging to a Mr. Beasland, and the battle has been therefore termed that of Beasland.

such rapidity that they seemed to have a much larger battery than they in fact had. The Star fort sent very heavy shot from a pivot thirty-two pound rifled gun. In fact, at dark, but little progress had been made but to drive them up to their intrenchments, and we were ready to attempt to storm them in the morning.

"Colonel Gooding, with his brigade, was sent over to the north bank, as above alluded to, by means of the repaired bridge partly destroyed by the rebels. We crossed over with the First Maine battery, and found there the One Hundred and Seventy-fifth New York and Thirty-first Massachusetts, and a squad of cavalry from Captain Magee's squadron. These were skirting toward a line of catalpa trees. Beyond the trees was a large field a mile and a half long, having the bayou on one side and a wood on the other. Through it and toward the enemy ran several parallel roads, all smooth. Crossing them were deep plantation ditches and cross roads. About the middle of it was a tall cane-field. Half-way up the field and on the bayou was a large sugar-house, supposed to be occupied by the enemy. Beyond it, and also on the bayou, were the smoking ruins of some buildings which had been burned by the enemy the night before. At the farther end of the field were the enemy's field-works. Commencing at the bayou, the lines ran all the way across the field, being a breast-work, with a ditch in front, and a few rifle-pits in front of it. At each entrance of the road was a small redoubt to guard it, and at the extreme right a large five-sided work, with a deep ditch filled with water. It had, as we afterward found, a frame for a pivot gun. This work was on the extreme left of the enemy's works, and was disguised by the bushes and woods. Running parallel with the woods was a plantation ditch, which was enlarged and deepened, and a breast-work, which was enfiladed by the fire from the corner fort. Across this was a small earth-work running into the woods to prevent the rebels being outflanked.

"The whole of our force was concealed by the catalpa trees. Colonel Gooding received orders to drive the enemy's light battery from the field, but not to storm the works. It turned out that there was not any battery outside the works.

"The Thirty-first Massachusetts, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hopkins, was ordered to deploy as skirmishers, and slowly advanced, meeting no enemy until they had passed the line of the sugar-house, supported by the Thirty-eighth Massachusetts, Lieutenant-Colonel Rodman. Here they were hotly contested by the enemy. When we had pushed them back, Colonel Gooding and his staff rode on the field and examined all the works of the enemy. The Thirty-first Massachusetts having expended its ammunition, it was relieved by the Thirty-eighth Massachusetts.

"The dispositions of the brigade were made for the day by the Thirty-eighth Massachusetts advancing and deploying as skirmishers on the left; the Fifty-

third Massachusetts slightly in the rear, and at the right of the Thirty-eighth, also deployed as skirmishers; the One Hundred and Fifty-sixth New York, Lieutenant-Colonel Sharpe, on the extreme right on the woods, advancing slowly and supported by the cavalry. Between the Thirty-eighth and Fifty-third Massachusetts, one section of the first main battery was placed on a road leading to the enemy's works; one section between the Fifty-third Massachusetts and One Hundred and Fifty-sixth New York; the third section in reserve; the One Hundred and Seventy-fifth New York in reserve to the left and on the rear of the battery; the Thirty-first Massachusetts in reserve and in the rear of the right section of the battery.

"A cautious reconnoissance of the sugar factory discovered the fact that there was no enemy in it, and after the usual precautions the entire staff entered the factory with Colonel Gooding and reconnoitred. The enemy's works were distinctly seen to extend the whole length of the field, and in three pieces there appeared to be three batteries, but how many pieces was not apparent. In the corner, the five-sided fort was plainly seen, but appeared to be a lunette. Lieutenant Russell, of the signal corps, was on the top of the roof signalizing, when suddenly crash came a shot through the roof, making the whole building shake. A few feet below Lieutenant Russell the ball had entered. It was a beautiful line shot, but aimed too low.

"Colonel Gooding ordered those in the neighborhood of the factory to leave with as much ostentation as possible, to prevent the enemy from making it a centre of their shot, as it was very desirable to have the building out of harm in order to have our signals seen. The lines were ordered to advance slowly but surely, the skirmishers in advance, the main body running from plantation ditch to ditch, so as not to be more exposed than necessary. Thus we passed the cane-field. The One Hundred and Fifty-sixth New York were pressing the left of the enemy, intending to turn it; and here occurred an example of bravery worthy of mention. The exact position of the enemy on the right, in the woods, was unknown, when a cavalryman offered to advance and draw their fire. Slowly he rode up until almost at the woods, when suddenly a sheet of fire opened upon him. He coolly turned his horse and rode back unharmed. Colonel Sharpe now advanced very close to the woods under a terrible fire. So heavy was it, that the Thirty-first was ordered to support and press it on. They continued it until near the breast-works, when, with a loud cheer, they carried the works, and were enabled to follow the enemy into the woods.

"Meanwhile, on the left, the Thirty-eighth Massachusetts charged up and drove the enemy on that side in their intrenchments, and were following them up. The Fifty-third Massachusetts was driving them up when darkness came on. An order was received by Colonel Gooding to remain where they then were until the next morning. The line

of skirmishers became a line of pickets, the main body sleeping on their arms, in the same position they were during the day, intending to renew it in the morning. * * *

"The order to keep the men concealed in the plantation ditches made our loss very small. The skirmishers cleared the way, and the regiments would pass forward from one ditch to another on a run. The disposition thus made was sufficient to make the enemy apparently in the condition of the unintrenched.

* * * * *

"Early the next morning, at daybreak, Captain Allen, of Company D, Thirty-first Massachusetts, entered the extreme left of the enemy's works, and at the same time Colonel Kimball, with the advance of the Fifty-eighth Massachusetts, entered the centre of their works. They were evacuated. The works were found to be stronger than we had anticipated. The left had been turned by the One Hundred and Fifty-sixth New York, and hence were, in fact, untenable. Another hour would have put us in possession of the whole works. We immediately pressed in, and the One Hundred and Fifty-sixth New York appeared on our right as cavalry, so many horses had their skirmishers picked up. Our fire had been very effective here. The dead were lying all about the woods. Their wounded were generally carried off. Where the artillery had been, we found a heap of dead horses. Our howitzers had given them a good dose of grape, and it is supposed that their guns must have been quite short of horses. We followed them up through the woods for a mile, when we found the road crossed the bayou. Here the enemy had crossed over, and burned the bridge after crossing, which completely checked our course. We made a temporary bridge for the men to cross, and then rigged up one sufficiently strong for the artillery and wagons. * * *

"On the opposite side of the bayou General Banks discovered that they had retreated in the night, and entered the works, finding that they had left their thirty-two-pounder without spiking it. They had heard that Grover was in their rear, and had retreated, intending to cut through Grover. It seems that Grover, with his division in gun-boats, had gone up the Atchafalaya and landed near Franklin, and attempted to come down on the enemy's rear. When coming down they hit upon a party of skirmishers of the enemy. They led one of his brigades into an open field, where they had a wood on either flank, and one in front. They drew the brigade toward the corner of the two woods, when suddenly they had a terrific fire opened on them in the front and flank, both of musketry and cannon. So hot was it, that the loss was between two and three hundred before they could form and fall back. A section of one of our batteries came very near being taken, the enemy getting within sixty yards of it before it could be withdrawn. The remainder of the division came up, and a cannonading was kept up for four hours. The enemy sent off his infantry by a cross road

through them, used his artillery until the last, then sent the mass of it by the same cross road, and the cavalry kept up the fight until their army was safe, and then galloped off. In the afternoon General Banks joined General Grover, and in the evening, after building his bridge and recrossing the river, Colonel Gooding rejoined General Emory, and all encamped at Franklin."

While the land force had thus marched to Franklin, driving the enemy before them, the gun-boats which had moved up the Bayou Teche and the Atchafalaya River were co-operating with effect. The Queen of the West, whose capture by the enemy has been already recorded, was overtaken in the Atchafalaya by the ram Arizona, and after a broadside set on fire. Burning to her magazine, she finally exploded. An attempt to recapture the Diana was foiled by the enemy, who blew her up; they also burned a powerful iron-clad ram known as the Hart, to prevent her being taken. A large number of other vessels were destroyed by the fleet, in its course up Bayou Teche. The capture of Fort Butte La Rose, on the Grand, a branch of the Atchafalaya, which yielded after a slight resistance, was a naval success of no little importance. General Banks speaking of this capture said:

"This was handsomely done, without serious loss, on the morning of the 26th of April, by Lieutenant-Commander Cooke, U. S. Navy, with his gun-boat and four companies of infantry. We captured here the garrison of sixty men and its commander, two heavy guns in position and in good order, a large quantity of ammunition, and the key of the Atchafalaya."

The enemy being evidently unable to make a serious resistance, General Banks determined to press on with vigor. General Grover, after forcing the enemy to evacuate their position at Irish Bend, on the 14th of April, had now succeeded in forming a junction with Banks. General Grover had been dispatched with a force of troops and gun-boats from Brashear City up the Atchafalaya River, with the view of getting into the rear of the enemy and cutting off their retreat. Though not succeeding fully in his purpose, his co-operation was not ineffective, and he was enabled to aid in the general pursuit of the retreating enemy.

Banks running forward rapidly, reached New Iberia on the 16th of April. The enemy had evacuated the place so precipitately that they had found no time to provide for the safety of their transports, which they had destroyed in their haste, with all their stores and ammunition. A foundry used for the casting of shot and shell, and the salt-works, about seven miles from New Iberia, were taken possession of, and thus two sources of most important supplies were wrested from the enemy.

General Banks, continuing his onward progress, was able, on reaching St. Martinsville, April 17th, thus to sum up the results of his campaign: a march of over three hundred miles, three victories over the enemy, two on land and one on Grand Lake, destruction of their

navy, dispersion of their army, capture of their foundries at Franklin and New Iberia, and of the salt-works near the latter place—capture of the enemy's camp equipage, a number of cannon, and between 1,000 and 2,000 prisoners. His own loss was only about 700 men.

With his way thus successfully opened, General Banks moved rapidly on, easily overcoming the feeble opposition of a retreating and demoralized enemy.

General Banks thus briefly reports his progress to Opelousas:

"On the evening of the 17th of April, General Grover, who had marched from New Iberia by a shorter road, and thus gained the advance, met the enemy at Bayou Vermilion. The enemy's force consisted of a considerable number of cavalry, 1,000 infantry, and six pieces of artillery, masked in a strong position on the opposite bank, with which we were unacquainted. The enemy was driven from his position, but not until he had succeeded in destroying the bridge over the bayou by fire. Everything had been previously arranged for this purpose.

"The enemy's flight was precipitous. The night of the 17th and the whole of the next day were occupied in pushing with vigor the reconstruction of this bridge.

"On the 19th the march was resumed, and continued to the vicinity of Grand Coteau, and on the following day our main force occupied Opelousas. The cavalry, supported by one regiment of infantry and a section of artillery, being thrown forward to Washington, on the Courtableau, a distance of six miles.

"The command rested on the 21st. On the 22d, I sent out Brigadier-General Dwight with his brigade of Grover's division, and detachments of artillery and cavalry, to push forward through Washington toward Alexandria. He found the bridges over bayous Cocodue and Boeuff destroyed, and occupied the evening and night in replacing them by a single bridge at the junction of the two bayous. The people say that the enemy threw large quantities of ammunition and some small-arms into Bayou Cocodue, and that the Texans declared they were going to Texas. Here the steamer Wave was burnt by the enemy, and the principal portion of her cargo, which had been transferred to a flat, captured by us. A dispatch was found by General Dwight, in which Governor Moore tells General Taylor to retreat slowly to Alexandria, and, if pressed, to retire to Texas. General Dwight will push well forward to-day, and probably halt to-morrow, to continue his march, or return, according to circumstances.

* * * * *

"An expedition—consisting of the One Hundred and Sixty-second New York, Lieutenant-Colonel Blanchard, one section of artillery, and Barrett's Company B, First Louisiana Cavalry, accompanied by Captain Dunham, assistant adjutant-general, and First Lieutenant Harwood, engineers (both of my staff)—was sent out yesterday morning by way of Barre's Landing, to examine the Bayou Courtableau, in the direction of Bute-a-la-Rose. Last night Captain Dunham reported the road impassable,

four miles below Barre's Landing, and that the expedition had captured the steamer Ellen, in a small bayou leading out of the Courtableau. This capture is a timely assistance to us."

General Banks adds:

'I hope not to be obliged to lose a moment in improving the decisive advantage gained in this section. We have destroyed the enemy's army and navy, and made their organization impossible by destroying or removing the material. We hold the key of the position.

"Among the evidences of our victory are 2,000 prisoners, two transports, and twenty guns (including one piece of the Valvado battery), taken; and three gun-boats and eight transports destroyed."

From Opelousas, General Banks continued his rapid and almost unopposed progress to Washington and Alexandria, on the Red River, where the enterprising Porter, with his gunboats, had already secured him a free admission.

May 7.

CHAPTER II.

General Banks crosses the Mississippi at Bayou Sara.—Description of Port Hudson.—Its Defences.—Its Commander.—"A Gibraltar."—Banks invests Port Hudson.—A Spirited but Unsuccessful Assault.—Union Account.—Enemy's Account—Co-operation of the Fleet.—The good conduct of the Negro Soldiers.—A Regular Siege.—A Surrender demanded and refused.—Another Unsuccessful Assault.—Another Assault proposed.—A ready Response.—Volunteers.—The Enemy's Division in the Teche and Attakapas regions.—Surprise and Capture of Brashear City.—Navigation on the Mississippi obstructed.—Unsuccessful Attempt upon Donaldsonville.—Fears for New Orleans.—Banks persists in his Siege Operations.—The surprise of Springfield Landing.—Negro Soldiers praised.—White Officers censured.—Surrender of Port Hudson.—Gallantry of its Defenders.—Their Hardships.—The "Last Mule."

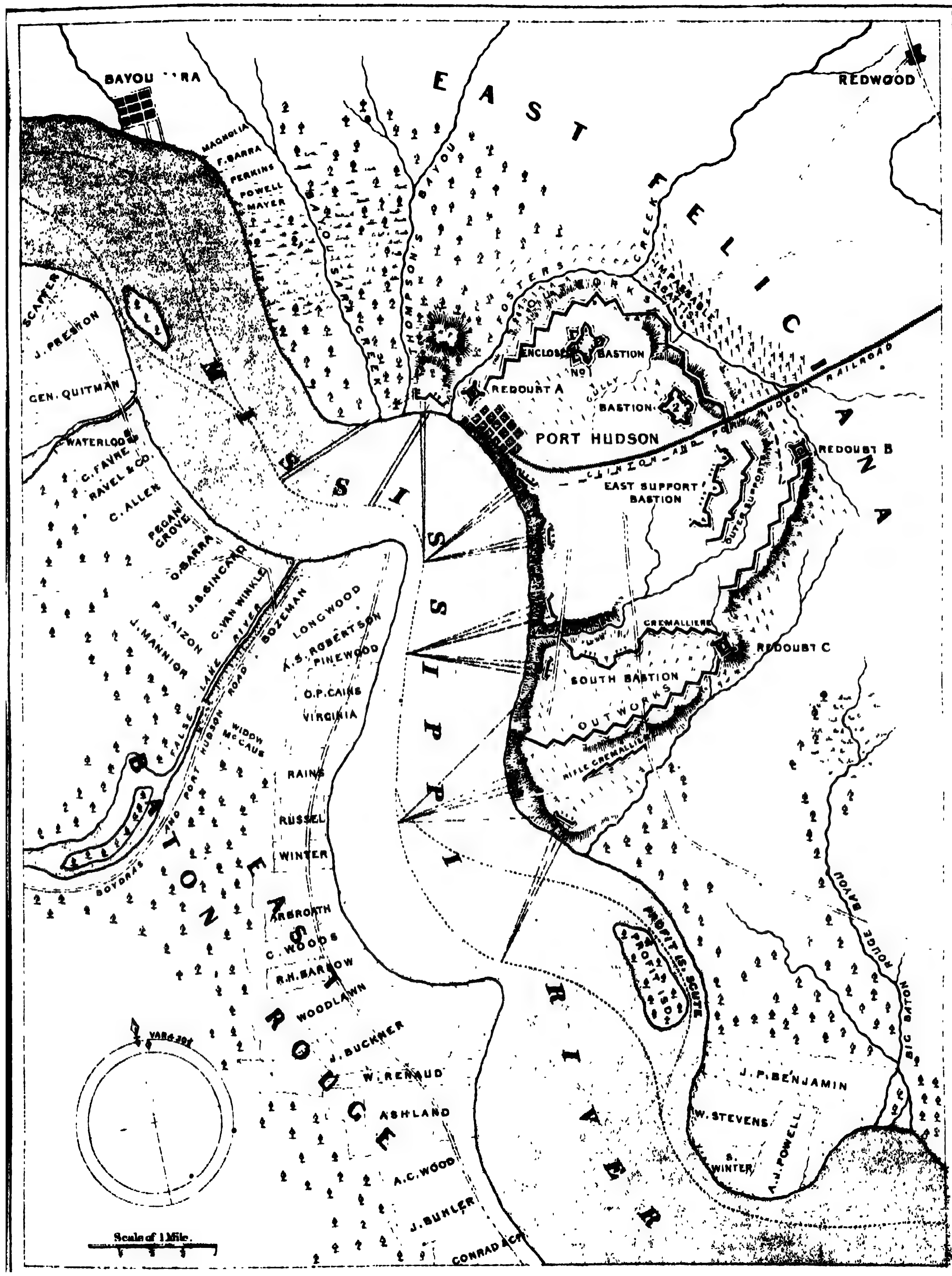
1863.

General Banks having, by his successful campaign in the Teche and Attakapas regions, wrested from the enemy a country so essential to the support of their army, now crossed to the eastern side of the Mississippi, at Bayou Sara, and prepared to invest their stronghold of Port Hudson.

Port Hudson is about twenty-five miles above Baton Rouge, the capital of Louisiana, on the eastern side of the Mississippi. Its great natural advantages of defence had been skilfully availed of, and with the application of art, the place had been rendered very strong. It is described as situated at a point where a bend forms almost a right-angle, and thus gives it command of the river, up and down. On the north, from a distance of eight miles, it is protected by an impassable swamp, which is bounded on the side nearest Port Hudson by Thompson's Creek, the higher bank of which is a precipitous bluff, crowned by an intrenched abattis. This abattis extends from the river eastward, till it joins a series of intrenchments nine or

PORT HUDSON AN[illegible] [illegible] DEFENCES

CONSTRUCTED AND EN[illegible] TO [illegible] THE WAR [illegible]



[illegible]ographical Map [illegible] Hudson and its [illegible] showing Earthworks [illegible] existence at the time of [illegible]

ten miles in extent, sweeping to the south in a semicircle again to the river, where they rest on the crest of a range of high hills. The country in the rear is rolling, and afforded many natural advantages to the enemy. Between Baton Rouge and Port Hudson is a long stretch of territory difficult of access at all times, being covered by dense woods and undergrowth, and abounding in bayous and marshes.

A formidable range of batteries commanded the bluffs on the river, and defended the approaches by land. The whole position was inclosed within successive lines of fortifications of the most formidable character. The enemy were so confident of its strength, that they proudly termed Port Hudson their Gibraltar. The commander was Major-General Frank Gardner, an officer noted for his capacity and resoluteness.

While General Banks was landing at Bayou Sara, on the north, General Augur came up from Baton Rouge, on the south, to join in the proposed investment of Port Hudson. Slight attempts were made by the enemy to thwart this purpose, but their forces were easily driven back to their intrenchments. On the 26th of May, the enemy's works were completely invested.

"Our line of investment was as follows: The extreme right was commanded by General Weitzel, with his own and the division of General Emory; the right centre by General Grover; the left centre by General Augur, and the extreme left by General J. W. Sherman."

General Banks now made a spirited but unsuccessful assault. The design was to carry the enemy's positions on the right and left, and its execution chiefly devolved upon the divisions of Generals Sherman and Weitzel. The assault was spiritedly made, and an entrance into the enemy's works gained, though our troops were afterward forced to retire. There was also an attack on the centre of the position by the columns of Generals Augur and Grover, but though gallantly conducted, it proved equally fruitless with the main assault.

May 27.

"At sunset the firing ceased," reported the enemy, "after a hotly contested engagement of twelve hours, during the whole of which our men had behaved with unflinching gallantry, and had completely repulsed the enemy at every point."

The fleet, under Admiral Farragut, which had been co-operating with General Banks in all his movements, kept up a continuous bombardment of the water batteries of Port Hudson, while the army was making the assault upon the land fortifications. Little effect, however, was produced, beyond dividing the attention of the enemy.

General Banks estimated his loss in killed, wounded, and missing at nearly one thousand. His testimony in regard to the conduct of the negro troops differed entirely from that of the Southern writers.

General Banks is reported to have said that the blacks "answered every expectation. Their conduct was heroic.

No troops could be more determined or more daring. They made during the day three charges upon the batteries of the enemy, suffering very heavy losses and holding their position at nightfall with the other troops on the right of our line. The highest commendation is bestowed upon them by all the officers in command on the right. Whatever doubt may have existed heretofore as to the efficiency of organizations of this character, the history of this day proves conclusively to those who are in a condition to observe the conduct of these regiments, that the Government will find in this class of troops effective supporters and defenders. The severe test to which they were subjected, and the determined manner in which they encountered the enemy, leave upon my mind no doubt of their ultimate success. They require only good officers, commands of limited numbers, and careful discipline, to make them excellent soldiers."

After the first unsuccessful assault, General Banks was persuaded of the necessity of laying siege in regular form. His troops, accordingly, were set to digging ditches, erecting batteries, and approaching by parallels. Active skirmishing was, in the mean time, kept up, and the sharp-shooters were busy on both sides. Our works were soon so close to those of the enemy, that conversation could be kept up. A witness within Port Hudson declares that "the men were behind the breast-works night and day, and one could scarcely show his head an instant without being made the mark of a sharp-shooter." A besieger also testifies that he and his comrades were no less exposed; "Our fellows," he says, "are behind logs, and a hat cannot make its appearance without receiving a dozen shot-holes through it."

On the 13th of June, General Banks communicated, by flag of truce, with General Gardner, the commander, and demanded an unconditional surrender of the place. The latter answered that his duty required him to defend his post, and he must refuse to entertain any such proposition.

General Banks now determined to risk another assault, which was accordingly, after a heavy bombardment of several days, made on Sunday, June 14th. This also was unsuccessful.

The loss of the Unionists on this as on the previous occasion was estimated at about one thousand. That our men were not discouraged by the ill-success of the assault upon the enemy's stronghold is apparent from the readiness with which they responded to an appeal of their general on the next day after the last repulse.

"We are at all points," said General Banks, "upon the threshold of his fortifications. One more advance and they are ours. For the last duty that victory imposes, the Commanding General summons the bold men of the corps to the organization of a storming column of a thousand men, to vindicate the flag of the Union and the memory of its defenders who have fallen."

Volunteers came forward at once, and in such numbers as to more than satisfy

the demand of their commander. The services of these heroes in intent were, however, fortunately not put into requisition. General Banks, loth to risk the lives of such brave men, now determined to resort to the slow operations of a continued siege, the issue of which he did not doubt would result in the surrender of Port Hudson. He accordingly prosecuted his labor of investment and approach with increased energy and vigilance.

In the mean time, the enemy were striving to make a diversion in favor of the beleaguered garrison at Port Hudson. Reappearing in considerable numbers in the Teche and Attakapas regions, the scene of General Banks' triumphant campaign, they succeeded, though failing in their main purpose, in inflicting considerable damage.

An imposing force, principally of Texans, under General Dick Taylor, a son of the former President of the United States, operated with great boldness and no little success in Western Louisiana. The main object of the enemy seemed to be to regain possession of the New Orleans and Opelousas Railroad, and capture Brashear City. The Union forces in that quarter retired before the enemy as they approached, destroying the bridges at Thibodeaux and Lafourche crossing, in order to check their advance. Taylor, however, succeeded in seizing a considerable portion of the railroad and holding it temporarily, but his chief success was the surprise and capture of Brashear City, on the 27th of June, by which he got possession, according to the Louisville *Democrat*, of "800 prisoners, including thirty-three officers; also, $3,000,000 worth of commissary, $1,500,000 worth of quartermaster's stores, $250,000 of ordnance, and $100,000 of medical stores; also, twenty-three garrison and regimental flags, 10,000 tents, 2,000 horses and mules, 7,000 negroes, 7,000 stand small-arms, sixteen siege guns, and a position as important as Port Hudson or Vicksburg."

Having obtained command of the western bank of the Mississippi, the enemy were enabled greatly to molest transportation by the river. "They attack," wrote a correspondent, "to-day at one place, and to-morrow they are at another; consequently we never know where to expect an attack." A considerable number of transports were thus destroyed, and the navigation of the Mississippi seriously impeded. An attempt of the enemy to retake Donaldsonville, which had been captured and garrisoned by General Banks, proved unsuccessful, chiefly owing to the spirited defence of the gun-boats. June 28.

So close did the enemy appear to New Orleans, and such command had they obtained of its land approaches, that it was feared by the timid that that city would be taken, and many of its inhabitants of secession sentiments boldly expressed their expectations of such a result. The enemy's main object, however, was to create a diversion in favor of the beleaguered Port Hudson, as they could hardly hope, without a naval force, to repossess themselves of

New Orleans, girded as it was by strong forts, and guarded by a United States fleet.

General Banks, conscious that the issue which involved the command of the Mississippi was to be decided at Vicksburg and Port Hudson, persisted resolutely in his siege operations, unawed by the demonstrations the enemy were making. An audacious raid of their cavalry immediately in his rear seemed for a moment to awaken serious apprehensions, but these were soon dispelled when the insignificance of the force became known. It appeared that Logan, a rebel chief who had been hitherto kept in check by Colonel Grierson, the leader of the famous expedition through Mississippi, but who was now emboldened to act by the junction of the latter with General Banks' army of besiegers, made a sudden dash with some six hundred horsemen into Springfield Landing, a large dépôt of public property. It was evidently the intention of Logan and his men to destroy everything, but they were fortunately checked in their progress.

July 2.

The raiders were forced to decamp by the appearance of a Union cavalry force, which succeeded in capturing eight and killing ten of them. Brigadier-General Dwight officially imputed the blame to the guard at the landing, declaring that "the panic and alarm which existed were caused by the disgraceful cowardice of the officers and soldiers of the Second Rhode Island Cavalry, who were sent out expressly to prevent this alarm, and to cut off the enemy, should he attempt to do what he accomplished."

General Dwight closed his report with this praise of the conduct of the negro soldiers, and censure of that of their white officers:

"I am informed," he said, "that the conduct of the officers of General Ullman's brigade, during the panic near my old headquarters, was particularly disgraceful, as a rule, while the black soldiers of that command, on being supplied with muskets and ammunition by my ordnance officer (Lieutenant Dickey, Sixth Michigan Volunteers), were easily formed in line, and did not, in the least, yield to the panic about them."

General Banks' siege operations, carried on with continued vigor, were working a slow but sure effect upon the enemy's stronghold, when an event occurred which at once brought the commander of Port Hudson to terms. This was the surrender of Vicksburg on the 4th of July.

The endurance of the garrison whose resistance had been so resolute, may be learned from the testimony of those who were within the walls of Port Hudson. The defences were so strong, and the protection they gave to the garrison so sure, that comparatively little injury was inflicted upon life and property; but the enemy, by the activity of the besiegers, were left but little repose by day or night. "During the siege of six weeks, from May 27 to July 7th," remarks one of the besieged, "the enemy must have fired from fifty

to seventy-five thousand shot and shell, yet not more than twenty-five men were killed by these projectiles."

The enemy without was less formidable than the foe within. The garrison had worse dangers than shot and shell to contend with, but "against them all they fought like heroes, and did their duty cheerfully. Several buildings were burned by the enemy's shells, among which was the mill, entailing a loss of two or three thousand bushels of corn.

"About the 29th or 30th of June, the garrison's supply of meat gave out, when General Gardner ordered the mules to be butchered, after ascertaining that the men were willing to eat them. Far from shrinking from this hardship, the men received their unusual rations cheerfully, and declared that they were proud to be able to say that they had been reduced to this extremity. Many of them, as if in mockery of famine, caught rats and eat them, declaring that they were better than squirrels."

Such was the condition of the garrison when, on the 7th of July, salutes fired by the Union gun-boats and batteries, loud cheering along the whole line of the besiegers, and other boisterous tokens of joy, reached the ears of the famished defenders of Port Hudson. The besiegers, whose approaches had brought them within conversing distance of the besieged, were quick to announce the cause of their jubilation. Vicksburg had fallen!

On that night (July 7), about ten o'clock, General Gardner summoned "a council of war, consisting of General Beale, Colonels Steadman, Miles, Lyle, and Shelby, and Lieutenant-Colonel Marshal J. Smith, who, without exception, decided that it was impossible to hold out longer, considering that the provisions of the garrison were exhausted, the ammunition almost entirely expended, and a large proportion of the men sick, or from exhaustion unfit for duty."

A correspondence was accordingly opened by the enemy with General Banks, which resulted in the unconditional surrender of Port Hudson. The capture and its results were thus announced by General Banks to the commander-in-chief, General Halleck:

July 8.

"Sir—I have the honor to inform you that with this post there fell into our hands over 5,500 prisoners, including one major-general and one brigadier-general; twenty pieces of heavy artillery, five complete batteries, numbering thirty-one pieces, of field artillery; a good supply of projectiles for light and heavy guns, 44,800 pounds of cannon powder, 5,000 stand of arms, and 150,000 rounds of small-arm ammunition, besides a small amount of stores of various kinds. We captured also two steamers, one of which is very valuable. They will be of great service at this time."

At the very moment that the surrender was completed, the enemy requested 6,000 rations, as "the garrison had eaten its last mule."

CHAPTER III.

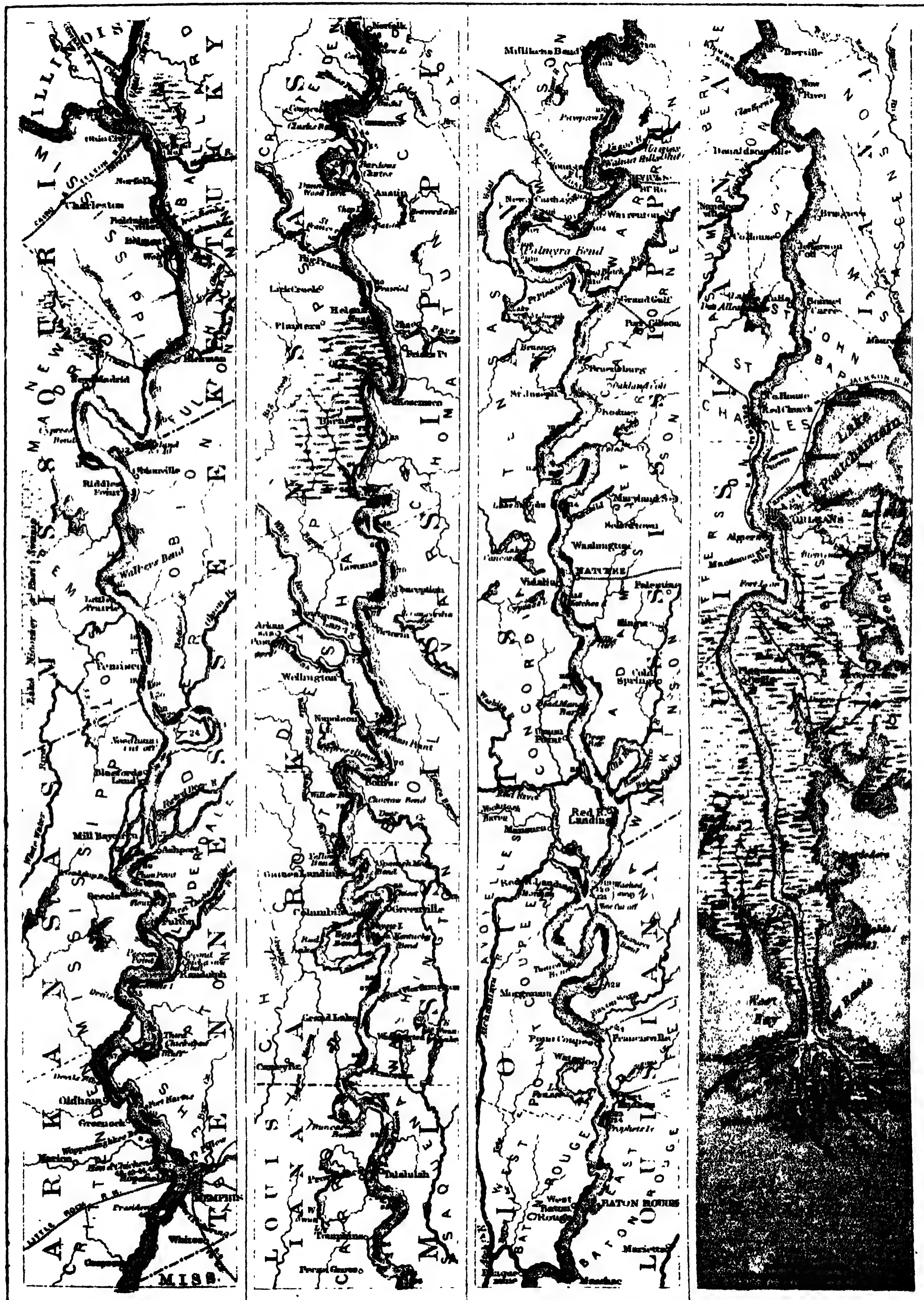
The Operations of the Fleet before Port Hudson.—Its good services.—Gallant Exploits.—Farragut attacks the Batteries.—The Result. The Hartford and Albatross pass the Batteries.—The rest repulsed.—The Loss of the Mississippi.—Enemy's Account of Farragut's Attack upon Port Hudson.—The Cruise of the Hartford and Albatross above Port Hudson.—Passing the Batteries at Grand Gulf.—At Warrenton.—Communicating with Admiral Porter and General Grant.—Relief sent to Farragut.—The Passage of the Switzerland and Lancaster.—The Wreck of the Vicksburg.—Return of Farragut and Fight with the Warrenton Batteries.—Off the Red River. Blockading the Red River.—Communications cut off.—Bold attempts to renew them.—Adventures of a Party.—The Cruise of the Albatross on the Red River.—A Fight.—The Hartford and Albatross co-operating in the attacks by Banks upon Port Hudson.—Fall of Port Hudson.—Return of the Steamers to New Orleans.—Clearing the Mississippi.—The Enemy's Discouragement.—What they had lost by the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson.

DURING the protracted operations of General Banks, which resulted in the capture of Port Hudson, a fleet of armed steamers and gun-boats, under the command of Admiral Farragut, was constantly co-operating with the land forces. The service of the navy, though subordinate to that of the army, in the accomplishment of the final result, was of great assistance in securing it. Not only during the siege of Port Hudson, but in the movements which preceded it, the navy was rendering active and efficient assistance. In the course of the naval operations, many acts were performed which, if not always successful, were of a character which illustrate the heroic valor of our sailors, and claim the record of the chronicler.

1863.

Having aided in clearing the enemy from the country bordered by the lakes and bayous in the immediate neighborhood of New Orleans, the fleet was free to operate upon the waters of the Mississippi and its tributaries. Admiral Farragut, who had already given proof, in his daring passage of the forts below New Orleans, of his taste for bold expedients, now determined to confront the formidable batteries of Port Hudson. The land forces were placed in such position as to co-operate if required, and to take advantage of any success that might be achieved by the navy. Baton Rouge, which had been abandoned by General Butler, had been reoccupied by General Banks, and General Weitzel had advanced with his brigade to Berwick Bay.

Admiral Farragut, having previously sailed from New Orleans to Baton Rouge, weighed anchor off this latter place at nine o'clock on the night of March 14th, and proceeded to the attack of the batteries of Port Hudson. His squadron was composed of the Hartford, the Albatross, the Richmond, the Genesee, the Monongahela, the Kineo, the Mississippi, and the Sachem. Before moving, the Albatross was lashed to the port side of the Hartford, the Genesee to that of the Richmond, and the Kineo to that of


ILLINOIS
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
ARKANSAS
MISSISSIPPI
LOUISIANA
MISS.
New Madrid
Charleston
Helena
Napoleon
Wellington
Greenville
Columbia
Grand Gulf
Port Gibson
Rodney
Natchez
Vidalia
Washington
Red R. Landing
Point Coupee
BATON ROUGE
West Baton Rouge
Donaldsonville
Lake Pontchartrain
Lake Borgne
Memphis
Walkers Bend
Palmyra Bend
Osceola
Mill Bayou
Wm. Sells Del.

Rae Smith Sc.

the Monongahela. The squadron now sailed up the river in the following order: the Hartford towing the Albatross; the Richmond towing the Genesee; the Monongahela towing the Kineo; followed by the Mississippi and the Sachem. The iron-clad Essex and a fleet of mortar boats had been sent in advance, and were already moored within range of the enemy's batteries.

"Our progress was necessarily slow," wrote one* who was on the Richmond, "as our rate of speed had to be regulated by that of the flag-ship. We soon passed the head of Prophet Island, however, and arrived abreast of the mortar boats, which were headed by the Essex and the Sachem. Presently the gleaming lights, which had been on our starboard beam, shone on our quarter, and anon they were sparkling astern. And now we were nearing the point of danger. Signal lights were seen flashing from the direction of the batteries, the entire distance along, and were answered from the opposite shore. Right ahead, too, lights were seen from the rebel boats, as was afterward ascertained. It was evident the rebels were prepared to give us a warm reception.

"Presently a large fire was seen on the Port Hudson side of the river, a little below the town. This fire was kindled right in front of the most formidable of the fortifications, in order that the gleam thrown across the river should reveal every vessel as it passed. The plan was an admirable one, and succeeded to a charm. * * *

* Correspondent of N. Y. *Herald*.

"We had left the mortar boats well astern, when a sulphurous light was seen gleaming on the shore, on our port side. Flashing up for a moment, a dull explosion followed. It was evidently an imperfect rocket. Another was essayed; but, instead of ascending, it ran along the surface of the river close to the bank. A little farther up a third was tried, and with complete success. It ascended high in the air, where it burst in the usual manner. Instantaneously it was answered by a field piece from the opposite shore, aimed at the Hartford. The Admiral was not slow in returning the compliment. Three or four guns fired from the flag-ship in rapid succession testified to the alacrity with which the wager of battle was accepted.

"The return of the rebel fire by the Hartford was promptly followed up by a hot fire from the artillery pieces of the rebels, and quite a brisk action ensued between them. The scene, as viewed from the Richmond, was both brilliant and spirited. The flashes of the guns, both on shore and afloat, were incessant, while the roar of cannon kept up a deafening and almost incessant sound. Great judgment was here necessary to prevent the Richmond from running into the Hartford, and, in fact, to keep the war vessels generally from running into each other.

"And now was heard a thundering roar, equal in volume to a whole park of artillery. This was followed by a rushing sound, accompanied by a howling noise that beggars description.

Again and again was the sound repeated. * * * It was apparent that the mortar boats had opened fire. * * * But while the mortar boats were at work, the Essex was not idle. Unmanageable as she is, especially in so strong a current, she did not follow the rest of the fleet, but remained at the head of the 'bummers,' doing admirable service with her heavy guns.

"All this time the Richmond had to hang back, as Admiral Farragut seemed to be so enamored with the sport in which he was engaged as to be in no hurry to pass by. Once or twice, in consequence of the dense column of smoke that now rolled over the river, our bowsprit was almost over the taffrail of the Hartford, and there was an incessant call on the part of Second Lieutenant Terry, who commanded the forward part of the ship, to stop the engines. * * *

"The Richmond had by this time got within range of the rebel field batteries, which opened fire on her. I had all along thought that we would open fire from our bow guns, on the topgallant forecastle, and that, after discharging a few broadsides from the starboard side, the action would be wound up by a parting compliment from our stern chasers. To my surprise, however, we opened at once from our broadside guns. * * *

"Of course we did not have everything our own way; for the enemy poured in his shot and shell as thick as hail. Over, ahead, astern, all around us, flew the death-dealing missiles. It must not be supposed, however, that because our broadside guns were the tools we principally worked with, our bow and stern chasers were idle. We soon opened with our bow eighty-pounder Dahlgren, which was followed up not long after by the guns astern, giving evidence to the fact that we had passed some of the batteries.

* * * "The action now became general. The roar of cannon was incessant, and the flashes from the guns, together with the flight of the shells from the mortar boats, made up a combination of sound and sight impossible to describe. To add to the horrors of the night, while it contributed toward the enhancement of a certain terrible beauty, dense clouds of smoke began to envelop the river, shutting out from view the several vessels and confounding them with the batteries. It was very difficult to know how to steer to prevent running ashore, perhaps right under a rebel battery or into a consort. Upward and upward rolled the smoke, shutting out of view the beautiful stars and obscuring the vision on every side. Then it was that the order was passed, "Boys, don't fire till you see the flash from the enemy's guns.' That was our only guide through the 'palpable obscurity.'

"But this sole dependence on the flashes was likely to be attended with serious consequences, as the following incident will show: We had got nearly into the middle of the hornet's nest, when an officer on the topgallant forecastle called out: 'Ready with the port

gun.' The gun was got ready and pointed, and was about to be discharged, when Lieutenant Terry called out: 'Hold on; you are about to fire into the Hartford.' And such was the fact; for the flash of the Hartford's guns at that moment revealed the spars and rigging of that vessel. Consequently the gun was not fired, nor was it discharged during the engagement, the fighting being confined entirely to the starboard side. Still the fight went on.

* * * "So thick was the smoke, that we had to cease firing several times; and, to add to the horrors of the night, it was next to impossible to tell whether we were running into the Hartford or going ashore, and, if the latter, on which bank, or whether some of the other vessels were about to run into us or into each other. All this time the fire was kept up on both sides incessantly. It seems, however, that we succeeded in silencing the lower batteries of field pieces.

"While a brisk fire was kept up from the decks of the several vessels, the howitzers in the tops were not permitted to remain idle. * * *

* * * "I would occasionally get up and walk about the topgallant forecastle for a change of position. During one of these peregrinations a terrific explosion took place beneath me. A shell had entered the forward port on the starboard side, and exploded right under the gun, splintering a part of the carriage in front, indenting the gun itself, and cutting off the two legs of a boatswain's mate at the knees and an arm at the elbow, shaking the topgallant forecastle as if with an earthquake. I knew nothing of what had taken place till some time afterward.

* * * "This battery [the writer is alluding to the central battery] stands on a bluff so high, that a vessel in passing immediately underneath cannot elevate her guns sufficiently to reach those on the battery; neither can the guns on the battery be sufficiently depressed to bear on the passing ship. In this position the rebel batteries on the two horns of the crescent can enfilade the passing vessels, pouring in a terrible cross fire, which the vessel can return, though at a great disadvantage, from her bow and stern chasers. We fully realized this last night; for, as we got within short range, the enemy poured into us a terrible fire of grape and canister, which we were not slow to return—our guns being double-shotted, each with a stand of both grape and canister. Every vessel in its turn was exposed to the same fiery ordeal on nearing the centre battery, and right promptly did their gallant tars return the compliment. This was the hottest part of the engagement. We were literally muzzle to muzzle, the distance between us and the enemy's guns being not more than twenty yards, though to me it seemed to be only as many feet. * * *

"Shortly after this close engagement we seemed to have passed the worst. The enemy's shot and shell no longer swept our decks like a hail-storm; but the fire from the batteries was kept up in a desultory manner. The starboard

bow gun could no longer be brought to bear. Consequently Lieutenant Terry ordered the men on the topgallant forecastle to leave the guns in that part of the ship, and to descend to the main deck to help work the broadside guns. Our stern chasers, of course, were still available. I left my station on the topgallant forecastle shortly after the men who had been working the bow guns, and passed under where I had been sitting, taking up my station on the port side, just opposite the forward gun on the starboard side, where but a few minutes before a shell had exploded.

"I was not long in this position when there came a blinding flash through the very port I was opposite to, revealing a high bank right opposite, so close that a biscuit might have been tossed from the summit on board the Richmond. Simultaneously there came a loud roar, and I thought the shot had passed through the port I was opposite to. Indeed, so close were we to the battery, that the flash, the report, and the arrival of the shot, crashing and tearing through our bulwarks, were instantaneous, there not being the intermission of a second between. * * *

"It was no easy matter, in the midst of such a dense cloud of smoke, to know where to point our guns. Even the flashes of the enemy's guns shone dimly through the thick gloom. Several times the order was given to cease fire, so as to allow the smoke to clear away; but, as there was scarcely a breath of wind stirring, this was a very slow process; still the order was necessary, to prevent the several vessels from running into each other. * * *

"While it was yet clear enough to distinguish objects on the river, lights were seen rapidly moving up the river, above the batteries. They were on the rebel gun-boats, that were making all speed to get out of the way of the dreaded Hartford and the Albatross, and the rebels on board of the disloyal craft knew not how many other Union vessels besides. * * *

* * * "Denser and denser became the dark volume of smoke, rendering it next to impossible for the pilot to know where to put the vessel's head. Lieutenant Terry, therefore, stationed himself at the head of the ship, where there was a better chance of penetrating the gloom than on the bridge. Loud rose his voice, even amidst the roar of cannon and the shrieking of shot and shell, directing how the vessel's head should be placed. The order was taken from him by the men all along the deck, and by them conveyed to the quartermasters at the wheel. At times this was a difficult matter; for the noise of battle would sometimes drown the necessary orders thus conveyed. As it was, it seemed to me that a great deal of the manœuvring was sheer guess work. It could scarcely be otherwise. This was the moment of peril for the Richmond; for had she gone on shore under the batteries, it would have been all up with her. * * *

"Matters had gone on in this way for nearly an hour and a half—the first gun having been fired at about half-past

eleven o'clock—when, to my astonishment, I heard some shells whistling over our port side. Did the rebels have batteries on the right bank of the river? was the query that naturally suggested itself to me. To this the response was given that we had turned back. I soon discovered that it was too true. Our return was, of course, more rapid than our passage up. The rebels did not molest us much, and I do not believe one of their shots took effect while we were running down rapidly with the current. It was a melancholy affair, for we did not know but what the whole expedition was a failure; neither could we tell whether any of our vessels had been destroyed, nor how many. We had the satisfaction of learning soon afterward, however, that the Hartford and the Albatross had succeeded in rounding the point above the batteries. All the rest were compelled to return."

Two, only, of the vessels of Admiral Farragut's squadron, his flag-ship the Hartford and the gun-boat Albatross, succeeded in passing the batteries at Port Hudson. The Mississippi was destroyed, and the rest, after being more or less damaged, were forced back. The former unfortunately got aground opposite the centre and strongest of the forts, and thus became the object of the enemy's concentrated fire. Her commander, after persisting for half an hour in the unequal struggle, gave orders for the burning and abandonment of his vessel. In the mean time the enemy continued their fire, riddling her with shot and destroying many lives. While the crew were preparing to burn and abandon her, two shells struck her and set her in flames. As the fire approached the magazine, all, including the wounded men, left in the boats, and landed on the shore opposite the batteries. A loud cry of exultation arose from the enemy when they beheld the burning ship. The Mississippi, lightened by the departure of her 300 men, swung off into deep water, and, after turning with her head down stream, exploded.

The Hartford and Albatross, which had succeeded in passing the batteries at Port Hudson, continued their course up the river. At Grand Gulf they were unexpectedly forced to run the gauntlet of a formidable battery lately established; but they moved on undauntedly, though roughly treated on their way. Both vessels were more or less injured by the fire of the enemy, but returned it vigorously. The Hartford was struck fourteen times, and had three men killed.

Again, on their passage, they were met by a heavy cannonade from the enemy's batteries at Warrenton. After a severe engagement, they passed and anchored on the 26th of March below Vicksburg, at the mouth of the canal cut by the Unionists through the neck of land opposite. Admiral Farragut was thus enabled to send his secretary to communicate with General Grant and Admiral Porter. The messenger arrived in safety, and soon an attempt was made by Admiral Porter to send reinforcements and supplies. Two rams, the Switzerland and Lancaster, and several

flat-boats with coal, were dispatched from above. One of the rams, the Lancaster, was destroyed while striving to pass the batteries at Vicksburg; the other, the Switzerland, was disabled, but was rescued by the Albatross, which towed her to a safe position, while the coal barges fortunately floated down the stream without damage.

The Switzerland having been repaired, joined the Hartford and Albatross, and, all three now fully supplied, prepared for a cruise down the Mississippi. In the mean time, during a heavy blow from the north, on the 29th of March, the Vicksburg, with which Colonel Ellet had his famous encounter under the guns of the enemy, drifted from her moorings, and floating down the river, went ashore opposite the anchorage of the Hartford and Albatross. Farragut sent an officer to board her, who reported that all her machinery had been removed. While the Admiral was hesitating as to what disposition to make of the empty hull, the enemy came down, on the night of the 30th of March, and burnt her.

On the morning of the 31st of March, the Hartford, Albatross, and Switzerland passed Warrenton, on their course down the river. On reaching their anchorage at Turner's plantation, inquiries were made in regard to the wreck of the Indianola, which had been seen at this place on the passage up the river. No traces of her were left, and it was reported that she had slid off into deep water during the late gale. At six o'clock in the evening (March 31st), the three steamers weighed anchor, and, moving down, engaged the batteries at Grand Gulf.

"This battery," reported Admiral Farragut, "consisted of some two or three heavy guns, sent down from Vicksburg. One of these guns was mounted upon a steamer, which had been concealed up the Big Black River. The enemy had also a light field battery.

"They struck the Switzerland twice, doing no damage, however. The Albatross was not struck at all. The Hartford was struck only once, but this shot struck an iron hammock stancheon, and threw a fragment of it forward nearly half the length of the ship, and killed a man named Jones, a landsman. This was the only casualty.

"We passed this battery in about fifteen minutes, and anchored below Grand Gulf for the night."

On the 1st of April, the little squadron again got under weigh, and proceeded to the mouth of the Red River, where it anchored, after destroying on its passage a large number of skiffs and flat-boats. The three steamers were now principally engaged in blockading the Red River, through which the enemy were obtaining their supplies from Western Louisiana and Texas. They also kept a vigilant guard along that part of the Mississippi over which they held command. On the 6th of April they moved down to Bayou Sara, and seizing some ten thousand sacks of corn, threw them into the river. They then sailed down to within five miles of the

batteries of Port Hudson, where they anchored.

As Admiral Farragut was thus, by his position between the batteries of Vicksburg, Warrenton, and Grand Gulf above, and those of Port Hudson below, cut off from his communications by water, and unable to restore them without a fight, there was great inquietude felt in regard to his safety. The enemy affected to be sure of catching him.

The Admiral, while trusting confidently in the power of his good ships and himself to force their way past the enemy's cannon, wherever the object would justify the risk, contented himself, in the mean time, with such communications as he could hold through an occasional adventurous messenger. On the 7th of April, his secretary boldly faced the dangers of passing the enemy's position, and succeeded in reaching Baton Rouge.

Admiral Farragut continued to blockade the Red River, occasionally sending out the Albatross to reconnoitre, while the Switzerland joined Admiral Porter's fleet, which had come down from above and was co-operating with General Grant's movements by land. The Albatross, in the course of an expedition up the Red River, had a severe fight with two of the enemy's boats near Gordon's Landing, the Mary T. and the Grand Duke. Though the Estrella and Arizona, two Union gun-boats, followed the Albatross, they engaged the enemy only at long range, since they had been ordered not to advance. The Albatross moved up to within 400 yards of her antagonist, but was prevented from approaching nearer, in consequence of a strong raft which spanned the river and separated them. A vigorous fight now began.

April 27.

"Almost the first shots from the rebel steamers," says an eye-witness,* "demolished the pilot-house of the Albatross, killing one of her pilots and carrying away a hand of the other. They rigged relieving tackles aft, and thus steered the steamer during the remainder of the action. Her mainmast was also cut nearly in two; a ball passed through her hull, near the water line, injuring her machinery, but not so seriously as to prevent its use.

"The first broadside of the Albatross carried away the steam connection-pipe of the Mary T., killing and wounding thirty persons. The Grand Duke was also struck several times, her cotton flying at every shot, or our well-aimed broadsides taking effect in different parts of her works. The action continued about forty minutes, without interruption of firing on either side. The Grand Duke then finding it too hot for them, backed up stream under cover of the woods, leaving the Mary T. disabled. The Albatross then dropped down and communicated with Captain Cook, of the Estrella, as to the practicability of capturing the disabled steamer. The raft across the river, however, was still intact, and interposed an impassable barrier between our own and the rebel steamers. Meantime, the Grand Duke hitched on to her crippled

* N. Y. *Tribune.*

companion and towed her out of range. The fight—one of the fiercest and most desperately contested naval engagements yet witnessed on the Western waters—was over.

"Throughout the action the Albatross fought with most unflinching gallantry, and her officers and crew deserve well of their country. She had seven men killed and wounded at her guns—three killed and four wounded, as near as I can ascertain. The Grand Duke and Mary T., according to the statement of two deserters, had sixty persons killed and wounded on the two boats."

The Hartford and the Albatross remained above Port Hudson until the surrender of that place, having, in the mean time, taken part in the bombardment of the batteries, during the unsuccessful attempts of General Banks to carry the enemy's works by assault. On the 11th of July, the two steamers arrived at New Orleans, where, after their adventurous cruise and long absence, they were received with acclamation. Admiral Farragut, after aiding in completing the victory at Port Hudson, by clearing the banks of the Mississippi at Donaldsonville and elsewhere, of the lingering enemy, returned to the North, where he met a triumphant reception.

The capture of Vicksburg and Port Hudson was the greatest blow yet inflicted upon the enemy. The occupation of the Mississippi River being thus secured by the Union forces, the region of the insurgents was divided into two parts, and their armies on the east of the river severed from the great sources of supply—Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas—on the west. The success of the Northern arms on the Mississippi caused great exultation at the North and proportionate dejection at the South, while the nations of Europe became more impressed with the power and vigor of the United States, and less confident of the means of resistance of its enemies.

The enemy, notwithstanding the capture of their strongholds at Vicksburg and Port Hudson, and the consequent loss of the command of the Mississippi, strove by every effort to obstruct its navigation. The tortuous course of the great river, its length, and the formation of its banks, whose alternate marshes, cane-brakes, and bluffs offered ready means of offence and shelter, were favorable for skulking guerrilla parties, who continued to infest the Mississippi and seriously impede the passage of vessels. The Union fleet was constantly on the alert, but notwithstanding its vigilance, many lives and much property were destroyed.

CHAPTER IV.

General Rosecrans, after the Battle of Stone River.—His Advance Checked.—Delay in establishing a Basis of Operations and securing Communications —Rosecrans prepared to Advance. —Rosecrans' Movements in Middle Tennessee.—His Report.—The Operations of the Enemy's Cavalry and Detached Parties.—The Enterprise of General Van Dorn.—His Attack on Franklin.—His Repulse.—General Morgan on the Move.—His Rout at Snow Hill. Success of Union Cavalry.—Woodward Recaptured.—Wheeler's Raids.—Destruction of Railroad.—Raid on the River.—Gun-boats Destroyed.—McMinnville Surprised by the Unionists. Mrs. General John Morgan a Prisoner. Escape of the General.—Unionists Capture Tuscumbia and Spring Hill.—The Success of Union Cavalry.—Death of Van Dorn.—Streight's Expedition.—Streight overtaken by Forrest, and forced to Surrender.

AFTER the battle of Stone River and the occupation of Murfreesboro', 1863. General Rosecrans found it impracticable to advance through Tennessee immediately. The necessity of securing his communications, constantly threatened by an enterprising cavalry, and the strong positions easily assumed by the enemy in a region of mountain and forest, with rare spaces of settlement and culture, prevented a rapid campaign. He was obliged first to establish and secure a dépôt of supplies, and to organize an adequate cavalry force to protect his line of communication and take advantage of the enemy should they retreat or be beaten. "The dépôt was established and in a defensible condition," reported Rosecrans, "by the 1st of May, but," he added, "the inferior numbers of our cavalry and the scarcity of long forage wore out our cavalry horses faster than we could replace them, and it was not before the 15th of June that we had brought what we had into available condition."

Finally prepared, General Rosecrans commenced a series of operations which resulted in driving the rebels out of Middle Tennessee. "Their main base of supplies," says the General in his report, dated Winchester, Tennessee, July 24, 1863, "was at Chattanooga, but a vastly superior cavalry force had enabled them to command all the resources of the Duck River Valley and the country southward. Tullahoma, a large intrenched camp situated on the 'barrens,' at the intersection of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad with the McMinnville branch, was their main dépôt. Its front was covered by the defiles of Duck River, a deep, narrow stream with but few fords or bridges, and a rough, rocky range of hills, which divides the 'barrens' from the lower level of Middle Tennessee.

"Bragg's main army occupied a strong position north of Duck River, the infantry extending from Shelbyville to Wartrace, and their cavalry on their right to McMinnsville, and on their left

to Columbia and Spring Hill, where Forrest was concentrated, and threatening Franklin.

"The position of Bragg's infantry was covered by a range of high, rough, rocky hills, the principal routes passing southward from Murfreesboro' toward Tullahoma and the line of the enemy's communications.

"1. By McMinnville it is seventy-five miles to Tullahoma. Its length precludes it, while the intermediate by-roads between that and Manchester were so difficult as to be regarded as unsuited for the movement of an army; and

"2. The Manchester pike passing these hills through Hoover's Gap, and ascending to the 'barrens' through a long, difficult canon called Matt's Hollow.

"3. The Wartrace road through Liberty Gap, which passes into the one along the railroad by Bellbuckle Gap.

"4. The Shelbyville turnpike running through Guy's Gap.

"5. The Middleton dirt road.

"6. The road by Versailles, into the Shelbyville and Triune roads, both of which avoid passes and have few defiles.

"The enemy held all these passes, and his main position in front of Shelbyville was strengthened by a redan line extending from Horse Mountain on the east to Duck River on the west, covered by a line of abattis.

"Polk's corps was at Shelbyville. Hardee's headquarters was at Wartrace, and his troops held Hoover's, Liberty, and Bellbuckle gaps. Polk's corps was generally estimated by intelligent rebels and Union men at about 18,000, infantry and artillery; Hardee's at 12,000, infantry and artillery—making a total of 30,000 of these arms, and probably 8,000 effective cavalry."

After describing the position of the enemy, General Rosecrans thus narrates his own movements and their result:

"Positive information from various sources concurred to show the enemy intended to fight us in his intrenchments at Shelbyville, should we advance by that route, and that he would be in good position to retreat if beaten, and so retard our pursuit through the narrow winding roads from that place which lead up to the 'barrens,' and thus inflict severe loss without danger to their own line of retreat to the mountains toward their base. I was determined to render useless their intrenchments, and, if possible, secure their line of retreat by turning their right and moving on the railroad bridge across Elk River. This would compel a battle on our own ground, or drive them on a disadvantageous line of retreat. To accomplish this it was necessary to make Bragg believe we could advance on him by the Shelbyville route, and to keep up the impression until, if possible, we had reached Manchester with the main body of the army, as this point must be reached over a single practicable road passing through Hoover's Gap, a narrow way three miles in length, between high hills, and then through Matt's Hollow, a gorge two miles long, with scarce room anywhere for wagons to pass each other. These passes were occupied by

the enemy, but eight miles from Hardee's headquarters, nor more than sixteen miles from their left at Shelbyville.

"The plan was, therefore, to move General Granger's command to Triune, and thus create the impression of our intention to advance on them by the Shelbyville and Triune pikes, while cavalry movements and an infantry advance toward Woodbury would seem to be feints designed by us to deceive Bragg and conceal our supposed real designs on their left, where the topography and the roads presented comparatively slight obstacles and afforded great facilities for moving in force.

"Events proved that this had the desired effect; and accordingly Bragg called forward Buckner and all the spare troops at his command from East Tennessee and the lines of the railroads, the last of them arriving on the very evening they began their retreat from their position in front of Duck River. The operations which followed these successful preliminaries were as follows:

"On the 23d of June, Major-General Granger, under orders, sent General Mitchell, with his cavalry division, on the Eagleville and Shelbyville pike, to make a furious attack on the enemy's cavalry and drive in their infantry guards on their main line, while General Granger, with his own troops and Brannan's division, moved, with ten days' rations, to Salem, sending his sick and baggage to the camps at Murfreesboro'. On the same day Palmer's division and a brigade of cavalry were ordered to move, *via* Cripple Creek and Readyville, to the vicinity of Bradyville; his advance to seize the head of the defile leading up to the 'barrens' by an obscure road leading them to Manchester by Lumley's Station. All the other troops were ordered to be in readiness to march with twelve days' rations of bread, coffee, sugar, and salt; six days' meat on hoof, and six days' pork or bacon. General Mitchell accomplished his work after a sharp and gallant fight. General Granger arrived and took position at Salem in pursuance of orders.

"The corps commanders met at headquarters in the evening, when the plan of the movement was explained to them, and each received written orders for his part, as follows:

"Major-General McCook's corps was to advance on the Shelbyville road, turn to the left, move two divisions by Millersburg, and, advancing on the Wartrace road, seize and hold Liberty Gap. The third division was to advance on Fosterville and cover the crossing of General Granger's command from the Middleton road, and then move by Christiana to join the rest of the corps.

"General G. Granger was to advance on the Middleton road, threatening that place, and cover the passing of General Brannan's division of the fourteenth corps, which was to pass by Christiana and bivouac with the rear division of the twentieth corps.

"The fourteenth corps, Major-General Thomas, was to advance on the Manchester pike, seize and hold with its advance, if practicable, Hoover's Gap, and bivouac so as to command and

cover that and the Millersburg road, so that McCook and himself could be within supporting distance of each other.

"Major-General Crittenden was to leave Van Cleve's division of the twenty-first army corps at Murfreesboro', concentrate at Bradysville with the other two, and await orders.

"The cavalry, one brigade under General Turchin, was sent with the twenty-first army corps to look out toward McMinnville. All the remainder, under Major-General Stanley, were to meet General Mitchell coming in from Versailles, and attack the rebel cavalry at Middleton.

"The headquarters of the army was to be established at Mrs. McGill's, at Big Spring Branch.

"All these movements were executed with commendable promptness and success, in the midst of a continuous and drenching rain, which so softened the ground on all the dirt roads as to render them next to impassable.

"General McCook's taking of Liberty Gap was very gallant and creditable to the troops of Johnson's division, Willich's brigade leading, supported by Carlin's brigade of Davis' division on the right.

"General Reynolds had the advance in the fourteenth corps, Wilder's mounted brigade leading. He surprised and carried Hoover's Gap, a defile three miles in length, before the main infantry support of the rebels (two brigades) could come up; and when they did arrive, fought them and held the position until the remainder of Reynolds' division arrived. The enemy kept at artillery distance from them, and left us to hold the bridge across the Garrison fork and the debouch of the Fairfield road.

"As it was not yet certain whether the enemy would advance to test our strength on McCook's front or mass on the flank of the fourteenth corps, near Fairfield, the orders for June 25th were as follows:

"Major-General Crittenden to advance to Lannon's Stand, six miles east of Beech Grove, and open communication with General Thomas.

"General Thomas to attack the rebels on the flank of his advance position at the forks of the road and drive the rebels toward Fairfield.

"General McCook to feign an advance as if in force on the Wartrace road by the Liberty Gap passes.

"General Stanley with his cavalry to occupy their attention at Fosterville, and General Granger to support him with his infantry at Christiana.

"Should Thomas succeed, and find the enemy retreating toward Wartrace, he was to cover that road with a division and move with the remainder of his troops rapidly on Manchester. McCook to move in and, taking his place at Beech Grove, hold Liberty Gap with a division, and finally withdraw that and follow General Thomas to Manchester. The incessant rain delayed the arrival of General Brannan to join the fourteenth corps, on the Manchester pike, but everything was finally in position,

and General Reynolds' division had advanced on the heights toward Fairfield, but did not attack the enemy, who appeared to show a disposition to contest our advance by that route. At Liberty Gap the enemy tried to regain possession, but finally retreated, leaving our pickets in position.

"On the 26th, most of the movements ordered for the 25th were completed, amid continuous rains. Generals Rousseau, Reynolds, and Brannan's divisions co-operated in a gallant advance on the enemy, who, after a short resistance, fled toward Fairfield, near to which place our pickets were advanced, while Reynolds' division and the baggage moved forward during the night toward Manchester, Wilder's brigade having seized Matt's Hollow early in the afternoon, and thus secured the passage.

"June 27th, headquarters reached Manchester, where General Reynolds' and part of Negley's division had already arrived. The remainder of Thomas' corps came in during the night. It was now manifest that the enemy must leave his intrenched position at Shelbyville, and that we must expect him at Tullahoma, only twelve miles distant. It was therefore necessary to close up our columns on Manchester, distribute our rations, and prepare for the contest.

"While this was progressing, I determined to cut, if possible, the railroad in Bragg's rear. Wilder's brigade was sent to burn Elk River bridge, and destroy the railroad between Decherd and Cowan, and Brigadier-General John Beatty, with a brigade of infantry, to Hillsboro', to cover and support his movements.

"General Sheridan's division came in June 28th, and all McCook's arrived before the night of the 29th, troops and animals much jaded.

"The terrible rains and desperate roads so delayed Crittenden, who on the 26th got orders to march to Manchester with all speed, that it was not until the 29th that his last division arrived, badly worn. The column being now closed up, and having divisions of the fourteenth and twentieth corps at Crumpton's Creek, orders were given for the fourteenth corps to occupy the centre at Concord church and Bobo cross roads, with a division in reserve. The twentieth corps to take the right on Crumpton's Creek, two divisions in echelon retired, one in reserve. The twenty-first corps to come up on the left, near Hall's Chapel, one division front and one division in reserve.

"It rained almost incessantly during the 30th, but the troops, by dint of labor and perseverance, had dragged their artillery and themselves through the mud into position. It is a singular characteristic of the soil on the 'barrens' that it becomes so soft and spongy that wagons cut into it as if it were a swamp, and even horses cannot pass over it without similar results. The terrible effects of the rains on the passage of our troops may be inferred from the single fact, that General Crittenden required four days of incessant labor to advance the distance of twenty-one miles.

"While the troops were thus moving into position, General Thomas sent Steadman's brigade of Brannan's division, two regiments of Reynolds' division, and two regiments of Negley's division on separate roads to reconnoitre the enemy's position, while General Sheridan sent Bradley's brigade of his own division on another for the same purpose. These reconnoissances all returned, and reported having found the enemy in force on all the roads except the one leading to Estill Springs. Scouts all confirmed this, with the fact that it was the general belief that Bragg would fight us in his intrenchments at Tullahoma.

"Wilder returned from his expedition, reporting that he found the enemy at Elk Bridge with a brigade of infantry and a battery, which prevented him from destroying that bridge, but that he had damaged the road considerably at Decherd, where his appearance with his mountain howitzers created great consternation, and within three hours brought down some heavy trains of infantry.

"Meanwhile we had information from Stanley's cavalry; supported by Major-General Granger's infantry, and acting under his general directions, it had attacked the enemy's cavalry and artillery at Guy's Gap, on the Murfreesboro' and Shelbyville pike, and driven them from stand to stand, killing, wounding, and capturing as they went, until the enemy reached their intrenchments, by which they were soon driven by flanking and a direct charge, wherein the cavalry captured three pieces of artillery, some with loads in but not rammed down.

"From their intrenchments the rebels fled to town, when they made another stand, but in vain. Our cavalry came down with resistless sweep and drove them in confusion into the river. Many were killed and drowned, and Shelbyville, with a large number of prisoners, a quantity of arms and commissary stores, were the crowning results of the cavalry operations that day. It was worthy of note that the waving of flags and cheers of welcome from the inhabitants of this unconquerable stronghold of loyalty doubtless gave added vigor and energy to the advance of our troops. The reports from this cavalry battle showed also the enemy's withdrawal on Tullahoma, and the general expectation that he would fight there.

"June 30. Orders having been given General Morton to ascertain the practicability of moving by column in mass in line of battle from our position to gain the rear of the rebel position at Tullahoma, and he having reported favorably thereon, preparations were completed, and Crittenden's second division was moved into position.

"July 1. I received a dispatch from General Thomas, that the enemy had retreated from Tullahoma during the night.

"Brannan's, Negley's, and Sheridan's divisions entered Tullahoma, where the infantry arrived about noon. Negley's and Rousseau's divisions pushed on by Spring Creek and overtook the rear

guard of the enemy late in the afternoon at Bethpage Bridge, two miles above the railroad crossing, where they had a sharp skirmish with the rebels occupying the heights on the south side of the river, and commanding the brigade by artillery, which they had placed behind epaulments.

"July 2. Having brought forward the ammunition, McCook, with two divisions, pursued on the roads west of the railroad. Arriving at Rock Creek Ford, General Sheridan found the Elk so swollen as to be barely fordable for cavalry, and the rebel cavalry on the south bank to resist a crossing; but he soon drove them away and occupied the ford. General Thomas found equal difficulties in crossing, for the enemy during the night burned the bridge and retired before morning. General Turchin, with a small brigade of cavalry, had pushed forward from Hillsboro', on the Decherd road, and found the enemy's cavalry at the fords of Elk, near Morris Ferry; engaged them coming up, and reinforced by the arrival of General Mitchell, they forced the passage of the river after a sharp conflict. Night closed the pursuit.

"July 3. General Sheridan succeeded in crossing Elk River, and supported by General J. C. Davis' division, pursued the enemy to Cowan, where he learned the enemy had crossed the mountains with his artillery and infantry by University and Swedine's Cove, and that the cavalry only would be found covering their rear. General Thomas got over his troops the same day, Negley's division moving on the Brakefield Point road toward University. Sheridan sent some cavalry from his position, and Stanley some from the main column, now in pursuit, but they only developed the fact that the enemy was gone; and as our troops were out of provisions, and the roads worn well-nigh impracticable from rain and travel, they were obliged to halt till their supplies could be brought forward from Murfreesboro', to which point the wagons had been sent for that purpose.

"Thus ended a nine days' campaign, which drove the enemy from two fortified positions and gave us possession of Middle Tennessee, conducted in one of the most extraordinary rains ever known in Tennessee at that period of the year, over a soil that becomes almost a quicksand. Our operations were retarded thirty-six hours at Hoover's Gap, and sixty hours at and in front of Manchester, which alone prevented us from getting possession of the enemy's communications and forcing him to a very disastrous battle. These results were far more successful than was anticipated, and could only have been obtained by a surprise as to the direction and force of our movement."

General Rosecrans concludes his report with a statement of his gains and losses.

"The reports of the corps commanders show that our total loss during these operations was:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
Officers	14	26	..
Non-commissioned officers and privates	71	436	13
Total	85	462	13

"We captured many stand of small-arms, three field pieces, six caissons, three limbers, three rifled siege pieces without carriages, besides arms destroyed by the cavalry; quartermasters' stores, eighty-nine tents, eighty-nine flies, 3,500 sacks corn and corn-meal.

"The total number of officers taken is 59 commissioned officers, and 1,575 non-commissioned officers and privates."

In the mean time, while General Rosecrans was preparing for this successful movement narrated in his report, the enemy's detached parties were actively occupied in efforts to interrupt his communications and perplex his plans of advance. General Van Dorn, now acting more appropriately as a guerrilla chief than as a leader of armies, was especially enterprising. With a force of cavalry and flying artillery he hovered about the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, doing much damage to the Union gun-boats and transports navigating them, and ventured occasionally to attack the Federal posts on Rosecrans' line of communications in his rear. On the 10th of April, Van Dorn, emboldened by some minor successes, assaulted Franklin, situated on the railroad south of Nashville.

"Van Dorn made his promised attack to-day," reported, on the 10th of April, General Granger, the Union commander at Franklin, "at one o'clock, directly in front and on the town. The infantry regiments on guard in town, with the cavalry pickets, held him at bay until their ammunition was exhausted. The dense smoke and atmosphere favored their operations, enabling them to approach very near without our being able to observe them. Our siege guns and our light batteries opened upon them with murderous effect, literally strewing the ground with men and horses. I had halted Stanley four miles out on the Murfreesboro' road. He at once crossed his forces over at Height's Mills, vigorously attacking Forrest's divisions, moving down on the Lewisburg pike, capturing six pieces of artillery and some two hundred prisoners; but, owing to the unfavorable nature of the country, was unable to hold them, being attacked by greatly superior numbers, outflanked and nearly surrounded. Our loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners is less than one hundred, while the enemy's cannot be less than three times that number. They were repulsed on all sides, and driven until darkness prevented the pursuit. Captain McIntyre, of the Fourth Regulars, took the battery and prisoners, bringing off thirty odd of the latter."

General Morgan, too, whose bold raids have been so often recorded in this chronicle, was again pursuing his career of mischief, but not always with his usual good fortune. While marauding in the rear of General Rosecrans, he was overtaken by General Stanley at Snow Hill, near Smithville, about sixty-one miles east of Nashville, and routed.

April 2.

"General Stanley," reported General Rosecrans, "has returned from his scout, bringing in some forty or fifty prisoners and 300 serviceable horses and mules.

He drove Morgan's cavalry from the peninsula, whipping them from their stronghold, Snow Hill, north of Smithville, and, but for their precipitate retreat and the difficult nature of the country, would have had a force in their rear and captured their artillery and animals.

"The enemy left quite a number of their dead, and fled toward McMinnville, leaving many horses, saddles, and guns."

Various other successes were accomplished by the Union cavalry detachments. Woodward, which had been captured by the enemy's guerrilla parties, was retaken (April 8), with its stores and some prisoners; and an expedition under Colonel Wilder, about the same time, in the direction of Snow Hill, destroyed five thousand bushels of wheat, much corn and bacon, and "a part of the village known as Saulsbury, containing the dwelling of a notorious guerrilla."

On the other hand, the enemy were making their boasts of mischief. "I divided my command into two parties," officially stated General Wheeler, on the 11th of April, "and made a raid upon the Louisville and Nashville, and Nashville and Murfreesboro' railroads, capturing a large train on each and many officers and men."

Again, in the middle of April, General Wheeler boasted the destruction of two gun-boats and three transports on the Cumberland River, to which the Unionists, about the same time reported, as more than an offset:

"The Munfordsville (Ky.) expedition to Celina returned to Glasgow, having destroyed the town of Celina, 100,000 pounds of bacon, 20,000 bushels of wheat and corn, 100 barrels of whisky and flour, a considerable quantity of sugar, tea, coffee, salt, and other stores, and forty boats used by the rebels for transporting supplies.

"The rebels admit a loss of ninety killed. Colonel Graham thinks their loss greater. The Union loss was one killed and one missing."

On the 22d of April, the Union cavalry took McMinnville by surprise. On this occasion, "Colonel Longworth, of the Ohio Cavalry, struck the railroad, destroyed the telegraph and bridges between Morrison and Manchester, and burned a train of cars and locomotive, together with other spare cars at various places, and vast quantities of meat."

"While at McMinnville, Colonel Wilder destroyed the bridges, 600 blankets, 30,000 pounds of bacon, two hogsheads of sugar, three hogsheads of rice, eight barrels of whisky, 200 bales of cotton, one large cotton factory, one large mill and one small one, one camp at Charley's Creek, and subsequently one at Liberty, and took 300 prisoners, among them Dick McCann, who subsequently escaped."

Mrs. General John Morgan was also captured, but her adventurous husband succeeded in making off with most of his troops. To the success at McMinnville were added the capture of Tuscumbia and a dash upon the camp, at Spring Hill, of the Texas legion of

General Van Dorn's command, about eight miles south of Franklin, Tenn., toward the end of April. The fair proportion of successes achieved by the Union cavalry proved that that branch of service was rapidly acquiring the desired vigor.

It gave further evidence of its improved efficiency in May and June, while the enemy's raiders, though still active, and meeting with an occasional success, became less enterprising. The death of General Van Dorn, who was killed by an indignant husband,* in revenge for a usurpation of his marital rights, was a great loss to the enemy, for he was well endowed with the enterprising and, perhaps, unscrupulous attributes of the successful guerrilla chief.

A Union reconnoitring force under Colonel Streight, after reaching the rear of General Bragg's position and penetrating Georgia, was overtaken by General Forrest, one of the enemy's most enterprising cavalry officers, and captured. Forrest having, by a rapid movement from Spring Hill, Tenn., formed a junction with Colonel Roddy, attacked General Dodge at Tuscumbia, Ala., and after a skirmish of several hours, fell back to Courtland. In the mean time, Colonel Streight took the occasion to get to the rear of Forrest and move toward Georgia. The latter, upon discovering the movement, started in pursuit, and overtook Colonel Streight at Dayton's Gap, in Sand Mountains, where a skirmish ensued, with a loss to the Unionists of forty killed, wounded, and missing. "Six miles farther on," according to the report of the enemy, which is our only available record, "another engagement took place, lasting an hour and a half, in which Streight was driven forward with the loss of two pieces of artillery."

Fifteen miles farther south, Streight was again attacked, and after the struggle having taken refuge in Huntsville, was driven out of the place with a loss of three killed and twelve wounded. Pursued to Gadsden, the fighting was resumed, and finally Colonel Streight, still flying before the resolute Forrest, was overtaken early in the month of May, within twenty-six miles of Rome, in Alabama, and compelled to surrender.

It is useless to attempt to trace the movements in detail of the various cavalry detachments. Enough has been already recorded to illustrate the character of the warfare preliminary and subordinate to Rosecrans' important movement already related, which secured him possession of Middle Tennessee.

* General Van Dorn was shot by a Dr. Peters, at Spring Hill, Tenn., on the 7th of May, 1863.

•

CHAPTER V.

Kentucky no longer a Field of Battle.—Subject, however, to Incursions.—Her Routes of Travel exposed to Raids.—A Marauding Force under Pegram enters Kentucky.—Mount Sterling Captured and Burned.—Danville Captured.—Alarm at Lexington.—Burnside in command of the Department of the Ohio.—Vigorous Work to clear Kentucky of its Invaders.—Gillmore's Expedition to Somerset.—Its Success.—Pegram driven into Tennessee.—Burnside preparing for a Campaign into East Tennessee.—Preliminary Expedition of Saunders.—Its Results.—Another Raid into Kentucky by Morgan.—Alarm in Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana.—Preparations for Defence.—Morgan in Indiana.—His Successes.—The Damage to Railroads and other Property.—Course of Morgan through Indiana into Ohio.—Pursuit of Morgan.—His Unsuccessful Attempt to recross the Ohio.—Morgan at bay.—Morgan Captured and Imprisoned.—An attempted Diversion in his Favor.—Its Failure.—A Successful Raid upon Stamford, Ky.

1863. THOUGH Kentucky had ceased for the time to be a field for the operations of large armies, its proximity to the scene of war in Virginia and Tennessee exposed it to frequent incursions of the enemy. The main routes of travel to the contiguous State of Tennessee were especially the objects of attack. Thus the Louisville and Nashville railroads, together with the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, the chief channels of Rosecrans' communications with the North, were often visited by marauding parties which did great damage. These expeditions, being favored by the sympathies of some of the inhabitants of Kentucky, were not only able to elude the vigilance of the Union garrisons, and penetrate into the interior, but even traverse the State. In the month of March, a considerable force of the enemy, under General Pegram, entered Kentucky and began a series of depredations.

On the 21st, a Colonel Clarke, one of their cavalry raiders, surrounded Mount Sterling, captured it after a street fight of four hours, and finally burned the town. Danville was subsequently occupied; and the inhabitants even of Lexington, exaggerating the numbers of the invading force, became alarmed for the safety of their city.

In the mean time, General Burnside, after resigning the command of the Army of the Potomac, to be hereafter related, had assumed charge of the Department of the Ohio, and set to work at once vigorously in clearing Kentucky of its invaders. **March 25.** General Gillmore was immediately dispatched to overtake the marauders, who had retired from Danville to Somerset, where it was "ascertained that there were some 2,400 rebels encamped."

"I attacked the enemy yesterday," said Gillmore in his report, dated Somerset, Ky., March 31, 1863, "in a strong position of his own selection, defended by six cannon, near this town; fought him for five hours, driving him from one position to another, and finally

stormed his position, whipped him handsomely, and drove him in confusion toward the river. His loss is over 300 in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

"The enemy outnumbered us two to one, and were commanded by General Pegram in person. Night stopped the pursuit, which will be renewed in the morning.

"We captured two stand of colors. Our loss in killed and wounded and missing will not exceed thirty. Scott's famous rebel regiment was cut off from the rest and scattered."

To this statement General Gillmore subsequently added the following:

"I underrated the enemy's force in my first report of yesterday's fight. They had over 2,600 men, outnumbering us more than two to one. During the night their troops recrossed the Cumberland in three places. We have retaken between 300 and 400 cattle. Pegram's loss will not fall short of 500 men."

The repulse of Pegram was an effectual blow, which drove him back across the Cumberland River into Tennessee, and momentarily checked further incursions. Relieved for a time from inquietude in regard to the cavalry raids of the enemy into Kentucky, General Burnside was enabled to prepare for a contemplated campaign to East Tennessee. Preliminary to this, he sent an expedition to that quarter, the results of which Colonel S. H. Saunders, its leader, thus reported:

"I arrived here," he wrote from Boston, Ky., June 23d, 1863, "with my command at eleven o'clock this morning. I struck the railroad at Lenoir, destroyed the road up to Knoxville, and made a demonstration against Knoxville, so as to have the troops drawn from above. I then destroyed the railroad track and started for Strawberry Plains. I burned the State Creek bridge, 312 feet long, and the Strawberry Plains bridge, 1,600 feet long; also, the Mossy Creek bridge, 325 feet long.

"I captured three pieces of artillery, some 200 boxes of artillery ammunition, over 500 prisoners, and 1,000 stand of arms.

"I destroyed a large amount of salt, sugar, flour, meal, saltpetre, and one saltpetre work and other stores.

"My command are much fatigued. We have had but two nights' sleep since leaving Williamsburg.

"The rebel force in East Tennessee is larger than I had supposed.

"I did not attack Loudon Bridge.* *

"At Mossy Creek I determined to return into the mountains. I had very great difficulties that were unexpected. I found the gap through which I intended to return, strongly guarded with artillery and infantry; a force was also following our rear.

"I then determined to cross at Smith's Gap, which I did."

Kentucky, however, was not long left in repose. It was soon rumored that the enemy were contemplating another bold raid under the leadership of the noted Morgan, whose audacious exploits, hitherto so successful and destructive.

were greatly dreaded. The anxiety spread through Kentucky to Indiana and Ohio, for it was feared that the daring guerrilla chief, unchecked in the first, would invade the latter States. Hasty preparations for defence were made not only in Kentucky, but in Ohio and Indiana. Large meetings were held in Lexington, Louisville, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, and other places of the exposed States, for the purpose of evoking every means of resistance. Martial law was declared; the militia was called out in full force; business was suspended, and the citizens enrolled themselves and built fortifications.

The inquietude and the preparations for defence which it induced, proved to be not without cause. The adventurous Morgan, having secured a position at Somerset, in the southern part of Kentucky, started from that point with a cavalry force, and made rapidly for the Ohio River, which he crossed into Indiana.

On his route through Kentucky, where he never failed to find sympathizers, he was enabled, through their collusion, to surprise and inflict great damage upon the lines of communication of the Union armies, and to supply his own needs at the expense of his enemies. The Nashville and Louisville railroads, so often the object of his attack, received a passing blow, and he gathered up from the Union dépôts throughout Kentucky the horses, arms, and ammunition he required. The Unionists of the State were forced to contribute to his wants, while the secessionists, many of whom joined his ranks, volunteered their services.

On reaching the Ohio, Morgan captured a number of steamers, and by their means crossed the river at Brandenburg with his whole force, estimated at 4,600 men, and ten pieces of artillery. Corydon, a small place in Indiana, on the border of Kentucky, fell an easy prey to the invaders. Thence taking an easterly direction along the line of the Ohio River, but diverging occasionally to burn a railroad bridge or destroy a track, they reached Vienna, on the Jeffersonville Railroad, July 11th. On the same day they made their appearance at Vernon, on the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad, and demanded the surrender of the town. Colonel Burkham, the Union commander, refused compliance, and on moving out to meet the invaders, found that they had made off, but succeeded in overtaking and capturing nineteen of them.

July 8.

As they moved on, they did considerable damage to the Ohio and Mississippi and Indianapolis and Cincinnati railroads, and arrived at Versailles on the 12th of July. On the next day they crossed the borders of Indiana, and reached Harrison, in Hamilton County, Ohio. Thence they continued their course for a time eastward, toward Hamilton, through Columbia, Batavia, and Williamsburg. In the mean time, such preparations had been made in Indiana and Ohio to capture Morgan and his invaders, that, evidently becoming anxious for their safety, they suddenly turned in a southerly direction to

the Ohio River, which they continued to hug close, with the view, apparently, of attempting to recross it into Kentucky. Their purpose, if such it were, was, however, thwarted by some Union gun-boats, and they moved toward the Virginian border, passing through Ripley, Piketon, and Chester.

With the States of Indiana and Ohio now fully aroused, and the regular troops at command in those States and in Kentucky in close pursuit, Morgan and his men had little chance of escape. A cavalry force, under General Hobson, had followed on their track from Somerset, in Kentucky, and continued to pursue them through Indiana and Ohio. General Judah had started with an expedition from Cincinnati, and White and Runkle had moved from another quarter, while the gun-boats were guarding the river. The local militia at the same time were on the watch. Morgan, thus beset on all sides, was driven at bay, and forced into several desperate encounters, in which he met with great loss.

Having reached Chester, on the Ohio River, on the 19th of July, he found himself surrounded by the Union forces. Hobson had closed in upon him from the east, Judah from the south, and White and Runkle from the north and west. The militia of the neighborhood, moreover, were out in full force. The roads were barricaded, and the fords of the Ohio were guarded by gun-boats, artillery, and sharpshooters.

"Morgan, finding himself in close quarters," reports a chronicler, "sent out scouts to find a crossing near Buffington, as this was the only ford left him that he could possibly reach. On learning that the ford was guarded by the gun-boats, and that we had a strong force of sharpshooters on the island, Morgan broke up his band and they separated, each squad to take care of itself.

"One squad broke for the crossing at Buffington, followed by the battery of six pieces which Morgan brought with him. As soon as the rebels approached the river, they were opened upon by the gun-boats, and 150 were killed or drowned. Our cavalry made a dash upon the force in charge of the battery and captured the whole six pieces, and killed a number of the rebels. In this skirmish we understand we lost six or seven killed. The rest of this force was repulsed and driven back.

"The main force now fell back toward Belpre, and then scattered and took to the hills in squads, in the direction of Coolsville."*

* The following is the official report of the part taken by the gun-boats:

"U. S. STEAMER MOOSE, ABOVE BUFFINGTON ISLAND, OHIO RIVER, *July* 19.

"HON. GIDEON WELLES, Secretary of the Navy:

"After chasing Morgan nearly 500 miles, I at last met him on the river at this point, and engaged and drove him back, capturing two of his pieces of artillery. He abandoned the rest to General Judah. The enemy broke in confusion from the banks, and left his wagon train and many horses and small-arms in my possession.

"Since writing the above, I followed farther up the river; met another portion of Morgan's force, fording fourteen miles above, shelled and drove most of them back. Several were killed, twenty-five or thirty wounded, and twenty horses captured. Have but two men wounded slightly. Our shell and shrapnel created great confusion in the rebel ranks, killing and wounding many.

"LEROY FITCH, Lieutenant-Commander."

Brigadier-General Shackelford followed the fugitives.

"We chased John Morgan and his command over fifty miles* to-day," he says, writing from the field, Geigek's Creek, July 20, nine P.M. "After heavy skirmishing for six or seven miles, between the Forty-fifth Ohio, of Colonel Wolford's brigade, which was in the advance, and the enemy, we succeeded in bringing the enemy to a stand about three o'clock this afternoon, when a fight ensued, which lasted an hour, when the rebels fled, taking refuge upon a very high bluff. I sent a flag of truce demanding an immediate and unconditional surrender of Morgan and his command. The flag was received by Colonel Coleman and other officers, who came down and asked a personal interview. They asked an hour for consultation. I granted forty minutes, in which time the command, excepting Morgan, who deserted his command, taking with him a very small squad, surrendered. It was my understanding that Morgan himself had surrendered, and I learn it was the understanding of Morgan's officers and men.

"The number of killed and wounded is inconsiderable; the number of prisoners between 1,000 and 1,500, including a large number of colonels, majors, and line officers. I captured between 600 and 700 prisoners yesterday."

Morgan having escaped with a remnant of his troops, moved in a north-easterly direction, evidently seeking a chance to get into Virginia. On the 23d of July he crossed the Muskingum River at Eastport. Here he was checked by a militia force, but succeeded in getting away with a loss of some fifteen or twenty of his men. On crossing the Central Ohio Railroad he burned a dépôt and tore up a portion of the track. On the 24th of July, Morgan arrived at Washington, Guernsey County, where he did much mischief, and obtained a large supply of plunder.

General Shackelford, continuing in close pursuit, succeeded in overtaking Morgan near New Lisbon, on his way to the Ohio River, where he was seeking to cross into Virginia above Wheeling. Having but some 700 men left, he made no attempt to resist the superior Union force which surrounded him, but surrendered himself and 400 of his band. The rest escaped across the Ohio River into Virginia. The capture of the adventurous Morgan was considered one of the great events of the war, and the Secretary of State, in his summary of the successes of the North, thought it not unworthy of national exultation.*

July 26.

* The public curiosity followed the noted chief and his officers to the seclusion of their prison, whose secrets were thus graciously disclosed by an obliging chaplain of the Ohio Penitentiary at Columbus, in a communication to the *Christian Advocate*:

"There are sixty-eight of Morgan's officers in the prison. They occupy the south side of the new hall, each end of which is temporarily closed. They are locked up separately in cells at seven o'clock in the evening, and are unlocked at about seven in the morning. They enjoy the privilege of walking the hall through the day, which is perhaps one hundred and fifty feet long and twelve feet wide. At eight A.M. and three P.M. they are conducted to the common dining hall, and have prison fare, with, I believe, the addition of coffee and sugar, and some few articles furnished by themselves.

A faint attempt was made to create a diversion in favor of General Morgan, while hard pressed by the Union troops in Ohio. A force of several thousand men, under Pegram and Scott, penetrated Eastern Kentucky as far as Paris, not far from Lexington. They were, however, met promptly by the Union forces and repulsed. They now retreated, closely followed by the Union cavalry, until they were forced back across the Cumberland River into Tennessee, leaving a large number of prisoners in the hands of their pursuers. A portion of the raiders, however, in their transit, made a successful raid upon Stamford, Ky., where they captured and burned a train of Union wagons.

July 29.

"Morgan had no 'belt filled with gold, greenbacks, and Confederate notes.' His valuables amounted to $23 and a butternut breastpin. The amount of our government and postal currency found on the persons of the other officers was not large. They had considerable sums in Confederate money.

"Morgan and his men are all shaved and trimmed, in accordance with the rule of the institution. This is the custom, I suppose, for two reasons: first, to secure personal cleanliness; second, to give a uniform appearance to the prisoners, so that detection would be more easy in case of an attempt to escape.

"Morgan is full six feet high, straight and well built, with an elastic step and something of a commanding presence. His upper lip is short and somewhat sunken, so that his front teeth are slightly exposed. His complexion is sandy, and the hair quite thin on the top of his head. He looks to be an ordinary man intellectually. He has, however, one of the qualifications of a good commander—he knows how to obey. He conforms strictly to the rules of the establishment, and enjoins obedience on the part of his fellow-prisoners.

"Colonel Cluke is three or four inches taller than Morgan, very slender, with a thin, sharp face and resolute eye. I suppose, from his appearance, he has more dash and daring than Morgan himself.

"Basil Duke is a small man, firmly built and muscular. His complexion is dark, and his eye and head indicate some mind and a bad heart. He is much the most intelligent-looking man of the crowd."

CHAPTER VI.

P litical Action of Burnside in his Department.—The Arrest of Vallandigham.—Its Effect upon the Country.—The Unpopularity of Vallandigham on account of his Opposition to the War—Sympathy with him in consequence of his Arrest.—The Particulars of his Arrest.—An Attempt at a Rescue.—Its Failure.—Riot at Dayton.—Destruction of a Newspaper Office.—The Riot suppressed by the Military.—Arms Seized.—Vallandigham at Cincinnati.—Trial by a Military Commission.—Charges.—Witnesses.—Cross-examination.—Portrait of Vallandigham.—Vallandigham found Guilty and sentenced to be Imprisoned in Fort Warren—Sentence Commuted by the President to Transportation within the Lines of the Enemy.—Vallandigham delivered to the Enemy.—His Reception.—Vallandigham nominated for Governor of Ohio.—Vallandigham runs the Blockade.—At Nassau.—In Canada.—His Address to the Democrats of Ohio.—The Election in Ohio.—Vallandigham defeated.—Action of Democrats in various States in regard to the Arrest of Vallandigham.—Resolutions of the Albany Meeting.—Answer of President Lincoln.—Excitement of the Country.—Riots in Albany and Philadelphia.—Political Agitation in Kentucky.—Vigilance of the Military Authorities.—The Democratic Convention dispersed.—Continued Loyalty of the Kentucky Legislature.—Opposition to the Administration at Washington.—Rigid rule of Burnside.—His Orders in regard to the Election.—The Election in Kentucky.—State of Parties.—Success of Union Candidate.—Opposition to Burnside's action in Illinois, etc.—Burnside forced to Retreat.

1863.

THE purely military movements of General Burnside in his department, however effective, yielded for a time in public interest to his repressive political action. The arrest of the Hon. Clement L. Vallandigham, a citizen of the State of Ohio, and its representative in the Congress of the United States, was a measure, whatever might be its justification, which startled the traditional reverence of the American people for personal rights. Though Vallandigham had sturdily persisted from the beginning in opposing the popular sentiment in favor of the war, and thus made himself obnoxious to the vast majority of his countrymen, his arrest aroused, temporarily at least, a sympathy in his behalf among others besides his own partisans.

During the night of the 4th of May, a detachment of soldiers left Cincinnati by a special train, and arriving early next morning at Dayton, they battered down several doors of his house, and seized Mr. Vallandigham. His friends then rung the fire-bells and aroused a mob of people, who attempted to rescue him, but failed. During the night, Mr. Vallandigham having been, in the mean time, conveyed to Cincinnati, some 600 of his excited partisans took possession of the office of the *Journal*,* completely gutted the house, and burned it to the ground. The fire extending to the adjoining buildings, much valuable property was destroyed. All the telegraph wires and a bridge were subsequently demolished. The rioters, however, were arrested in their career by the arrival of Federal troops from Cincinnati and Columbus. Thirty of the ringleaders were seized and imprisoned;

* This paper was politically opposed to Vallandigham.

the *Empire* newspaper, friendly to Vallandigham, was suppressed, a swivel-gun removed from the office, and two wagon-loads of muskets stored in an armory were taken possession of by the soldiers. Dayton was thus restored to quiet and order.

Meanwhile, Vallandigham had arrived at Cincinnati, where, on the 6th of May, he was arraigned for trial by a military commission,* appointed by General Burnside, commander-in-chief of the Department of Ohio.

The "charge" and "specification" were as follows:

"CHARGE.—Publicly expressing, in violation of General Orders No. 38, from headquarters, Department of the Ohio, his sympathies for those in arms against the Government of the United States, declaring disloyal sentiments and opinions, with the object and purpose of weakening the power of the Government in its efforts to suppress an unlawful rebellion.

"SPECIFICATION.—In this, that the said Clement L. Vallandigham, a citizen of the State of Ohio, on or about the 1st day of May, 1863, at Mount Vernon, Knox County, Ohio, did publicly address a large meeting of citizens, and did utter sentiments in words, or in effect, as follows: declaring the present war 'a wicked, cruel, and unnecessary war;' 'a war not being waged for the preservation of the Union;' 'a war for the purpose of crushing out liberty and erecting a despotism;' 'a war for the freedom of the blacks and the enslavement of the whites;' stating 'that if the Administration had so wished, the war could have been honorably terminated months ago;' that 'peace might have been honorably obtained by listening to the proposed intermediation of France;' 'that propositions by which the Northern States could be won back and the South be guaranteed their rights under the Constitution, had been rejected the day before the late battle of Fredericksburg, by Lincoln and his minions;' meaning thereby the President of the United States, and those under him in authority; charging 'that the Government of the United States were about to appoint military marshals in every district, to restrain the people of their liberties, to deprive them of their rights and privileges;' characterizing General Order No. 38, from headquarters, Department of the Ohio, as 'a base usurpation of arbitrary authority;' inviting his hearers to resist the same, by saying, 'the sooner the people inform the minions of usurped power that they will not submit to such restrictions upon their liberties, the better;' declaring 'that he was at all times and upon all occasions resolved to do what he could to defeat the attempts now being made to build up a monarchy upon the ruins of our free government,' asserting 'that

* The following officers composed the commission:
"Brigadier-General R. B. Potter, President.
"Captain J. M. Cutts, Judge Advocate.
"Colonel J. F. De Courcy, Sixteenth Ohio.
"Lieutenant-Colonel E. R. Goodrich, Commissary of Subsistence.
"Major Van Buren, Aid-de-Camp.
"Major Brown, Tenth Kentucky Cavalry.
"Major Fitch, One Hundred and Fifteenth Ohio.
"Captain Lydig, Aid-de-Camp."

he firmly believed, as he said six months ago, that the men in power are attempting to establish a despotism in this country, more cruel and more oppressive than ever existed before.'

"All of which opinions and sentiments he well knew did aid, comfort, and encourage those in arms against the Government, and could but induce in his hearers a distrust of their own Government and sympathy for those in arms against it, and a disposition to resist the laws of the land. J. M. Cutts,

"Captain Eleventh Infantry, Judge Advocate, Department of the Ohio."

The chief witnesses against the accused were two officers of the army, who had been sent by their superiors in command from Cincinnati, where they were on duty, to Mount Vernon, in order to report Mr. Vallandigham's expected speech at the Democratic meeting to be held there. These military witnesses were accordingly present, though not in their uniforms, and having listened to Mr. Vallandigham's oration, reported the expressions upon which the charge and their testimony in confirmation were based.

The accused cross-examined the witnesses for the prosecution, but failed to extort from them any contradiction of their direct testimony; but he himself, in the course of their examination, positively denied the accuracy of some of their statements. His own witness, the Hon. S. S. Cox, a member of Congress from Ohio, who, like Vallandigham, had spoken at the Mount Vernon meeting, and was known to be his political friend, contradicted, in some particulars, the testimony of the prosecution, and in his report of the speech greatly extenuated the offensiveness of its character.

At the close of the testimony, Mr. Vallandigham said:

"Gentlemen of the Court, very briefly and respectfully I offer the following protest:

"Arrested without due 'process of law,' without warrant from any judicial officer, and now in a military prison, I have been served with a 'charge and specification,' as in a court-martial or military commission.

"I am not in either 'the land or naval forces of the United States, nor in the militia in the actual service of the United States,' and therefore am not triable for any cause by any such court, but am subject, by the express terms of the Constitution, to arrest only by due process of law, judicial warrant, regularly issued upon affidavit and by some officer or court of competent jurisdiction for the trial of citizens, and am now entitled to be tried on an indictment or presentment of a grand jury of such court, to speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State of Ohio, to be confronted with witnesses against me, to have compulsory process for witnesses in my behalf, the assistance of counsel for my defence, and evidence and argument according to the common laws and the ways of judicial courts.

"And all these I here demand as my right as a citizen of the United States and under the constitution of the United States.

"But the alleged 'offence' itself is

not known to the Constitution of the United States, nor to any law thereof. It is words spoken to the people of Ohio in an open and public political meeting, lawfully and peaceably assembled under the Constitution and upon full notice. It is words of criticism of the public policy of the public servants of the people, by which policy it was alleged that the welfare of the country was not promoted. It was an appeal to the people to change that policy, not by force, but by free elections and the ballot box. It is not pretended that I counseled disobedience to the Constitution or resistance to laws and lawful authority. I never have. Beyond this protest, I have nothing further to submit."

The Judge Advocate in reply said :

"I find nothing in the defence of the accused to call for remark, except that in regard to counsel and summoning of witnesses. He was permitted to have, and did have, counsel to consult with, and an opportunity was offered him to send for witnesses."

The court was now cleared, and the Commission, after a deliberation of three hours, came to a decision, which was submitted to General Burnside for his approval. The sentence, as subsequently promulgated by this officer, is here given, with the exception of the charge and specification, already printed on a previous page.

GENERAL ORDER—NO. 68.

"HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO,
CINCINNATI, OHIO, *May* 18, 1863.

"I. At a military Commission, which convened at Cincinnati, Ohio, on the 6th day of May, 1863, pursuant to Special Order No. 135, of April 21, 1863, current series, from these headquarters, and of which Brigadier-General Robert B. Potter, United States Volunteers, is President, was arraigned and tried Clement L. Vallandigham, a citizen of the State of Ohio, on the following charge and specification of charge, to wit :

"To which charge and specification the prisoner refusing to plead 'guilty' or 'not guilty,' the Commission directed the Judge Advocate to enter on the records the plea of 'not guilty.'

"The Commission, after mature deliberation on the evidence adduced and the statement of the accused, find the accused, Clement L. Vallandigham, a citizen of the State of Ohio, as follows :

"Of the specification (except the words, 'That propositions by which the Northern States could be won back, and the South guaranteed their rights under the Constitution, had been rejected the day before the last battle of Fredericksburg, by Lincoln and his minions,' meaning thereby the President of the United States, and those under him in authority ; and the words asserting that 'he firmly believed, as he asserted six months ago, that the men in power are attempting to establish a despotism in this country, more cruel and more oppressive than ever existed before'), 'guilty.'

"And as to these words, 'not guilty.

"Of the charge, 'guilty.'

"And the Commission do therefore sentence him, the said Clement L. Val-

landigham, a citizen of the State of Ohio, to be placed in close confinement in some fortress of the United States, to be designated by the commanding officer of this department, there to be kept during the continuance of the war.

"II. The proceedings, finding, and sentence in the foregoing case are approved and confirmed, and it is directed that the place of confinement of the prisoner, Clement L. Vallandigham, in accordance with said sentence, be Fort Warren, Boston Harbor.

"By command of
"Major-General Burnside.
"Lewis Richmond,
"Assistant-Adjutant General."

President Lincoln having commuted the sentence from confinement in Fort Warren to transportation within the lines of the enemy, Mr. Vallandigham was accordingly conveyed from Ohio to Tennessee, and passed by Gen. Rosecrans through his lines to the enemy's advanced picket guard at Shelbyville. **May 25.** Upon being delivered up by the Union guard, he said to the Confederate soldier who received him, "I am a citizen of the State of Ohio, and of the United States; I am here by force and against my will. I therefore surrender myself to you as a prisoner of war." He was courteously received by General Bragg at his headquarters. And notwithstanding a rumor that he was imprisoned, it soon became apparent that his freedom of movement was not interfered with.

Meanwhile, the Ohio Democratic convention met at Columbus, Ohio, and the Hon. Clement L. Vallandigham was nominated for Governor, **June 11.** by a vote of 448 out of 461. His nomination was subsequently made unanimous. At this convention, resolutions were unanimously adopted protesting against President Lincoln's emancipation proclamation; condemning martial law in loyal States where war does not exist; denouncing the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus;* protesting against the banishment of Hon. Clement L. Vallandigham, and invoking the President to recall him and restore him to all his rights as a citizen of the United States; declaring that, "we will hail with delight a desire of the seceded States to return to their allegiance, and that we will co-operate with the citizens of those States to restore peace; and that we insist upon the freedom of the press and the right of trial by jury."

Mr. Vallandigham, after a brief stay among the insurgents, found his way through a blockaded Southern port to Nassau, whence he proceeded to Canada. While at Niagara Falls, he issued an address to his political allies of Ohio, and accepted their nomination for the governorship of that State.

It is convenient here, though in advance of the regular course of the general narrative, to record the result of the extraordinary nomination, by the influential party of a great State for its chief office, of a man who was expiating an offence against the Federal authority. The election in Ohio took place on the 13th of October, and Mr. Vallandigham was defeated by his antagonist, Mr.

Brough, who was chosen by the large majority of more than 60,000.

The arrest, trial, and condemnation of Vallandigham by the military authorities agitated not only his own State of Ohio, but excited the public feeling in other parts of the country. Large assemblages gathered in Albany, New York, and Philadelphia, at which resolutions were passed and speeches delivered, denouncing the arrest of Mr. Vallandigham as an unwarrantable assumption of military authority. At the meeting in Albany, a letter was read from Governor Seymour, in which he spoke of the arrest of Mr. Vallandigham as "an act which has brought dishonor upon our country; which is full of danger to our persons and our homes, and which bears upon its front, conscious violation of law and justice."

Expressions of similar opinions from prominent men abounded at the meeting in Philadelphia. These assemblages were composed, it must be recollected, principally of those who, belonging to the Democratic party, might be considered political partisans of Mr. Vallandigham, although it would not be fair to impute to all of them an unconditional sympathy with his extreme views.

The Albany meeting having resolved that a copy of its resolutions should be transmitted to the President, Mr. Lincoln, on receiving them, replied in a long letter, controverting in detail the various positions assumed against the constitutionality of the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act and the legality of military arrests.

While justifying the general principles of such military arrests, Mr. Lincoln at the same time made this remarkable concession in regard to the particular case of Mr. Vallandigham:

"And yet, let me say," he added, "that, in my own discretion, I do not know whether I would have ordered the arrest of Mr. Vallandigham. While I cannot shift the responsibility from myself, I hold that, as a general rule, the commander in the field is the better judge of the necessity in any particular case. Of course I must practise a general directory and revisory power in the matter.

"One of the resolutions expresses the opinion of the meeting, that arbitrary arrests will have the effect to divide and distract those who should be united in suppressing the rebellion, and I am specifically called on to discharge Mr. Vallandigham. I regard this as, at least, a fair appeal to me on the expediency of exercising a constitutional power which I think exists. In response to such appeal I have to say, it gave me pain when I learned that Mr. Vallandigham had been arrested—that is, I was pained that there should have seemed to be a necessity for arresting him—and that it will afford me great pleasure to discharge him so soon as I can, by any means, believe the public safety will not suffer by it. I further say that, as the war progresses, it appears to me opinion and action, which were in great confusion at first, take shape and fall into more regular channels, so that the necessity for strong

dealing with them gradually decreases. I have every reason to desire that it should cease altogether, and far from the least is my regard for the opinions and wishes of those who, like the meeting at Albany, declare their purpose to sustain the Government in every constitutional and lawful measure to suppress the rebellion. Still, I must continue to do so much as may seem to be required by the public safety."

The expressions of indignation against the Government and sympathy with its offender, at these meetings of the "Democrats," and in some of their newspapers, provoked violent demonstrations of opposition. During the meeting at Albany, some returned soldiers disturbed the proceedings by manifestations of dissatisfaction, and finally rushing upon the stage, broke the chairs and tables, and strove to put to rout the speakers. The rioters, however, being few in number, were readily checked, and comparatively good order was secured.

In Philadelphia, the "Age" newspaper having made itself obnoxious by its persistent opposition to the Government and repeated expressions of sympathy with Vallandigham, not only in its printed columns but on its bulletins, a crowd collected in front of the office and tore in pieces one of the offensive placards.* The mob vented its indignation in cries of "Down with the Copperheads!" "Down with Vallandigham, the traitor!" as they tore into shreds the offensive bulletin. The proprietors of the *Age*, after having remonstrated with the excited crowd, pasted up another placard of similar tenor, which was at once torn down by a wounded soldier, amid cries of "Tear out the office," "Traitors ought to be hung," etc. As the mob had increased to a thousand or more men, the few policemen on duty were incapable of dispersing it. The mayor of the city then came to the rescue with a large detachment of the police, and succeeded finally in suppressing the tumult. The proprietors of the *Age* discreetly ceased from offending the public sentiment by obnoxious placards, but the editor opened fire upon his antagonists from his leading column.

The political movements in Kentucky were watched with eager interest by the Federal Government and all friends of the Union. The United States military authorities were constantly on the alert to encourage every manifestation of loyalty, and repress the least indication of disloyalty.

A "Democratic convention," as it was termed, though it was not recognized as such by all the Democrats of Kentucky, was invited to meet at Frankfort in accordance with the following call:

* The obnoxious placard was as follows:

East Side.—"Another terrible disaster—Retreat of our army—Rebel cavalry advancing on Falmouth—Capture of Grand Gulf—500 prisoners, arms, etc.

"Editorial—General Sigel snubbed.

"The moral of the campaign.

"The arbitrary arrest of Clement L. Vallandigham."

West Side.—"From the seat of war.

"Our army retreated to Falmouth.

"Rebel cavalry advancing on Falmouth.

"Capture of Grand Gulf, 500 prisoners, arms, etc.

"Editorial—General Sigel snubbed.

"The moral of the campaign.

"The arbitrary arrest of Clement L. Vallandigham."

"FRANKFORT, *Jan.* 31, 1863.

"Pursuant to a resolution of a meeting of the Democratic party held at the Cápitol in the city of Frankfort, on the 30th day of January, 1863, which reads as follows: 'Resolved, That the Central Committee be directed to call a convention for the purpose of nominating candidates for Governor and other State officers, to be elected at the next August election, to meet in the city of Frankfort on the 18th day of February, 1863'—a convention of the Democratic party is hereby called, to meet at the time and place designated by the above resolution, for the purposes therein mentioned.

"It is hoped that the Democracy in each county will proceed forthwith to appoint delegates to said convention.

"JEPTHA DUDLEY, S. I. M. MAJOR,
"G. W. CRADDOCK, M. B. CHINN,
"GRANT GREEN, T. N. LINDSEY,
"A. W. DUDLEY, A. J. JAMES,
"J. W. SOUTH,
"Democratic Central Committee."

That the proposed "Democratic Convention" was not favorably viewed by all the politicians in Kentucky professing to belong to that party, is apparent from this description, in the Louisville *Democrat*, of those who composed it:

"Some of those named as delegates are well known Union men, who were mostly not present—the rest not having been asked to serve—but appointed as a sort of blind. All the officers and active persons were and always have been active 'secesh,' and sympathizers with the rebellion. Many of them are on the record as having taken the oath of allegiance and being under bonds. They are proper Democrats, they are."

The delegates gathered at Frankfort to hold what they persistently called a Democratic Convention for the ostensible purpose of making nominations for the August elections in Kentucky. Their application for the use of the hall of the House of Representatives having been refused by a large vote, they rented the theatre. Delegates from forty counties being present, the convention was organized by the appointment of David Merriweather as chairman. On taking the chair, he expressed the hope that the convention would do nothing that good loyal citizens should not do.

"In the mean time," according to the telegraphic dispatch, "a regiment of soldiers, with fixed bayonets, formed in front of the theatre. When the call of counties was made, Colonel Gilbert read the following order:

"Reliable information having been received at these headquarters that a number of rebel spies and emissaries are in this city, it is ordered that all persons now here, not residents or members of the Legislature or officers of the State Government, forthwith leave their names at these headquarters, accompanied with satisfactory references as to their loyalty to the Government.

"Colonel Gilbert took the stand, he said, to facilitate the proceedings and save the convention trouble. He wished his adjutant would take the names of the delegates. He said: 'There are those here whom we know to be rebels of the loosest kind under the disguise

of the name of Democrats. You have assembled here with the hope of perfecting your designs. But it will not do. Repudiated by the Legislature, who have refused you the use of their hall, the Democratic newspapers scorn and disown you. There is no use of your holding a convention in Kentucky. There will be none but men of undoubted loyalty to the Government allowed to run for any office. Such meetings as this you shall not hold within the limits of my command; and to avoid difficulty, you will disperse to your homes, and in future desist from all such attempts to precipitate civil war upon your State.'

"After Colonel Gilbert had spoken, an attempt was made to offer resolutions, which were respectfully declined by Colonel Gilbert. The body then adjourned."

The Legislature of Kentucky continued to reiterate its loyalty to the Union, but at the same time did not cease its opposition to the policy of the Administration, which it carefully distinguished from the Government. The sentiments of the members were definitely expressed in a series of resolutions offered by the Committee on Federal relations, which they accepted, though rejecting the accompanying report. The resolutions were thirteen in number:

Feb. 27.

"The first, after stating that Kentucky was assailed by armed rebellion on one side, and unconstitutional usurpation on the other, recommended calmness, and invoked the aid of patriotic men.

"The second reaffirmed her loyalty to the Government.

"The third recognized a marked difference between the Government and the Administration.

"The fourth most solemnly protested against the Emancipation Proclamation, declaring it unconstitutional and void.

"The fifth declared the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* unconstitutional.

"The sixth declined compensated emancipation.

"The seventh declared it would hail with delight any manifestation of a desire on the part of the seceded States to return to their allegiance.

"The eighth adhered to the Constitution and the Union as the last hope of freedom, and sought redress for all wrongs, under the Constitution and in the Union, by a resort to the peaceful but powerful agencies of the ballot-box.

"The ninth hailed with pleasurable hope the recent manifestations of conservative sentiment in the Free States.

"The tenth recommended a call of a National Convention, for the purpose of proposing amendments to the Constitution. The eleventh recommended a Mississippi Valley State Convention, with a view of consulting how to preserve the whole Government, and preventing one or more States from seizing the mouth of the Mississippi River. The twelfth declared that the laws of this State must be maintained and enforced."

Upon the arrival of General Burnside to assume the command of the Depart

ment of the Ohio, he took measures to repress all disloyal manifestations in Kentucky. He issued an order, pronouncing the penalty of death on all persons found guilty of aiding the rebels, declaring that all sympathizers with them should be arrested and tried or sent beyond the lines.

As the election in Kentucky approached, General Burnside's orders became still more stringent, and finally on the day before, when the enemy seemed to be making a demonstration to influence the suffrage of the citizens, he issued an order declaring the State of Kentucky invaded by a rebel force with the avowed intention of overawing the judges of election, intimidating loyal voters, keeping them from the polls, and forcing the election of disloyal candidates. "The military of the Government being the only force," declared the orders, "that can defeat such an attempt, the State of Kentucky is therefore placed under martial law." All military officers were commanded to aid the constituted authorities of the State in the support of the laws and in preserving the purity of the suffrage. The order closed with the declaration that—

July 31.

"The legally appointed judges at the polls will be held strictly responsible that no disloyal person be allowed to vote, and to this end the military power of the Government is ordered to give them its utmost support."

There were two parties struggling for the ascendency in Kentucky, called the "Union" and the "Democratic," both professing to be attached to the Federal Government, but the former supposed to be more unconditionally so. Colonel Bramlette was the candidate for Governor of the "Union" party, and the Hon. C. A. Wickliffe that of the "Democratic."

Such were the prudent prevision and decided action of the military authorities, that the threatened intrusion of the secessionists in the election was thwarted. The triumph of the Union party was the result. Colonel Bramlette, the *more decided* Unionist, and most of the candidates for Congress, whose opinions were supposed to be equally unequivocal, were elected by large majorities.

General Burnside, extending the severity of his military rule to the other States within his department besides Kentucky, was met by demonstrations of popular opposition. Having suppressed the Chicago *Times*, the citizens showed their indignation by a large and excited meeting, at which resolutions were passed denouncing this military interference with the freedom of the press. On an appeal being made by some prominent men of Illinois to the President, he was prevailed on to revoke the order in regard to the Chicago paper. At the same time, General Burnside,* of his own accord, relieved the N. Y. *World* from the ban he had imposed upon its circulation.

---

* "LEXINGTON, KY., *June* 4, 1863.

"EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK WORLD:

"Having been directed by the President of the United States to revoke that part of my order suppressing the Chicago *Times*, I have revoked the entire order, and your paper will be allowed its circulation in this Department

"A. E. BURNSIDE, Major-General."

CHAPTER VII.

The Federal Authority established in Missouri.—The State disturbed by Political Discord and Guerrilla Warfare.—Hicks on the Kansas River.—Capture of United States Steamers.—Hicks' Band Dispersed.—Marmaduke enters Missouri.—His Attack on Cape Girardeau repulsed.—Marmaduke Pursued.—His Rear-guard overtaken.—His final Escape with most of his Booty.—Richmond and Plattsburg plundered.—Jeff. Thompson captured.—Obstructions to Navigation of the Rivers.—Burning of Steamers at St. Louis and elsewhere.—Political Parties.—The Radicals and Conservatives.—Emancipation Resolutions.—The immediate Abolitionists.—Their Convention and Address to the President.—Answer of the President.—Manifesto of the Conservatives.

THOUGH the Federal authority had been effectually established in Missouri, not only by force of arms, but by the will of its people, its repose continued to be disturbed. Political discord agitated the whole State, and its borders were still the frequent scenes of guerrilla warfare. A band of marauders, under Hicks, was able, by skulking along the banks of the Missouri River where it bounds the State of Kansas, to interfere seriously with its navigation. On the 28th of March they captured the Government steamers Sam Gatty and Murdock, threw overboard 300 sacks of flour, and forty-eight wagon-beds belonging to the Government, and considerable private property, and carried off nine negroes, two soldiers, and several thousand dollars. General Blunt, stationed at Leavenworth, in Kansas, however, was on the alert, and was soon able to report that Major Raum, of the Sixth Kansas, had destroyed Hicks' band of guerrillas in Jackson County, Mo., killing seventeen and hanging two engaged in the robbery of the Sam Gatty, and that he had recovered some of the "contrabands," and captured twenty-one of the bushwhackers' horses, and seven guerrilla camps with all their equipage, ammunition, etc.

1863.

Again, a large force of marauders, under General Marmaduke, crossed the southeastern border of Missouri, and advanced boldly into the State, stripping the country of everything movable. On approaching Cape Girardeau, they demanded the surrender of the place. General McNeill, the Union commander of the post, having returned a defiant reply, they attacked him, and were repulsed. McNeill, being reinforced, pursued the enemy, who were hastily retreating with their long train of over a hundred wagons loaded with plunder. General Vandeveer also joined in the pursuit, and strove to cut them off. Pressing hard upon Marmaduke, he succeeded in overtaking his rear-guard and attacked it twice, capturing many prisoners, and recovering considerable property. Vandeveer continued the pursuit as far as Chalk Bluff, near the Arkansas line, but the enemy

April 26.

escaped with the larger portion of their booty.

Notwithstanding the "destruction" of Hicks' band near the borders of Kansas, another guerrilla party made its appearance in the same neighborhood toward the close of May, and plundered the towns of Richmond and Plattsburg.

The capture, at Pocahontas, Ark., of the noted General Jeff. Thompson, who had become conspicuous as a partisan leader, and so often disturbed the repose of Missouri by his daring invasions, was a source of great satisfaction to the Unionists. Jeff. Thompson was stationed near the border of Missouri, for the purpose of recruiting a force from the disaffected of that State, and had established himself at Pocahontas, with a large staff and a body-guard of nearly 200 men. A plan was devised, by the Union commander of the post of Pilot Knob, to surprise and capture him, which proved successful. It is impracticable to narrate all the details of the irregular warfare which continued to be waged in portions of Missouri. A writer* thus testifies to its desolating effects.

Aug. 23.

"Life in isolated localities in the interior," he says, writing from St. Louis, October 1, 1863, "is anything but pleasant. Crops are unharvested, farms untilled, orchards untouched, ruin and decay settling everywhere. The guerrillas have made it unsafe to do out-door work without a guard, and valuable plantations and farms have been abandoned for this reason. The towns and villages offering no support, the refugees from the interior are flocking hither at the rate of 500 persons per week. Small and cheap tenements are in great demand. The guerrillas have had free swing in many counties, and their presence is like that of a swarm of locusts, devouring everything in their path. North Missouri has suffered severely from this depopulating process during the last few weeks, and still the bushwhackers abound."

Besides those desolating raids on land, the navigation of the Missouri River was constantly interrupted by guerrilla bands firing from the banks upon passing vessels. An order was consequently issued by the commandant of the post at Jefferson City, forbidding all steamboats to pass that point without a planking five inches thick around the pilot-houses, as the pilots had been so frequently shot. The burning of a number of steamboats by incendiaries at the levee of St. Louis, coincident with that of several upon the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, in accordance, as was supposed, with a general plot of the enemy, served to increase the public anxiety in the much-vexed State of Missouri.

Political dissension added its torments to the other troubles of the State. Although the citizens, generally, of Missouri, had reached the conviction that their best interests demanded the extinction of slavery, they were much divided in regard to the manner of accomplishing it. Great as was the discord on this subject, there was a unanimous expression, at least on the part

* N. Y. *Herald.*

of the chosen representatives of public opinion, of attachment to the Union. The senators of the United States, elected by the Legislature, were, though not the political adherents of the Administration, undoubtedly supporters of the Federal Government. The unwelcome reception given by Governor Gamble and the Legislature to the Delaware resolutions in favor of an armistice, showed them to be in favor of prosecuting the war, while the readiness with which they concurred in the adoption of a scheme for emancipation, evinced a disposition to further the administrative policy for the restoration of the Union. A resolution asking Congress to appropriate 25,000,000 of dollars to compensate owners for the liberation of their slaves, was passed by a large majority.

Jan. 29.

A convention of the State, called chiefly for the purpose of providing for emancipation, met on the 15th of June, and passed the following ordinance, by a vote of fifty-one against thirty-six:

"SECTION 1. The first and second clauses of the twenty-sixth section of the third article of the Constitution is hereby abrogated.

"SEC. 2. That slavery or involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, shall cease to exist in Missouri on the 4th of July, 1870, and all slaves within the State on that day are hereby declared to be free: provided, however, that all persons emancipated by this ordinance shall remain under the control and be subject to their late owners, or their legal representatives, as servants during the following period, to wit: Those over forty years of age, for and during their lives; those under twelve, until they arrive at the age of twenty-three; and those of all other ages until the 4th of July, 1870. The persons, or their legal representatives who, up to the moment of emancipation, were owners of slaves hereby freed, shall, during the period for which the services of such freed men are reserved to them, have the same authority and control over the said freed men for the purpose of receiving the possessions and services of the same that are now held by the master in respect of his slaves; provided, however, that after the said 4th of July, 1870, no person so held to service shall be sold to non-residents or removed from the State by authority of his late owner or his legal representative.

"SEC. 3. All slaves hereafter brought into the State, and not now belonging to citizens of the State, shall thereupon be free.

"SEC. 4. All slaves removed by consent of their owners to any seceded State after the passage by such State of an act or ordinance of secession, and thereafter brought into the State by their owners, shall thereupon be free.

SEC. 5. The General Assembly shall have no power to pass laws to emancipate slaves without the consent of their owners.

"SEC. 6. After the passage of this ordinance, no slave in this State shall be subject to State, county, or municipal taxes."

Governor Gamble, who at the opening of the convention had resigned his

provisional Governorship, at the close consented to hold it until the election of a successor on the regular day, in August.

The ordinance providing for gradual emancipation, passed by the convention, excited great opposition on the part of many of the people of Missouri, who were in favor of the immediate abolition of slavery. An angry political dispute ensued, and the Unionists of Missouri became divided into two parties, the "Radicals" and "Conservatives." Although the question of slavery, the former being in favor of immediate, and the latter of gradual, emancipation, was the main cause of their contention, they soon became so antagonistic as to disagree on all points. Gamble, who had been re-elected Governor, and General Schofield, who had succeeded General Curtis as the U. S. commander-in-chief in Missouri, supposed to be exclusively devoted to the Conservative interest, became especially obnoxious to the Radicals, who vigorously strove to deprive them of office. The Federal Administration having resolutely withstood their importunities, a committee was finally appointed by a committee of the "Radical Union men," to address the President of the United States upon the condition of Missouri. A document was accordingly prepared and presented to Mr. Lincoln, in which the immediate abolition of slavery in the State was emphatically advocated, and the policy of the Federal Administration in regard to this subject, and the conduct of civil and military affairs in Missouri, and those to whom they were intrusted, were bitterly complained of. President Lincoln in answer, after justifying his policy and the action of his officers, concluded with the general remark:

"I do not feel justified to enter upon the broad field you present in regard to the political difference between the radicals and conservatives. From time to time I have done and said what appeared to me proper to do and say. It obliges nobody to follow me, and I trust it obliges me to follow nobody. The radicals and conservatives each agree with me in some things, and disagree in others. I could wish both to agree with me in all things; then they would agree with each other, and would be too strong for any foe from any quarter. They, however, choose to do otherwise. I don't question their right. I, too, shall do what seems to be my duty. I hold that, whoever commands in Missouri is responsible to me, and not to either radicals or conservatives. It is my duty to hear all; but at least I must, within my sphere, judge what to do and what to forbear to do."

The "Conservatives" issued a counter-manifesto to the address of the "Radicals." In this they justified the conduct of the military and civil officers of Missouri, and defended the plan of gradual emancipation of the slaves:

"The State Convention," they said, "having adjusted the question of emancipation in a manner which should afford general satisfaction, we reprobate the effort which is being made to disturb it. The destruction of the institution of slavery is quite as rapid under that

ordinance as the interest of society or the good of the slave would seem to justify, and we cannot but view the project of immediate emancipation, advocated by the radical party in this State, as not only impolitic and unjust to the master, but cruel and inhuman to the slave."

The "Radicals," moreover, were bitterly denounced as revolutionists, whose intolerance outstripped that of the secessionists:

"They misrepresent and calumniate every man who differs with them in opinion. They deny that there are any Union men outside of their own party, and charge such men as the President of the United States, Major-General Blair, Major-General Schofield, General Totten, and other officers who have distinguished themselves on the battle-field, as Copperheads; and if the gallant Lyon could reappear in our midst, they would, no doubt, denounce him as the chief of Copperheads.

"These denunciations of our patriotic soldiers and most loyal citizens are uttered by the leaders of this party, who have remained quietly at home during the entire war. Such denunciations can deceive no one; but we allude to them as furnishing evidence of the means to which these lawless men resort to accomplish their purposes."

CHAPTER VIII.

The War in Kansas.—Quantrell's Raid on Lawrence.—Ravages committed.—Movements of Union Troops to intercept Quantrell.—Failure to catch him.—Excitement in Kansas.—Revenge.—General Lane's Views.—Severe Policy of the Union Military Authorities on the Borders of Missouri.—A District depopulated.—Motives explained.—The Conflict in Arkansas.—Guerrillas.—Union Movements.—Price and Marmaduke in Arkansas.—Their Movements.—Counter-movements of Union Troops.—Clayton's Expedition.—The War in the Indian Territory.—The Union Posts and their Defences.—Fort Gibson threatened, but the advancing Enemy driven back.—Supposed Advance of Price.—A Feint to Hide his Attack on Helena.—The Assault on Helena.—The Enemy repulsed.—Blunt's Campaign in the Indian Territory and Arkansas.—Blunt's Address to the Arkansas People.—Occupation of Little Rock by the Unionists.—Blunt and his Escort attacked by Quantrell.

1863.

KANSAS, less from elements of disorder within itself than from its contiguity to the infected State of Missouri, was subjected to ravage by the guerrilla bands of the enemy. General Blunt, who had been stationed at Leavenworth, having moved to the south of Kansas, toward the Indian Territory, the noted Quantrell took the occasion to make a sudden raid in his rear, and pounce upon the unguarded city of Lawrence. Entering early at sunrise, he took the citizens by surprise, and shot them down before they were able to make the least attempt at resistance. One hundred and forty of the people of Lawrence were thus killed, twenty-four wounded, one hundred and eighty-five

buildings burned, and a large quantity of booty carried off.

Quantrell having gathered together about 300 of the most desperate marauders of the border counties of Missouri, passed into Kansas on the 20th of August, at a point about forty miles south of Kansas City, Missouri.

Brigadier-General Thomas Ewing, Jun., who held the command on the border, with his headquarters at Kansas City, had been for some time suspicious of Quantrell's movement, and disposed his forces accordingly. By an "error of judgment" of one of his subordinates, the opportunity of overtaking the marauders before they could consummate their design was lost.

"Captain Pike, commanding two companies at Aubrey," reports General Ewing, "received information of the presence of Quantrell on Grand River, at half-past five o'clock P.M. of the 20th of August. He promptly forwarded the information up and down the line, and to my headquarters, and called in his scouting parties to march upon them. One hour and a half later he received information that Quantrell had just passed into Kansas. Unhappily, however, instead of setting out at once in pursuit, he remained at the station, and merely sent information of Quantrell's movement to my headquarters and Captain Coleman, commanding two companies at Little Santa Fé, twelve miles north of the line. Captain Coleman, with near 100 men, marched at once to Aubrey, and the available force of the two stations, numbering about 200 men, set out at midnight in pursuit. But Quantrell's path was over the open prairie, and difficult to follow at night, so that our forces gained but little on him. By Captain Pike's error of judgment in failing to follow promptly and closely, the surest means of arresting the terrible blow was thrown away—for Quantrell never would have gone as far as Lawrence, or attacked it, with a hundred men close on his rear."

General Ewing, on receiving Captain Pike's dispatches reporting what he knew and what he had and had not done, strove to make up for the lost time by the utmost rapidity of action.

"The first dispatch of Captain Pike reached here," says the General, writing from his headquarters at Kansas City, August 31, 1863, "thirty-five miles north of Aubrey, at half-past eleven P.M.; the second, an hour later. Before one o'clock, Major Plumb, my chief of staff, at the head of about 500 men (which was all that could be got here and at Westport), started southward, and at daylight heard, at Olathe, twenty-five miles from here, that the enemy had passed at midnight through Gardner, eighteen miles from Lawrence, going toward that town. Pushing on, Major Plumb overtook Captains Coleman and Pike, six miles southeast of Lawrence, at half-past ten o'clock, Friday, the 21st instant, and by the light of the blazing farm-houses saw that the enemy had got six miles south of Lawrence, on their way out of the State. The enemy were overtaken near Palmyra by Major Plumb's command, to which were there

added from fifty to one hundred citizens who had been hastily assembled, and led in pursuit by General Lane.

"By this time the horses of our detachments were almost exhausted. Nearly all were young horses, just issued to the companies, and had marched more than sixty-five miles without rest and without food from the morning of the 20th. Quantrell had his men mounted on the best horses of the border, and had collected fresh ones going to and at Lawrence, almost enough to remount his command. He skilfully kept over a hundred of his best mounted and best trained men in the rear, and often formed line of battle to delay pursuit, and give time and rest to the most wearied of his forces. By the time our scattered soldiers and citizens could get up and form line, the guerrillas' rear-guard would, after a volley, break into column, and move off at a speed which defied pursuit. Thus the chase dragged through the afternoon, over the prairie, generally following no roads or paths, until eight, when Quantrell's rear-guard formed line of battle three miles north of Paola, and twenty miles from where they entered the State. A skirmish ensued, the guerrillas breaking and scattering so that our forces in the darkness lost the trail, and went into Paola for food and rest, while search was being made for it.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Clark, Ninth Kansas Volunteers, with headquarters at Coldwater Grove, was in command of the troops on the border south of Little Santa Fé, including the stations at Aubrey, Coldwater Grove (thirteen miles south of Aubrey), Rockville (thirteen miles south of Coldwater Grove), Choteau's Trading Post (fifteen miles south of Rockville), and Harrisonville. There were two companies at each station, but the force out patrolling rarely left fifty men in camp at each post. He received Captain Pike's message as to the gathering of Quantrell's forces on Grand River on the night of the 20th, and at once sent for the spare troops at Rockville and Trading Post to march up to Coldwater Grove. At three o'clock on the morning of the 21st, he received a dispatch from Captain Coleman, at Aubrey, saying that Quantrell had crossed into Kansas ; and he set out with thirty men, following Quantrell's trail nearly to Gardner, and thence going south to Paola, reaching there at five P.M. With this command, and a force of perhaps fifty citizens, and a part of Captain Beuter's Company of the Thirteenth Kansas Infantry, which had been garrisoning Paola, he prepared to attack Quantrell at the ford of Bull Creek, three miles south of Paola, toward which he was then retreating. But Quantrell, on coming within four or five miles of that crossing, soon after dark, formed line of battle, as I stated above, broke trail, turned sharp to the north, and dodged and bewildered the force in waiting for him, as well as that in pursuit. These troops at the ford returned to Paola about the time the command which had followed Quantrell reached there. One of the parties in search of the trail found it five miles

north of Paola, and reported the fact to Lieutenant-Colonel Clark, who was then ranking officer there, at between one and two o'clock. He was slow in ordering pursuit, which was not renewed until daybreak. He at that time sent Captain Coleman forward, with thirty men of the Ninth Kansas, which he himself had brought to Paola, and forty of the same regiment which had got there from Trading Post at about two o'clock that morning, and about seventy militia, chiefly of Linn County. He marched soon after himself with the troops which had followed Quantrell the day before.

"Half an hour before Major Plumb started from Kansas City on the night of the 21st, Captain Palmer, Eleventh Kansas, was sent by him from Westport with fifty men of his company down the line to near Aubrey, where he met a messenger from Captain Coleman, directing reinforcements to Spring Hill, at which point he struck Quantrell's trail and followed it to within seven miles of Lawrence. Thence, learning that Quantrell had gone south, he turned southeast; and at Lanesfield (Uniontown) was joined by a force about eighty strong, under Major Phillips, composed of detachments of Captain Smith's company, E. M. M., Captain Killen's, Ninth Kansas, and a squad of the Fifth Kansas. This latter force had been collected by Major Thacher at Westport, and dispatched from there at noon on Friday, the 21st, *via* Lexington, Kansas. The command of Major Phillips, thus increased to 130, pushed southeast from Lanesfield, and struck Quantrell's trail about sunrise, five miles north of Paola, and but a little behind the commands of Coleman and Clark.

"Major Thacher, commanding at Westport when news arrived that Quantrell was returning by way of the Osage Valley, took the rest of the mounted troops on the upper border (Co. A, Ninth, and E., Eleventh Kansas, numbering 120 men), and moved down the line. He struck Quantrell's trail below Aubrey, immediately in the rear of Lieutenant-Colonel Clark's command.

"Quantrell, when after dark he had baffled his pursuers, stopped to rest five miles northeast of Paola, and there, after midnight, a squad of Linn County militia, under Captain Pardee, alarmed the camp. He at once moved on, and between that point and the Kansas line his column came within gunshot of the advance of about 150 of the Fourth M. S. M., under Lieutenant-Colonel King, which had been ordered from the country of the Little Blue, in Jackson County, down the line to interrupt him. The advance apprised Lieutenant-Colonel King of the approach of another force. Skirmishers were thrown out, but Quantrell, aided by the darkness and the broken character of the prairie, eluded the force and passed on. Lieutenant-Colonel King was unable to find his trail that night.

"The pursuing forces thus thrown behind, Quantrell passed out of Kansas and got to the timber of the middle fork of Grand River in Missouri, near his last rendezvous, before starting, about

noon of the 22d, an hour in advance of the head of the pursuing column. There his force scattered. Many dismounted, or, worn out through fatigue or wounds, sought concealment and safety in the fastnesses of that region. About 100 moved down Grand River, while the chief part of the force passed northeast toward Chapel Hill. Our forces divided in like manner at that point, Major Plumb and Major Thacher following the main body. * * *

"News reaching me at Leavenworth City," adds General Ewing, "of the burning of Lawrence, and of the avowed purpose of the rebels to go thence to Topeka, I thought it best to go to De Soto, and thence—after an unavoidable delay of five hours, in crossing the Kansas River—to Lanesfield. Finding there, at daybreak, that Quantrell had passed east, I left the command to follow as rapidly as possible, and pushed on, reaching, soon after dark, the point on Grand River where Quantrell's force had scattered.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Lazear, with the detachments of the First Missouri from Warrensburg and Pleasant Hill, numbering about 200 men, after failing to find Quantrell on the Blackwater on the 22d, encountered him at noon of the 23d on Big Creek, broke up his force, and has since had five very successful engagements with different parties of his band.

"The pursuit of Quantrell, after our forces had caught up with him at Brooklyn, was so close, that he was unable to commit any further damage to property on his route, but was compelled to abandon almost all his horses, and much of the plunder from the Lawrence stores; and since he reached Missouri, a large part of his men have abandoned their horses and taken to the brush afoot. The number of equipments so far captured exceeds 100, and the number of participants in the massacre already killed is fully as great. The most unremitting efforts are being made to hunt down the remainder of the band before they recover from the pursuit.

"Familiar as many of Quantrell's men were with our prairies—unobstructed as to course by any roads or fords, with a rolling country to traverse, as open as the sea—to head off his well-mounted, compact, and well-disciplined force, was extremely difficult. The troops which followed and overtook him south of Lawrence, without a co-operating force to stop him, were practically useless from exhaustion; and the forces which did not follow, but undertook to head him, failed, though they nearly all exerted themselves to the utmost to accomplish it. There were few of the troops which did not travel 100 miles in the first twenty-four hours of the pursuit. Many horses were killed. Four men of the Eleventh Ohio were sun-stricken, among them Lieutenant Dick, who accompanied me, and who fell dead on dismounting to rest. The citizens engaged in pursuit, though they were able generally to keep close upon the enemy between Brooklyn and Paola, killing and wounding many stragglers and men in the rear-guard, were without the requisite arms, organization, or

numbers to successfully encounter the enemy."

The people of Kansas, naturally greatly enraged at the savage assault upon the unoffending town of Lawrence, were eager to avenge it. General Lane—the senator from Kansas, whose heart had been tempered to severity by his long experience in border warfare, and who having had his place of residence destroved during the attack upon Lawrence, was less than ever inclined to mercy—advised the most cruel retaliation. At his suggestion, General Ewing was prevailed upon to issue an order depopulating the district bordering on the State of Kansas.

"On the 25th of August," says the General, "I issued an order requiring all residents of the counties of Jackson, Cass, Bates, and that part of Vernon included in this district, except those within a mile of the limits of the military stations and the garrisoned towns, and those north of Bush Creek and west of the Big Blue, to remove from their present places of residence within fifteen days from that date—those who proved their loyalty to be allowed to move out of the district or to any military station in it, or to any part of Kansas west of the border counties—all others to remove out of the district."

"To obtain the full military advantages of this removal of the people," added General Ewing, "I have ordered the destruction of all grain and hay, in shed or in the field, not near enough to military stations for removal there. I have also ordered from the towns occupied as military stations a large number of persons either openly or secretly disloyal, to prevent the guerrillas getting information of the townspeople, which they will no longer be able to get of the farmers. The execution of these orders will possibly lead to a still fiercer and more active struggle, requiring the best use of the additional troops the General Commanding has sent me, but will soon result, though with much unmerited loss and suffering, in putting an end to this savage border war."

General Ewing made the disloyal character of the inhabitants the justification for his severity.

"When the war broke out," he says in his report, "the district to which this order applies was peopled by a community three-fourths of whom were intensely disloyal. The avowed loyalists have been driven from their farms long since, and their houses and improvements generally destroyed. They are living in Kansas, and at military stations in Missouri, unable to return to their homes. None remain on their farms but rebel and neutral families, and practically the condition of their tenure is that they shall feed, clothe, and shelter the guerrillas, furnish them information, and deceive or withhold information from us. The exceptions are few—perhaps twenty families in those parts of the counties to which the order applies. Two-thirds of those who left their families on the border and went to the rebel armies have returned. They dare not stay at home, and no matter what terms of amnesty may be granted, they can

never live in the country except as brigands; and so long as their families and associates remain, they will stay until the last man is killed, to ravage every neighborhood of the border. I was about adopting, before this raid, measures for the removal of the families of the guerrillas and of known rebels, under which two-thirds of the families affected by this order would have been compelled to go. That order would have been most difficult of execution, and not half so effectual as this. Though this measure may seem too severe, I believe it will prove not inhuman, but merciful to the non-combatants affected by it. Those who prove their loyalty will find houses enough at the stations, and will not be allowed to suffer for want of food. Among them there are but few dissatisfied with the order, notwithstanding the present hardships it imposes. Among the Union refugees it is regarded as the best assurance they have ever had of a return to their homes, and permanent peace there."

Though the numbers of the marauders in western Missouri had been temporarily diminished, and though they had for a time been kept in check, they had now suddenly increased beyond control.

"Since the fall of Vicksburg, and the breaking up of large parts of Price's and Marmaduke's armies," says General Ewing, "great numbers of rebel soldiers, whose families live in western Missouri, have returned, and being unable or unwilling to live at home, have joined the bands of guerrillas infesting the border. Companies, which before this summer mustered but twenty or thirty, have now grown to fifty or one hundred. All the people of the country, through fear or favor, feed them, and rarely any give information as to their movements. Having all the inhabitants, by good-will or compulsion, thus practically their friends, and being familiar with the fastnesses of a country wonderfully adapted by nature to guerrilla warfare, they have been generally able to elude the most energetic pursuit. When assembled in a body of several hundred, they scatter before an inferior force, and when our troops scatter in pursuit, they reassemble to fall on an exposed squad, or a weakened post, or a defenceless strip of the border. I have had seven stations on the line, from which patrols have each night and each day traversed every foot of the border for ninety miles."

With but a small force withheld from the armies of Generals Grant, Steel, and Blunt, numbering less than 3,000 men and officers, and having over twenty-five posts to provide for, General Ewing had an arduous field of duty. His men, however, he declared, had "worked hard, and until this raid [that of Lawrence] successfully, in hunting down the guerrillas and protecting the stations and the border. They have killed more than a hundred of them in petty skirmishes and engagements between the 18th of June and 20th of August."

The conflict in Arkansas, as in the neighboring State of Missouri, had, from the exhausted resources of the enemy, dwindled to a partisan warfare. The

Unionists, with their posts on the Missouri and Mississippi borders, kept watch over the guerrilla bands of Arkansas, and sent occasional scouting parties to hunt them out of their skulking places. Thus Captain I. J. Worthington, with two companies of the First Arkansas Cavalry, having been dispatched from Fayetteville, Ark., held by a Union force, composed principally of Arkansas recruits under Colonel Harrison, to Carroll County, Ark., returned on the 3d of April, "after four skirmishes with the rebels. He killed twenty-two, and took seven prisoners," and had but one of his own men wounded. The enemy, with a force of about 3,000 men and four pieces of artillery, under General Cabell, made a bold attempt on the 18th of April to drive the Unionists from their post at Fayetteville, but after a fight of four hours were driven off and forced to a disorderly retreat toward Ozark.

It having been determined to break up the guerrilla bands of Arkansas, Colonel Clayton started for this purpose on the 6th of May, from Helena, Ark., on the Mississippi River, with a force of 1,200 cavalry, 1,000 infantry, and one section of artillery. While looking after the guerrilla chief, Dobbins, Colonel Clayton discovered that the famous General Price was between the Arkansas and White rivers, with three brigades of infantry and four companies of artillery, and that General Marmaduke was encamped with his whole command up Taylor's Creek. Clayton determined to march against the latter, and accordingly, after leaving a company to guard the bridge over the river Langueville, which he had crossed, set out with a detachment—the rest of his force, under Colonel Jenkins, having gone in search of Dobbins—of 230 men of the First Indiana Cavalry, and two small steel rifled guns.

"He had proceeded," says a chronicler, "but a short distance before the two forces came together. After a brisk fight, our small force succeeded in driving Marmaduke from the town (Taylor's Creek) to the wood above the town, on the Wittsburg road."

The enemy again attacked and driven from this cover, Colonel Clayton marched to the Langueville bridge, which he defended against an assault by Marmaduke, who was forced to retreat to the neighboring hills. Colonel Clayton remained at the bridge for a while, with the hope of being joined by Colonel Jenkins, but finding that it was possible for the enemy to ford the river and cut off his retreat, he determined to move. Not destroying the bridge lest Jenkins might want it, and lighting the camp fires to deceive the enemy, Clayton quietly marched to Helena.

Meanwhile, Colonel Jenkins, also discovering the presence of Marmaduke, gave up his pursuit of Dobbins and hastened to join Clayton at the bridge. On his march, he was met by a portion of Marmaduke's force, which he, however, succeeded in repelling. He thus was enabled to cross the river Langueville in safety and join Clayton at Helena.

The results of Clayton's expedition were thus summed up :

"1. A complete and thorough examination of the country lying east of the Bayou De Vue as far south as White River, and north as far as Madison.

"2. We have ascertained to a certainty the position of a large portion of General Price's forces.

"3. We have destroyed at least one hundred thousand dollars' worth of the enemy's supplies.

"4. We have administered to General Marmaduke's command one more severe castigation. All of this has been accomplished with the loss of but two men killed and eighteen wounded, and without the loss of any arms, equipments, or public property.

"The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded, thus far ascertained, is about 150, including four captains and five lieutenants."

The Indian Territory, on the west of Arkansas, and on the south of Kansas, now became the scene of active hostilities. Colonel Phillips, the Union commander of the Territory, was stationed at Port Gibson on the Arkansas River. He had renewed and strengthened the old works, and rechristened the post Fort Blunt.

Some of the enemy's detached parties had occasionally penetrated the Indian Territory from Arkansas, but Colonel Phillips had succeeded in driving them back. At Webber's Falls, early in May, he had defeated a considerable force and driven it across the Arkansas River at Fort Smith. General Price having, in the mean time, advanced toward the western border of Arkansas, sent a considerable detachment of his force across the Arkansas River into the Indian Territory. Phillips, after a severe struggle, succeeded in again driving the enemy back. "Our loss was thirty killed, and the enemy's was much greater."

May 20.

The approach of Price with a large force caused great consternation among the settlers in the Indian Territory, but Colonel Phillips did not lose courage. The movement of General Price into the Indian Territory proved to be merely a demonstration to mask a more serious attempt upon Helena, on the Mississippi, which was finally made, after several weeks of preliminary skirmishing, on the 4th of July. General Prentiss held the Union post at Helena with about 4,000 troops and several gun-boats. The number of the enemy was estimated to be from 9,000 to 15,000, under Price, Holmes, and Marmaduke. They advanced in three columns, and being unable from the roughness of the ground to bring up their artillery, attempted to carry the works. The centre column charged and took three lines of rifle-pits, but the other columns on the flanks failed, and became exposed to an enfilading fire, which did them great damage.

At the commencement of the attack, General Prentiss was evidently anxious, and wrote in the morning thus despondingly to Hurlburt, the major-general in command at Memphis:

"We have been hard pressed since

daylight by the combined forces of Price, Holmes, Marmaduke, Parsons, and others. Thus far we have held our own, and captured several hundred prisoners, whom I send you on board the steamer Tycoon.

"The enemy are now evidently preparing for a renewed attack in force. Send on another gun-boat, if possible. The Tyler has done good service to-day."

In the afternoon, however, he wrote more cheerfully, saying:

"We have repulsed the enemy at every point. Our soldiers are now collecting their wounded. We have taken in all 1,200 prisoners. The rebel loss in killed will reach 500 or 600. Although the rebels are badly whipped, there is no doubt but that they will renew the attack, and are now massing their troops for that purpose.

"My force is inferior to that of the rebels, but with the aid expected from you and the gun-boats, the rebels will be severely beaten."

The enemy had been more thoroughly beaten than General Prentiss had at first supposed, but on the next day he had risen to a full conception of his success, which he thus reported to the Commander-in-chief at Washington:

"We encountered the enemy, 15,000 strong, under Generals Holmes, Price, Marmaduke, and others, on the morning of the 4th of July, and whipped them handsomely. We have captured 1,000 prisoners, 1,200 stand of arms, and two colors. Our total loss will not exceed 250. The enemy's losses are very severe—not less than 2,500 in killed, wounded, and prisoners."

When General Price was repulsed at Helena, General Blunt hastened to reinforce Colonel Phillips at Fort Gibson, not now menaced by the Texans from the south, but by Price forced back from the east and turning to the west. Blunt having moved from Leavenworth to Fort Scott, in Kansas, started thence with all the mounted men he could muster for the Indian Territory. On reaching Fort Gibson, and finding that the enemy had retired, he followed them in pursuit with 2,500 men and twelve guns. After a march of fifty miles, he overtook the enemy, consisting of several thousand men under General Cooper, in a strong position on Elk Creek, a branch of the Canadian River. He attacked them at once, and totally routed them, capturing sixty prisoners, three stand of colors, two pieces of artillery, and 500 small-arms. Blunt's loss was but ten killed and five wounded, while that of the enemy was 200 killed and 400 wounded. Blunt followed the flying enemy through the Indian Territory to within forty miles of Red River, which divides it on the south from Texas. On returning, he crossed from the Indian Territory, where he took possession of Fort Smith without opposition. Here he was detained for some weeks by illness. Meanwhile, the General issued an address to the people of western Arkansas, telling them that the Federal occupation was permanent, the whole of the Indian Territory and western Arkansas being

July 16.

Sept. 2.

under his control, and the rebel troops driven beyond the Red River followed by the most anxious rebel citizens. He was confirmed in his statement, he declared, by the love for the Union exhibited in western Arkansas, the joy manifested at the appearance of his troops, the reports of the delegations from the interior of southern Arkansas which had visited him, and by the arrival of hundreds of refugees to enlist in his army.

"Many applications," he said, at the close of his address, "have been made by citizens for safeguards. None will be issued. The best safeguard you can have is the American flag unfurled over your premises, and if you deport yourselves as becomes good loyal citizens, your conduct must be your safeguard. If it be your desire to disenthral yourselves from the tyranny and oppression to which you have been subjected, organize a civil government under the authority of the United States. Every facility will be afforded you to accomplish that purpose. I leave the matter with you, trusting that wise counsels may prevail."

The success of General Blunt in western Arkansas was soon followed by a triumph of the Union arms, under General Steele, in the north and centre of the State, over General Price's army. The advance of Steele's force, under General Davidson, drove the enemy's cavalry, under Marmaduke, out of Brownsville on the 26th of August, and again on the 28th over the Arkansas River by the Bayou Metairie bridge. The enemy now hastily fled to the south, leaving Little Rock, the capital of the State, without defence. Accordingly, on the 10th of September, General Steele occupied it with his main body, while General Davidson continued the pursuit. Arkansas was now supposed to be "redeemed from the rebellion and restored to the Union."

General Blunt having improved in health, returned toward the close of September from Fort Smith, Ark., to Fort Gibson, in the Indian Territory. On the 4th of October, he received word that the former post was in danger of an attack, and on the same day he set out for Fort Smith with an escort of a hundred men. Nothwithstanding the smallness of his guard, he felt no great inquietude about his security, as the post at Baxter's Spring, about sixty-three miles from Fort Scott, garrisoned by three companies of soldiers, guarded the roads between the forts. The bold partisan chief, Quantrell, was, however, on his track, and came suddenly upon Blunt's party. The General thus narrates the event in a private letter to a friend:

"The escort, Company I, Third Wisconsin Cavalry, and Company A, Fourteenth Kansas Cavalry, behaved disgracefully, and stampeded like a drove of frightened cattle. I did not anticipate any difficulty until we got below this point. We arrived near this camp [Baxter's Spring, from where he writes, October 7, ten P.M.] about twelve M., and halted on the hill almost in sight of the camp, and not more than 400

yards distant, to wait for escort and wagons to close up.

"The escort came up and dismounted to wait for the wagons, which were but a short distance behind. At this time my attention was called to a body of men—about 100—advancing in line from the timber of Spring River, on the left, which you will recollect is not more than 300 or 400 yards from the road. The left of their line was not more than 200 yards from Lieutenant Pond's camp at the spring.

"They being nearly all dressed in Federal uniforms, I supposed them at first to be Lieutenant Pond's cavalry, (two companies) on drill. At the same time my suspicions were aroused by some of their movements. I ordered the wagons, which had just come up, to the rear, formed the escort in line with their carbines unslung, while I advanced alone toward the party fronting us, to ascertain if they were rebels. I had advanced but a short distance when they opened fire; at the same time firing was heard down in Pond's camp. Turning round to give the order to the escort to fire, I discovered them all broken up and going over the prairies to the west at full speed. They did not even discharge the loaded carbines they had in their hands, except in a few cases. Had the escort stood their ground as soldiers should have done, they would have driven the enemy in ten minutes. I endeavored in vain, with the assistance of Major Curtis, to halt and form a portion of them. When the escort stampeded, the enemy, on discovering it, rushed on with a yell, followed by another line of about 200 that emerged from the edge of the timber. Being better mounted than our men, they soon closed in on them. The men of the escort were much scattered, and with them it was a race for life.

"After going a mile, I succeeded in halting fifteen men, including Lieutenant Pierce, of Company A, Fourteenth Kansas, who has done his duty well and nobly throughout. As soon as I got them in line and commenced advancing upon the enemy, they fled and fell back to the road, when the whole command (600) formed in line of battle. The balance of the escort that had escaped were all out of sight in the advance. Major Curtis had been seen to fall from his horse, which was wounded, and stumbled in crossing a ditch.

"About one o'clock I sent Lieutenant Tappan (who had kept with me all the time), with four men, to Fort Scott, while with the other nine I determined to remain until the fate of those that had fallen could be ascertained. As they fell back to the road, I followed them up over the ground we had come, to look for the wounded, but all, with two or three exceptions (which had escaped accidentally), were killed—shot through the head. All the wounded had been murdered. I kept close to them and witnessed their plundering the wagons. At one time they made a dash at me with about 100 men, endeavoring to surround me, but failed in this purpose.

"As they moved off on the road lead-

ing south, I went down to the spring and found them all O. K. Lieutenant Pond, of the Third Wisconsin, and his command, are entitled to great credit for the manner they repelled the enemy and defended the post. The colored soldiers fought with great gallantry.

"The band wagon was captured, and all of the boys shot in this way, after they were prisoners. The same was the case with the teamsters, and Martin O'Neill, my driver, was killed with the band boys. All of the office clerks, except one, were killed. Lieutenant Farr is among the killed; also my orderly, Ely. Major Henning is with me. But few of the escort who escaped have come in. I suppose they have gone to Fort Scott. The dead are not all buried, but the number will not fall short of seventy-five.

"The enemy numbered 600—Quantrell's and Coffey's command."

The General closes his characteristic letter with the resolute declaration:

"I will follow the hounds through the entire Southern Confederacy, as long as there is a prospect of overtaking them. And I will have it well understood, that any man of this command who again breaks from the line and deserts his post, shall be shot on the spot, and there shall be no quarter to the motley crew of murderers."

Blunt's own escape seems to have been marvellous, for he was much exposed.

"I was fortunate in escaping," he says, "as in my efforts to halt and rally the men, I frequently got in the rear, and got considerably mixed up with the rebels, who did not fail to pay me their compliments. Revolver bullets flew around my head thick as hail, but not a scratch. I believe I am not to be killed by a rebel bullet."

CHAPTER IX.

The Enemy strive to recover their Losses in North Carolina.—Small Union Force there.—General Foster succeeds Burnside.—Activity of Foster.—Expeditions.—Scouring of three Counties.—The Enemy under General Hill assume the Offensive.—A Demonstration against Newbern.—Investment of Washington.—A Surrender demanded and refused.—The Enemy's Batteries on the River.—Navigation obstructed.—Little hope for Washington.—Daring Passage of the Batteries.—Relief for Washington.—Movements by Land.—Failure of the Union Troops.—Another Passage of the Batteries.—Foster runs the Blockade.—His arrival at Newbern.—His action.—Naglee's March.—Siege of Washington raised.- Expeditions.—Enlargement of Foster's command.—He succeeds General Dix at Fortress Monroe.—Union Sentiment in North Carolina.—Opposition in North Carolina to the Policy of Jeff. Davis.—The bold action of the Raleigh *Standard*. -The *Standard* Office attacked.—Policy of President Lincoln.—Removal of Governor Stanley.

1863.

THOUGH frequent attempts were made by the enemy to recover what they had lost in North Carolina, the Union arms succeeded in holding the positions they had established in that State. After General Burnside was summoned to join the Army of the Potomac, little was done to add to his conquests. The comparatively small Union force left in North Carolina was not more than sufficient to guard the various posts against the attacks of the enemy, which, however, were such at times as to menace their safety. These led to movements and conflicts worthy of being chronicled.

General Foster, who had proved himself an energetic subordinate, succeeded to the general command of the Department of North Carolina on the departure of General Burnside. He at once gave proof of his characteristic activity by a series of expeditions or raids into the enemy's territory. On the 16th of January, Colonel Mix set out with the Third New York Cavalry and penetrated the counties of Onslow, Trent, and Jones. The enemy retired, destroying the bridges and obstructing the roads on the advance of Mix, who returned to Newbern after an absence of five days. The result was stated to be, "that three counties of North Carolina, in which our troops had never been before, were scoured, and the rebels driven out; prisoners, arms, negroes, mules, and colors captured, and much valuable information obtained."

During the first ten days of March, no less than four expeditions were sent out. These succeeded in obtaining some useful information, but beyond an occasional skirmish with some detached parties of the enemy, accomplished nothing worthy of record.

Meanwhile, the enemy in North Carolina, having been considerably reinforced, and placed under the command of an able officer, General D. H. Hill, assumed the offensive. After advancing and making a demonstration against Newbern, General Hill turned and invested Washington. General Foster went there

immediately upon hearing that it was threatened. On the 30th of March, General Hill demanded a surrender, which, however, was refused. The enemy having established powerful batteries on the river, were able to command the approaches by water as well as by land. The attempts made by the Union gun-boats to silence these batteries had failed. Thus completely invested and cut off from all communication, there seemed for a time no great hope for the little* garrison of Washington, which was only prevented from surrendering immediately by the occasional relief brought by some bold volunteer.

On the night of the 3d of April, "Captain McDermot, of the Ceres, volunteered to run the batteries with his vessel, to carry a load of ammunition. The Ceres started from the fleet just after dark; but as the rebels had removed the buoys and stakes which marked the channel, the captain had to feel his way; and as he proceeded, he took the precaution to re-stake out the channel, so that any boats which might follow would have no trouble. He reached the blockade about daylight, having been under fire from the guns of the battery all night. The next morning, at six o'clock, he passed the obstructions and made his way safely to Washington, passing the enemy's three works on the south shore, though his course lay within 300 yards of the lower, and less than 200 yards of the upper batteries. The Ceres was hit several times during the trip, but was not materially damaged."

* The garrison at Washington numbered about 1,200 men.

An expedition, under General Spinola, which set out from Newbern on the 8th of April, to relieve Washington, returned without effecting its purpose. The men of the Fifth Rhode Island Regiment were so dissatisfied with this failure, that they determined to make another and more resolute effort.

Immediately on the return of Spinola's expedition, "some of the officers," wrote a correspondent,* "of the gallant Fifth Rhode Island Regiment (this regiment was one of the fourteen under Spinola) waited upon General Palmer, and stated that that body of veterans had, *en masse*, requested permission to either run past the batteries upon the river below Washington, or land and capture them bodily. It is unnecessary to state that the offer was accepted, and the staunch transport Escort, Captain Wall, was brought up to the dock to receive them. They came on board at midnight, so noiselessly that not a dozen people knew of it until late the next day, when they had arrived in the vicinity of operations. So completely exhausted were the men with their four days' hard marching and fighting, that when they found themselves on board the steamer, they sank down to rest and sleep upon the bare decks only as tired warriors can rest under the dew-sprinkling canopy of heaven. A run of seventeen hours brought them to the fleet of gun-boats five miles below the battery at Hill's Point. General Palmer was with them, as were also

* N. Y. *Herald*.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hoffman, acting adjutant-general on General Foster's staff, and Colonel McChesney, of the First North Carolina Union Volunteers. The brave Rhode Islanders were clamorous to be put through the ordeal that night; but the commandant felt it his duty—as it was—to study well the position and weigh carefully the chances. The commandant of the fleet was to be consulted, and joint plans arranged, all of which took time; so that when all was ready it was so near morning, and the moon was shining so brightly, it was wisely concluded to defer the hazardous enterprise until Monday night.

"About ten o'clock on Monday night (April 13th), the gun-boats, which had taken position just below the Hill's Point battery, opened a brisk fire upon the rebel works, but were unable to elicit any reply. During the cannonade, the Escort, loaded with supplies and troops, steamed up past the gun-boats, and before the rebels could realize the fact, was abreast of the battery and entering the gap of the blockade, which had been buoyed out by Captain McDermot, of the Ceres, through which she passed in safety. The Hill's Point battery did not molest her in passing, owing to the fact that the gun-boats kept up such an incessant and well-directed fire upon the fort as to make it impossible for the rebels to get their guns into position. But after the steamer had passed the blockade, her trip was a decidedly exciting one. The rebels had posted sharpshooters on rafts in the river and in the bushes on the shore, and they also had planted light field batteries along the south bank of the river, near which the channel runs, from which they kept up a continuous firing of volley after volley of musketry and roar upon roar of artillery, until the craft was lost in the distance. For six miles she ran the fiery gauntlet, a part of the time being within 300 yards of a shore which swarmed with gray-backed riflemen and butternut-colored artillerists, whose every word of command and shout of defiance could be distinctly heard by those on board. When she arrived opposite the battery on Rodman's Farm, the guns which had so nearly demolished the gun-boat Commodore Hull, belched forth their hostile welcome, and for twenty minutes the thunder from the rebel guns was continued like one prolonged peal of Jove's own artillery. The night was as calm and still as ever night was—not a breath of air, except the gushing bursts set in motion by the rebel guns and the steamer's own advance, stirred the smoke, as it fell like a pall upon the water, and rendered the darkness doubly sombre. Guided only by the firing upon the shore, the brave pilot headed her on until the last discharges of cannon and musketry were heard far astern, and he knew he was close upon Washington. Then he espied the low, black hull of one of our gun-boats, and heard the watch-bell upon the deck tolling out the hour of the night; then he saw the dim lights in the back windows of the housès in town, and heard the half-suppressed voices of our men on shore, and he doubly

realized that the immediate danger was over."

On the 15th of April, the Escort returned from Washington, with General Foster on board, who proceeded to Newbern, in order to bring up a force to the relief of the besieged garrison. The Escort, in coming back, met with even harder treatment than in going.

"No less than eighteen solid shot and shells struck and passed through the steamer, completely riddling her upper works, and partially disabling her machinery, while the bullets of the enemy's sharp-shooters perforated her joiner work like a sieve. When opposite the lower battery, on Rodman's Farm, the pilot, Mr. Pederick, was killed at his post by one of the rebel sharp-shooters. Immediately upon the fall of Pederick, Captain Wall sent for a negro who knew the channel, and compelled him to point out the course of the steamer past the blockade, while one of the New York pilots of the boat handled the wheel. The boat went on down the stream at a rapid rate, and, though experiencing probably the hottest fire to which ever a transport boat was subjected, reached and passed the lower fort and blockade without further loss of life.

"It would be useless for me," adds the correspondent just quoted, "to attempt to describe the appearance of the Escort as she lies at her wharf, back of W. C. Hamilton & Co.'s warehouses, an object of wonder and curiosity to thousands. One of the shots of the enemy—a twelve-pounder Whitworth—passed directly through the berth which had just been vacated by General Foster, and another struck one of the connecting rods above the cylinder cross-head, indenting and bending it so as to render it almost useless."

Before General Foster could set the troops at Newbern in motion for the relief of Washington, the enemy had raised the siege and retreated. A reconnoitring force, under General Palmer, followed them as they retired, and overtaking them within eight miles of Kinston, drove them from the cover of their intrenchments, and took possession of the works.

April 28.

The enemy having, after raising the siege of Washington, fled into the interior of North Carolina, showed but little activity for some time, but on the 15th of May, a guerrilla party which infested that quarter, captured a couple of Union dispatch boats, the Arrow and Emily, on the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal.

On the 21st of May, an expedition, commanded by Colonel Jones, set out to surprise the enemy in their intrenched camp at Green Swamp. Colonel Jones, after an arduous march through swamp and jungle, came upon them, but they did not wait to give him fight, having fled precipitately on discovering his approach. As Colonel Jones was returning with his captures, he was attacked by the enemy in force, and though great damage was done to his assailants, he lost his own life.

General Foster reported the captures to be .

"One hundred and sixty-five prisoners, twenty-eight horses, three ambulances, and two baggage wagons (teams), one twelve-pounder howitzer, with limber, eighty muskets and equipments; 11,000 rounds of ammunition."

The loss of the Unionists was estimated at:

"Two killed, five wounded, and one missing."

General Foster, continuing to send out his expeditions, reported on the 7th of July, that the cavalry dispatched from Newbern, "July 3, under Colonel Lewis, of the Third New York Cavalry, have safely returned, having successfully accomplished their mission, and without loss.

"They destroyed (twisting rails, etc., by General Haupt's plan) two miles of the railroad at Warsaw; also destroyed for five miles more all the culverts as well as the telegraph. At Keenansville an armory was destroyed. Large quantities of small-arms and quantities of commissary and quartermaster's stores were burned. About 150 animals and some thirty prisoners were captured by them, and some 100 men and about 300 women and children, negroes, followed them in."

General Heckman, who left Newbern at the head of an expedition on the 4th of July, destroyed the Wilcox bridge over the Trent River, in the village of Comfort, and dispersed with artillery a considerable force of the enemy. Again, another and more imposing expedition was sent out, of which General Foster, on the 24th of July, 1863, thus reported:

"The cavalry raid, having for its object the destruction of the railroad bridge at Rocky Mount, has returned completely successful. The expedition consisted of the Third Regiment New York Cavalry, and a squadron of the Twelfth and of Mix's men (cavalry), and one company of North Carolina, and was under the command of Brigadier-General Edward E. Potter, chief of staff. The bridge over the Tar River at Rocky Mount, a station on the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad, between Goldsboro' and Weldon, was completely destroyed. The bridge was 350 feet long, and the trestle-work 400 feet more. A cotton mill, filled; a flouring mill, containing 1,000 barrels of flour and large quantities of hard bread; a machine shop, containing shells, gunpowder, and every munition of war; a large dépôt, offices, etc.; an engine and a train of cars; a wagon train of twenty-five wagons, filled with stores and munitions; an armory and machine shop, with the machinery and materials, and 800 bales of cotton, were all destroyed.

"At Tarboro' two steamboats and one large and fine iron-clad in process of construction, a saw-mill, a train of cars, 100 bales of cotton, and large quantities of subsistence and ordnance stores were destroyed. About 100 prisoners were taken, and some 300 animals (horses and mules). Some 300 contrabands followed the expedition into Newbern.

"The force had constant fighting with the enemy, who made great endeavors

to intercept their return; but in every case the enemy's position was either turned or they were compelled to retire. Our losses in killed, wounded, and missing will not exceed twenty-five men."

General Foster's command was now enlarged, so as to include the peninsula between the York and James rivers, and the southeastern part of Virginia, formerly the department of General Dix.* He accordingly established his headquarters at Fortress Monroe.

In spite of the secession of North Carolina, there still remained in that State a Union sentiment, which, though for a time dormant, seemed to be again awakened by the permanent establishment of the armed authority of the Federal Government. This revival of loyalty was supposed to be manifested by the election of Colonel Vance to the Governorship of the State, as he was esteemed to be a more moderate secessionist than his unsuccessful antagonist. The resolute opposition, moreover, of many of the citizens of North Carolina, to some of the arbitrary acts of the Confederate Government, seemed to indicate an impatience of its authority and a disposition to return to the Union. The Raleigh *Standard* became remarkable for its antagonism to the administration of Jefferson Davis, and boldly published an article from a correspondent, in which the leaders of the Southern rebellion were declared not to have been justified in seceding, since they could have more successfully obtained reparation for their wrongs within than without the Union. The *Standard* persisted in denouncing the war as fatal to Southern interests, and demanding a convention of all the States to procure peace either by reconstruction of the Union or by peaceable separation. These sentiments were acceptable, probably, to many moderate men in North Carolina, but were obnoxious to those of extreme opinions. The latter were, finally, so enraged by the conduct of the *Standard*, that they attacked its office and forced it to suspend its publication.* The "symptoms of disaffection toward the insurgent league" were zealously encouraged by the Federal authorities, and it was hoped that the people of North Carolina would voluntarily declare for a restoration of their State to the Union. It was asserted that a majority of the Legislature were in favor of reconstruction, and that overtures to the Union General even had been made to promote that object. The leading Unionists of North Carolina were reported to be willing to concede a gradual emancipation of the slaves, and other conditions that might be essential toward a settlement with the Federal Government. They, however, deemed it impolitic to act as long as a Confederate army held Virginia, or at least until a Union force occupied North Carolina sufficiently large to protect its people in the expression of their opinions.

* General Dix had been sent to New York during the riots which occurred in consequence of the draft.

* The publication of the Raleigh *Standard* was resumed on the 2d of October, 1863, and its editor renewed his opposition to the administration of Jefferson Davis.

President Lincoln had so far modified his policy in regard to the subjugation of North Carolina, as to remove Mr. Stanley, the Union Governor, and cease from extending the application of military force. He seemed now disposed to leave the State to its spontaneous reaction in favor of the Union.

CHAPTER X.

Delays in capturing Charleston.—Disappointment of the North.—Perseverance.—Defences of the Enemy.—Their Inquietude.—Beauregard's Address.—The Unionists ready for an Attack.—Order of Battle.—Attack by the Iron-clads. —The Fleet Withdrawn.—The Loss of the Keokuk.—The Co-operation of the Troops.—Enemy's Account of the Attack on Charleston.—What was done by the various Batteries.—The Losses, etc.

1863.

The patience of the Northern people was greatly tried by the repeated failures of the attacks upon the fortifications of Charleston. Though so often disappointed in the hope of success, the desire, not unnaturally vindictive, of capturing a city which had first defied and insulted the Federal power, was so intense, that each discomfiture aroused a more determined spirit of perseverance.

The enemy conscious of the sentiment with which the city of Charleston and the State of South Carolina was regarded at the North, and appreciating the influence of an intense popular feeling in stimulating administrative effort, prepared at an early period to meet the formidable means of offence at the command of the Federal Government. The fortifications of Charleston had been so increased and strengthened, that many apparently disinterested observers had pronounced them to be impregnable. Yet there were indications, in spite of the boasted confidence of the Carolinians in their strong defences and their own self-asserted but undoubted valor, of a fear of Northern strength. This was indicated in the remarkable proclamation of General Beauregard.

Feb. 18.

"It has become my solemn duty," he said, in his usual fervid style, "to inform the authorities and citizens of Charleston and Savannah that the movements of the enemy's fleet indicate an early land and naval attack on one or both cities, and to urge that persons unable to take an active part in the struggle shall retire.

"It is hoped, however, that the temporary separation of some of you from your homes will be made without alarm or undue haste, thus showing that the only feeling which animates you in this hour of supreme trial is the right of being able to participate in the defence of your homes, your altars, and the graves of your kindred.

"Carolinians and Georgians! the hour

is at hand to prove your country's cause. Let all able-bodied men, from the seaboard to the mountains, rush to arms. Be not too exacting in the choice of weapons. Pikes and scythes will do for exterminating your enemies, spades and shovels for protecting your firesides. To arms, fellow-citizens! Come to share with us our danger, our brilliant success, our glorious death."

General Beauregard was correct in his conjecture that an attack upon the fortifications of Charleston was in contemplation, though he anticipated the time. General Hunter, in command of the Union forces, having made the necessary preliminary disposition of the troops, Admiral Dupont advanced with his fleet of iron-clad gun-boats, which were to execute the chief work, and attacked the forts.

April 7.

The following was the "order of battle:"

"The bar will be buoyed by the Keokuk, Commander Rhind, assisted by C. O. Boutelle, Assistant United States Coast Survey, commanding the Bibb; by Acting Ensign Platt, and the pilots of the squadron. The commanding officers will, previous to crossing, make themselves acquainted with the value of the buoys.

"The vessels will, on signal being made, form in the prescribed order ahead, at intervals of one cable's length.

"The squadron will pass up the main ship channel without returning the fire of the batteries on Morris Island, unless signal should be made to commence action.

"The ships will open fire on Fort Sumter when within easy range, and will take up a position to the northward and westward of that fortification, engaging its left or northeast face at a distance of from 1,000 to 800 yards, firing low and aiming at the centre embrasures.

"The commanding officers will instruct their officers and men to carefully avoid wasting a shot, and will enjoin upon them the necessity of precision rather than rapidity of fire.

"Each ship will be prepared to render every assistance possible to vessels that may require it.

"The special code of signals prepared for the iron-clad vessels will be used in action.

"After the reduction of Fort Sumter, it is probable the next point of attack will be the batteries on Morris Island.

"The order of battle will be the line ahead, in the following succession:

"1. Weehawken, with raft, Captain John Rodgers.

"2. Passaic, Captain Percival Drayton.

"3. Montauk, Commander John L Worden.

"4. Patapsco, Commander Daniel Ammen.

"5. New Ironsides, Commodore Thomas Turner.

"6. Catskill, Commander George W. Rodgers.

"7. Nantucket, Commander Donald McN. Fairfax.

"8. Nahant, Commander John Downes.

"9. Keokuk, Lieutenant-Commander Alex. C. Rhind.

"A squadron of reserve, of which Captain J. F. Green will be the senior officer, will be formed outside the bar and near the entrance buoy, consisting of the following vessels:

"Canandaigua, Captain Joseph H. Green.

"Unadilla, Lieutenant-Commander S. P. Quackenbush.

"Housatonic, Captain William R. Taylor.

"Wissahickon, Lieutenant-Commander J. G. Davis.

"Huron, Lieutenant-Commander G. A. Stevens.

"And will be in readiness to support the iron-clads when they attack the batteries on Morris Island."

"The sun rose bright and clear on Tuesday morning, April 7th. The sea was smooth as a mirror, and the atmosphere so translucent that we could see right up to the city. All hearts were throbbing with anxiety as to the result of the conflict in which these little iron-clads were about to engage. And here," says the correspondent whom we quote,* "I may as well remark that the same confidence of success which seemed to have taken possession of the people, and even of the Government, did not find itself fully reflected in the minds of the Admiral and of his officers. They knew the difficulties they had to encounter, the odds they had to contend with. They knew the powerful batteries which lined the shores on either side for four miles, and forbade all hostile entrance to the harbor. They were aware that, in addition to those destructive engines of war, the various channels were so obstructed, that even if the iron-clads should prove altogether invulnerable, they would still find their passage blocked up by obstructions, which it might be impossible, and would certainly be difficult, to remove; and they knew, moreover, that, however well adapted for defensive purposes the iron-clads might prove to be, the difficulty of manœuvring them, and the fewness of their guns—heavy though they might be—did not commend them for offensive purposes against such fortifications as those which they should have to encounter.

"And, therefore, with no trepidation, no shrinking, no calculation of defeat, but at the same time without the confidence which unprofessional persons seemed to possess, the gallant Dupont and his officers prepared to move forward and test the great question of whether the Monitors were or were not a match for the forts and batteries.

"The attack would have commenced an hour or two earlier than it did, had it not been that the Admiral was advised to wait for the ebb tide rather than sail up with the flood tide, as the former would be more apt to discover the locality of the obstructions in the channel; and the tide turned at eleven o'clock. During these hours of suspense the eye had an opportunity of taking the features of the scene on which the great act was to be played. The blue

* N. Y. *Herald.*

waters danced in the bright sunshine, and flocks of sea-birds dipped their white wings in the waves and uttered their shrill cries as they swooped downward after their prey. Over the parapets of Forts Sumter and Moultrie the rebel defenders were watching our movements and signalizing them; and even on the roofs and steeples of the distant city we could see hundreds of spectators. Distinctly in view were the numerous batteries, extending from the Wappoo Creek, on the Ashley River, following the contour of James' Island, down to the Lighthouse battery, on the south point of Morris Island. On the other side they were more numerous still—Breach Inlet battery, on the lower end of Sullivan's Island; Fort Beauregard, and on up to Fort Moultrie; while in the centre of the picture, rising as it were from the water, stood Fort Sumter, displaying the rebel flag on one angle and the Palmetto flag on the opposite angle; and beyond, Fort Ripley and Castle Pinckney, the city filling up the background.

"Meanwhile, the attacking vessels lay at anchor in the main ship channel, within a mile of the batteries on Morris Island, without provoking a hostile shot. The Weehawken was in the van, and the other vessels in the order in which they are named in the plan of attack. Precisely at half-past twelve o'clock the fleet commenced to move. The distance to the positions at which they were directed to attack was nearly four miles, and for almost all that distance they were within range of the enemy's batteries. But again there is a delay. Grappling irons attached to the Weehawken have got foul of her anchor cable, and it takes nearly an hour to set matters right. At last the difficulty is got over, and once more the vessels are under weigh. Slowly they move up the ship channel. They pass within easy range of Fort Wagner, on Morris Island; but not a shot disputes their progress; they pass the battery at Cummings' Point—named, I believe, Battery Bee—but still not a discharge from a rebel gun. And it is not till the vessels have got fairly between the two upper points of Morris Island and Sullivan's Island—which are about a mile apart—and are rounding to make the entrance of the harbor, that the ominous stillness is broken. Fort Sumter opens the ball with her barbette guns; Fort Moultrie takes up the loud refrain. The various batteries join in the deafening chorus, and the iron-clads find themselves within a circle of fire, concentrated from all the rebel guns that can be brought to bear upon the point.

"Nor is that all that these little floating turrets have to contend with. If it were, they might have held on their way defiantly, and run the gauntlet of all the batteries that stood between them and Charleston. The weak side of Fort Sumter is well known to be its northwest front. That was the point against which our guns were ordered to be directed; but that was also the point which the rebel engineers were determined that we should not get at. From the northeast angle of the fort, across

the channel to Fort Moultrie, were suspended, floating from barrels and kept taut by weights, heavy nets and contrivances of roping, so fixed as to be sure to get entangled in the propelling apparatus of vessels, and also connected with torpedoes. Into this net the Weehawken, which led the van, fell; and for a long time her machinery was useless and she drifted with the current. At last, after great exertions, she extricated herself. The other vessels sheered off and avoided the same peril. There was no getting into the required position in this way. Any attempt to persevere in that course would have rendered the fleet unmanageable and exposed it to destruction. Baffled in the attempt to get round or past Fort Sumter in that way, the bulldog Monitors sought another opening; but even the shoal ground between the fort and Cummings' Point was barred up with piles. In fact, Fort Sumter was found to be the apex of a triangle, the two sides of which were impenetrable to our vessels, and at the base line of which they were exposed to a concentric fire from Forts Sumter and Moultrie, the Redan, Battery Bee, Fort Beauregard. Thus brought to a stand, and nothing being left but either to batter down Fort Sumter or retire, the iron-clads went resolutely to their work. Stretching themselves in a line between Sumter and Moultrie, and only giving an occasional shot to the latter work, they plied their guns upon the walls of Sumter.

"The Keokuk steamed up to within some 300 yards of the fortress, while the other vessels lay at intermediate distances between that and 600 yards. The Ironsides—the Admiral's flag-ship—had become entirely unmanageable, refusing to answer her helm; so that, with the exception of one broadside which she poured into Fort Moultrie, she took no part in the attack, although she was herself the target for many of the enemy's largest guns, and was hit some sixty or seventy times, sustaining, however, no material damage. For half an hour, while our vessels were in the position I have described, the cannonading was of the most awfully grand and terrible character. No words of mine, no words of any man, can convey a faint idea of it. It was sublimely terrific. No less than 300 guns of the largest calibre concentrated their fire upon the eight assailants, who had but sixteen guns with which to respond. The contest was too unequal to be persevered in. The Keokuk was soon badly damaged. The turret of the Passaic was so indented as to prevent its revolving. The Patapsco had her 200 pound Parrott gun disabled; and, besides, night was coming on. The Admiral therefore signalized the fleet to retire, and sullenly they fell back from a contest in which they were so tremendously overmatched; not, however, without leaving their mark behind. The northeast front of Fort Sumter, which was the only one exposed to our fire, was badly damaged. No less than eleven holes, some of them three feet wide, and two embrasures knocked into one, showed the effect of

the Monitors' guns. But that was all we effected—that and the dissipation of a popular error, that Charleston could be captured by nine or ten iron-clads. The signal to cease firing was given about five o'clock. It was obeyed, and the vessels fell back to the flag-ship, the parting shot being fired by the Nantucket as she passed Fort Wagner."

In the conflict, the Union fleet had suffered to such an extent, that it was deemed by the Admiral and his officers imprudent to renew the attack. The Keokuk was the only vessel destroyed. She was struck by ninety shots. Of these, nineteen were on the water line, fifteen in the after turret, twelve in the forward turret, and twenty-five on the sides.

"The Passaic," wrote the correspondent already quoted, "is disabled by having her turret so injured that it cannot revolve, and she has to be sent to Port Royal for repairs. She was struck fifty-eight times. The Patapsco was injured by having her 200-pound Parrott gun disabled. She was struck from forty to fifty times. The Nahant was struck eighty times, and had her pilot-house completely shattered. The Ironsides was hit from sixty to seventy times, receiving no material damage beyond the knocking off one of her port shutters, thus exposing her gun-deck. The Weekawken was struck fifty-nine times, and had her funnel deeply indented, so that she worked with difficulty. The Montauk was hit twenty times. The Nantucket and Catskill were each hit about fifty times, having their decks considerably torn."

There was not a single life lost during the engagement, but Captain Rhind and twelve men of the Keokuk, and six of the Nahant, one of whom subsequently died, were more or less severely wounded.

The chief reliance having been placed upon the iron-clad fleet, the service of the troops was held subsidiary. A small force was landed on Folly Island, to be in readiness to occupy any batteries that might be taken by the navy.

As the day closed, the Admiral signalized as follows to General Hunter:

"Delayed in getting under weigh by accident. Orders not reaching the leading ship, we attempted to pass into the inner channel, but were obliged to anchor to prevent going ashore. Engaged the forts, but found it too late to continue. Casualties few. One iron-clad disabled, two partially so. Ironsides very slightly, struck very often."

A minute narrative of the conflict, from the enemy's point of view, is here given, as published in the Charleston *Mercury*, April 11:

"At two o'clock P.M., just as the officers had seated themselves for dinner, the first advance of the iron-clad fleet was announced to the commandant of the post. Their anchorage had been within the bar of Ship Channel, off the southern end of Morris Island, some four or five miles from Sumter. Upon inspection, it was judged that good time would be allowed for the conclusion of the meal, and, after communicating the movement by telegraph to headquarters in Charleston, dinner was comfortably

dispatched. At half-past two o'clock, after examination of the approaching armament from the terreplein, the order for the 'long roll' was issued. The whole garrison knew that the hour of trial was at hand, and the greatest enthusiasm and alacrity prevailed. The men rushed to their guns with shouting and yells of exultation. The regimental band was ordered to the rampart. The garrison flag (the Confederate States) was already flying defiantly from the staff at the northern apex of the pentagonal fortress. The blue and white banner of the Palmetto State was given to the wind on the southwest corner of the work, and the elegant black and white color of the First Regiment South Carolina artillery (regulars) was run up at the southeast angle, in the face of the coming foe. A salute of thirteen unshotted guns was fired, and the band broke forth with the stirring strains of "Dixie."

"It was determined to permit the fleet to come well within range before opening fire. Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph A. Yates, who that morning reported for duty, was assigned to the special command of the barbette batteries. Major Ormsby Blanding was assigned the special command of the casemate batteries. They were both at their posts, with officers, men, and guns ready, and awaiting the order to begin the engagement. Colonel Alfred Rhett, the commandant of the post, stood on the parapet watching the progress of the doughty iron-clad dogs of war. Every heart beat high. Every face was flushed with calm excitement, properly incident to such a moment. On they came, steaming slowly northeastward—seven Monitors, their hulls sunk down to the water level, showing only a black line on the surface, and a projecting turret and smoke-stack each—the Ironsides, looming up from the sea a formidable-looking monster, and the Keokuk, her hull more distinctly visible than the Monitors, and with two turrets, the most dreaded of all the nine.

"In front, a Monitor, supposed to be the Passaic, commanded by Drayton, pushed forward a long raft,* forked and fitting her bow, intended to catch, by suspended grappling-irons, any entanglements, or to explode any torpedoes

* This was called in some of the enemy's reports a "Devil," and is thus described by a writer in the N. Y. *Herald:*

"The devil spoken of in the rebel report is a large raft of timber, securely bolted together, in width about the same as one of the Monitor batteries, and extending some thirty feet forward of the battery's bow, which fits into it, and is then secured to the ring-bolts on deck.

"At the extreme forward part of this raft, and under water, strong iron stanchions point downward to a few inches below the bottom of the battery. These stanchions are secured by iron braces which run back at an angle to the after under side of the raft. At the bottom of this network of braces and stanchions are placed two rods, on which rest several torpedoes, together containing nearly a thousand pounds of gunpowder. In connection with this are hammers, which, when acted upon, strike percussion caps, exploding the several torpedoes instantly, and of course causing a rupture of anything they may come in contact with.

"The experiments of these devils at the North were very satisfactory, and reflected great credit upon their inventor, Captain Ericsson; but the Government forced Captain Lowber, of the steamer Ericsson, to take in tow four of them, and three were lost in a heavy gale of wind. Subsequently one of them was picked up at sea and towed into Fortress Monroe, and thence to Port Royal.

"Although the rebels have one, it will do them no good, as they cannot use it without doing themselves harm. Perhaps it is only the wreck of one that our people have used and cast aside."

which might lie in the path of their hostile advance. Next followed, in approximate echelon, another Monitor, bearing a pennon, and conjectured to be the flag-ship of the commanding officer of the fleet. This was succeeded, in the same order, by two others of a similar kind, only distinguishable by slight differences in the adornments of red and white paint upon their generally black turrets and smoke-stacks. These formed the first line or division. After an interval of space came the Ironsides, of much larger proportions, her sleek and glistening black sides rising high and frowning above the water. She occupied a central position, and was followed at some distance by the three remaining Monitors and the Keokuk in the rear. These four formed the other line or division of battle.

"At three o'clock, when the leading gun-boat had got east-southeast of Sumter, at a distance of about 1,400 yards, Fort Moultrie fired the first gun. The band was hushed at Sumter, the musicians were dispatched to their pieces, and the order was given to open fire, carefully and by battery.

"At three minutes past three the guns belched forth their fierce thunders upon the foremost monster. Within two minutes there was a response. His shots were directed against Sumter, and the strife was inaugurated. The east and northeast batteries, *en barbette* and in casemate, were those only engaged, together with a mortar battery on one of the ramparts, which fired for a short time. It would be improper to publish, at this juncture, the garrison of the fort, but we may mention that the east barbette battery was officered, as we understand, by Captain D. Fleming, Lieutenant F. D. Blake, Lieutenant Jones, and Lieutenant Julius Rhett (a volunteer absent from Preston's Battery Light Artillery on sick leave). The northeast barbette battery was officered by Captain Harleston, Lieutenant McM. King, and Lieutenant W. S. Simkins. The mortar battery was for a time manned and officered by Captain Macbeth and Lieutenant Julius Alston, who were subsequently transferred to one of the casemate batteries engaged. The other, the largest casemate battery engaged, was commanded by Captain W. H. Peronneau and Lieutenant Fickling, while a third small battery was in charge of Lieutenant Grimball.

"For thirty minutes the guns of Fort Sumter were concentrated on the leading vessel, irrespective of the answering cannon of the others. The garrison fought with eagerness and impetuosity. They had to be restrained, and after trial, firing by battery, it was found that, from the small size of the object at a distance of 1,100 to 1,400 yards, and its constant and alternate moving and stopping, it was difficult to keep the guns trained to shoot simultaneously with accuracy. The method was changed, with apparent advantage, during the course of the engagement. The gun-boats fired deliberately, at intervals. The smoke-stack of the pioneer boat was riddled with balls. The turret was repeatedly struck and impressions dis-

tinctly visible. At twenty-five minutes past three, a flat-headed bolt of chilled iron, projected from a Brooks gun (rifled and banded seven-inch), struck with manifest damage. A volume of steam was seen to issue from the creature, and it turned off on a curve toward the east and southeast, steaming out of range and out of the fight. Meantime, the three other Moniters of the first line had bestowed their attention upon the fort with impunity. They now, after the retirement of the supposed Passaic, received each, for a brief season, sundry acknowledgments. That bearing the pennon, at thirty-seven minutes past three, had its emblem of command cut down by a well-directed shot. Its turret and hull were indented. Several shot were visible, driven and sticking in the iron. The smoke-stack was repeatedly pierced through. And at a quarter of four, this invulnerable man-of-war also drew off, followed by the two that had accompanied it.

"The Ironsides steamed shy of the contest. She fired a few shots at a distance of not less than 1,500 yards, and perhaps as much as 1,800. Three balls were seen to strike her in return. She soon headed off out of range, and was counted out.

"The Monitors of the second line were under a concentrated fire, each a few minutes. All were hit, but apparently with no special injury. The longer the fight continued, the more accurate the firing proved with the gunners of that gallant and admirably trained corps.

"The Keokuk now boldly advanced, bow on, to 850 yards of the east side of Fort Sumter. This was the shortest distance attained by any of the fleet, no other venturing so near. Colonel Rhett now requested Lieutenant-Colonel Yates to take charge of a Brooks gun for a few shots, and to sight it carefully himself. The first shot entered the open port-hole of the foremost turret, apparently silencing the boat.

"The next ball was a centre shot upon the turret. The third penetrated the bow, some ten feet from the stem, making a large opening at the water line; and a fourth also struck the hull. During this time a concentric fire was poured into the monster from all the guns that could be brought to bear. The fire of the fort had been reduced, by order, to one gun from each battery every five minutes, and was exceedingly precise and effective. For many minutes the boat drifted lifelessly with the tide, under a terrific hail, being torn in different places, and having shot plainly imbedded in the iron armor. It was strongly hoped that it would be so disabled as to surrender, falling into our hands by capture. But, after being under punishment forty minutes, it managed to crawl feebly off and escape, giving a parting salute as it was getting out of range to show that the will was there to fight. The following morning it settled down some 500 yards to sea from the beach toward the south part of Morris Island.

"This was the end of the fight. After a short engagement of two hours

and twenty-five minutes, an unprotected brick fort, by the use of its cannon, assisted by Fort Moultrie and the guns of one or two sand batteries, employing few guns, repulsed a fleet of nine of the boasted iron-clad gun-boats. The Keokuk was sunk. The Passaic had disappeared from view—probably sent or towed to Port Royal for repairs. And the flag-boat has been undergoing the mending process in plain sight. The prestige of their invulnerability is gone. The question is reduced to the relative powers of destruction of the fort and the assailing fleet. It is a question of pluck and survivorship in a square stand-up fight for victory. Iron-clad fleets can be destroyed as well as forts. Fort Sumter, although somewhat pitted, to-day is, we believe, as strong as it was when this fight began. We deem that, if the attack is renewed as before (and there is good reason to believe it will be), the six Monitors left and the Ironsides will come out the defeated party, with worse results than those obtained in the first attempt. *Nous verrons.*

"The enemy fired about eighty shots—mostly fifteen-inch and steel-pointed shells—at Fort Sumter. This estimate was made from Sullivan's Island. Forty only struck the work. One-ten inch gun was temporarily disabled by a shot. One columbiad, of old pattern, burst. One seven-inch rifled gun dismounted by recoil, and one gun was disabled for a few moments by fracture of the elevating screw through recoil.

"Not a person was killed in Fort Sumter from any cause. Sergeant Faulkner, and privates Chaplin, Minnix, and Penn, Company B, were injured by a shower of bricks thrown from a traverse on the rampart by a large shot of the enemy. A drummer-boy, Ahrens, was struck on the head by the explosion of a shell over the parade. A negro laborer was also wounded. All, we learn, are doing well, and there is no danger of losing a life or a limb. The wounded were dressed by Surgeon Moore, of the post, and sent out of the way to a hospital in the city, where they now remain.

"The regimental ensign was pierced near the centre by a ball. The Confederate flag was also perforated."

The same writer in the Charleston *Mercury* thus describes the part in the engagement borne by the other batteries:

"Fort Moultrie opened the engagement. At three o'clock, the head of the grim procession of Monitors having come within reason-range, the word was given, and the first shot of the batteries went whizzing at the iron fleet. In a very few minutes the batteries of Sumter, with the earth-works of Morris and Sullivan's islands, were mingling their deep voices in the chorus of the fray. During the entire fight, the batteries of Fort Moultrie maintained a well-directed fire against the Monitors that happened to be nearest, and the frequency with which the Yankees turned from the main effort against Fort Sumter to give a spiteful shot to Fort Moultrie, showed how effectively and

accurately the men at the latter post were hurling their metal on the foe.

"There was but one casualty at Fort Moultrie. A shot from one of the Monitors cut away the flag-staff, a few feet above the parapet, and the staff fell upon private Lusby, Company F, First South Carolina (regular) Infantry, inflicting injuries from the effect of which he soon died.

"The garrison of Fort Moultrie it would not be proper to enumerate. It consists of the First South Carolina (regular) Infantry. The commandant of the post is Colonel William Butler, of the same regiment, and the companies during the action were severally commanded by Captain T. A. Huguenin, Captain S. Burnet, Captain Constantine Rivers, First-Lieutenant E. A. Erwin, and Captain R. Preston Smith—the last-named officer having special charge of the mortar battery. The closest range into which the enemy ventured was estimated by the officers of the fort at about 1,200 yards. The flag-staff had been replaced; and as no other portion of the fort sustained any damage whatever during the engagement, the post is in excellent condition to join in another trial of strength with the turreted armada.

"Battery Bee, on Sullivan's Island, just opposite Fort Sumter, was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Simkins, of the First South Carolina (regular) Infantry, and manned by companies of that regiment, The captains commanding the companies at this post engaged were Robert de Treville, Warren Adams, and W. T. Tatum. The battery was the recipient of occasional shots from the enemy, but was not in any way injured, nor were there any casualties among the men. During the fight, General Ripley was present at Battery Bee. Whenever the enemy may choose to renew the attack, if his object should be to dash into the harbor, Battery Bee will have a far more important part to play.

"The Beauregard Battery, with three of its guns, also took part in the general *mêlée* of heavy artillery, and twice received a broadside from the enemy. This battery, commanded by Captain J. A. Sitgreaves, First Regiment South Carolina (regular) Artillery, is situated on the Sullivan's Island beach, northeast of Fort Moultrie, a little beyond the Moultrie House, and is manned from the First Regiment South Carolina (regular) Artillery, First-Lieutenant Erwin commanding, and Company B, First Regiment South Carolina (regular) Infantry, Captain Warley commanding. The battery was in no respect damaged, although many of the Yankee round shot fell upon the sand in the immediate neighborhood.

"The forces on Sullivan's Island (which is a portion of the subdivision commanded by Brigadier-General Trapier) were under the immediate command of Colonel D. M. Keitt, of the Twentieth Regiment South Carolina Volunteers. Both General Trapier and Colonel Keitt were on the island at the time of the action, and during the firing were moving from battery to battery."



CHAPTER XI.

Disappointment and Dissatisfaction.—The Public denounce the Leaders of the Attack on Charleston.—Sympathy of Government with Popular Sentiment.—Removal of Dupont and Hunter.—Their Successors.—Life of General Gillmore.—Gillmore in command at Charleston.—Organization.—Siege Operations.—Headquarters established at Folly Island.—Batteries Erected.—Batteries Unmasked.—Fire Opened.—An Assault.—Works carried at the south end of Morris Island.—Assault upon Fort Wagner.—Failure.—Co-operation of Fleet under Admiral Dahlgren. Life of Dahlgren.—Gillmore's Congratulations to his Troops—The Unionists reoccupy James Island.—The Enemy strive to drive them off.—The Result.—Behavior of Negro Troops.—Siege of Fort Wagner.—Fire Opened.—Assault.—Failure.—The Havoc.

1863.

THE disappointment at the result of the attack on the forts of Charleston naturally led to dissatisfaction with those who had conducted it, and the people, as is usual in popular governments, seeking expiation for a general fault in individual sacrifice, demanded their punishment. The Administration, accordingly, in sympathy with the popular discontent, yielded up two of its former favorites, General Hunter and Admiral Dupont, to public denunciation. Both were finally removed from command at Charleston, though the former was the first to suffer. General Gillmore succeeded him. Dahlgren was appointed in place of Dupont. These new commanders were officers whose high character justified their selection for the important duties to which they were assigned.

General Quincy Adams Gillmore was born in the township of Black River, Loraine County, Ohio, in 1828. He received his early education in Elyria, Ohio, and was intended by his parents for a medical practitioner, but on leaving school expressed a desire to go to West Point. His father consented, on his son promising that he would try to come out at the top of his class. The promise was faithfully kept, and young Gillmore entered the Academy at West Point in 1845. He graduated in 1849, the first of a class of fifty-three in number, among whom were many who have attained high rank and distinction in the present war.

He entered the army as brevet second lieutenant of engineers, and was at once detailed for duty on the fortifications in progress of erection in Hampton Roads. In 1852 he was appointed Assistant Instructor in Practical Engineering, and in 1856, Quartermaster and Treasurer at West Point. On the 1st of July of the same year he was promoted to a first-lieutenancy of engineers, and was detailed for duty upon the defences of New York harbor. While thus employed, he made a series of experiments, the results of which he published in his "Treatise on Limes, Hydraulic Cements, and Mortars."

In 1861, being promoted to a captaincy of engineers, the young officer demanded a more active sphere of duty, and was accordingly appointed Chief Engineer on the staff of General Thomas W. Sherman, commander of the land force which co-operated with the fleet of Admiral Dupont in the capture of Port Royal. His engineering skill was at once put into requisition in the erection of defensive works upon the ground occupied by the troops.

The consummate ability of Captain Gillmore as an engineer being proved by his masterly siege and reduction of Fort Pulaski, the Administration recognized his merit, and promoted him, April 28, 1862, to a brigadier-generalship of volunteers. In September, 1862, General Gillmore was appointed commander of the district of Western Virginia, but had no sooner arrived at that post than he was assigned to the command of a division of the Army of Kentucky. He was subsequently appointed commander of the forces occupying Lexington, whence he marched out to meet General Pegram, whom he defeated at Somerset on the 30th of March, 1863.

On the 3d of June, 1863, General Gillmore was ordered to South Carolina, to relieve General Hunter, and on the 12th of the month assumed command of the Department of the South.

General Gillmore, after a rapid organization of his department and a thorough personal survey of the position before Charleston, began a series of operations with the view of capturing or destroying the enemy's works. Persuaded that Folly Island, which had been for some time occupied by a Union force, was a good temporary base, he removed to it a large supply of cannon, mortars, and ammunition, constructed formidable batteries, and finally established his headquarters there. Having completed his works, he now determined to attack the enemy's position on Morris Island. On the 10th of July, General Gillmore unmasked the guns of the Folly Island batteries and opened fire. Under cover of a heavy cannonade the assaulting column was landed, which after a short struggle carried the works at the south end of Morris Island.

"At five o'clock on the morning of the 10th instant," wrote General Gillmore in his report, July 12, 1863, "I made an attack on the enemy's fortified position on the south end of Morris Island, and after an engagement lasting three hours and a quarter, captured all his strongholds on that part of the island, and pushed forward my infantry to within 600 yards of Fort Wagner. We now hold all the island except about one mile on the north end, which includes Fort Wagner and a battery on Cummings' Point, mounting at the present time fourteen or fifteen heavy guns in the aggregate.

"The assaulting column was gallantly led by Brigadier-General Strong. It landed in small boats, under cover of our batteries on Folly Island and four Monitors, led by Rear-Admiral Dahlgren, which entered the main channel abreast of Morris Island soon after our batteries opened. The Monitors con-

tinued their fire during the day, mostly against Fort Wagner.

"On the morning of the 11th instant, at daybreak, an attempt was made to carry Fort Wagner by assault. The parapet was gained; but the supports recoiled under the fire to which they were exposed, and could not be got up.

"Our losses in both actions will not vary much from 150 in killed, wounded, and missing.

"We have taken eleven pieces of heavy ordnance and a large quantity of camp equipage. The enemy's loss in killed and wounded will not fall short of 200."

The assault upon Fort Wagner was gallantly made by a portion of the Seventh Connecticut, which volunteered to perform the hazardous work; but a New York and Pennsylvania regiment which were to act as supports, recoiling before the enemy's fire, the Connecticut men, after gaining the parapet, were driven back with a loss of over a hundred in killed, wounded, and captured.

The naval force, of which Admiral Dahlgren* had now assumed command, took part. Four iron-clads, the Catskill, Weehawken, Nahant, and Montauk, were, however, the only vessels engaged. A writer* who was on board of the last-named vessel, thus describes the action:

"The morning was soft and mild. At a quarter to four A.M. all hands were called, anchor was soon up, and in a few moments we were well under weigh, steaming well in across the bar. It was too early to perceive the condition of affairs on Morris Island, and not until half-past four o'clock could we easily distinguish the shore. Admiral Dahlgren, who had come up from Port Royal in the Augusta Dinsmore, now took his position on board the Catskill, as his blue pennant indicated. As we crossed the bar, the work of the day began, commencing with the guns of General Gillmore on Folly Island, which threw their shell and grape far over the low lands and bluffs of Morris Island into the channel beyond—indeed, into the neighborhood of the four iron-clads. It was a magnificent sight indeed. One heavy, unbroken, continuous boom, boom, boom, filling the air with bursting shell and spreading grape, and sending a broad, heavy veil of blue smoke behind and over the woods, against the dark foliage of which we watched with peculiar interest the rapidly succeeding flashes of the guns. It was now half-past five o'clock, and the firing by the rebels from Morris Island was very irregular. The iron-clads steadily and slowly moved up the channel, sending their globes of iron across the island and into the bluffs which lined the coast. The batteries upon the bluffs were not

* Admiral John A. Dahlgren was born in Pennsylvania. He entered the navy as a midshipman, February, 1826, became a lieutenant in March, 1837, a commander in September, 1855, and an admiral in 1863. Since 1847, with the exception of a short cruise, until his appointment to the command at Charleston, he was engaged on ordnance duty at the navy-yard in Washington. His name is associated with a cannon called Dahlgren, invented by him for the discharge of heavy shells

* Providence *Journal*.

used, probably from the scarcity of men and the surprise of the attack. And yet we saw men around the little clusters of tents, which were near the batteries and upon the shore; but they seemed excited and unable to man the batteries, even if disposed, which they did not seem to be after the location of part of our cargo in the midst of them. Soon, however, we saw large bodies of men coming from the centre of the island up to and into the batteries which covered the bluffs. Immediately our shell were sent with astonishing precision among them, which caused the evacuation of their strongholds to be as rapid as the possession had been. Over the tops of the bluffs, through the valleys between them, around them, and in all directions, the rebels were flying in straggling crowds, driven by our shells from the seaward, and from the land side by the troops of General Gillmore's army, whose occupation of the south end of Morris Island had been indicated by the discontinuance of the firing of the heavy guns and the rattling of musketry which now filled our ears.

"No sooner would a crowd occupy one of the batteries, than a fifteen-inch would immediately dislodge them, sending them in confusion to the next battery, from which again they were scattered in a similar manner. From bluff to bluff and through the gullies the rebels were continually flying, never stopping to use the muskets which they carried over their shoulders.

"But now, over the low point of beach on the south end of Morris Island, appear a dozen or twenty men, bearing the familiar army signal flag, and waving in exciting exultation the Stars and Stripes. They had scarcely come into view, when the solid black mass of our men, with splendid front, and bearing above them our own banners, came over the point and moved, line after line, in beautiful order along the smooth beach. In vain the rebels tried to turn the guns on the bluffs upon the advancing columns, for our shells immediately scattered sand and men in all directions. The line of bluffs, about half a mile long, had now all been evacuated, with the exception of one solitary battery, from which they succeeded in throwing four shots upon our advancing men. The concentrated fire of the four ironclads in two minutes drove the rebels from their last position, and sent them in flying crowds down the hills and over the low lands toward the city. Instantly our men secured the battery and turned the guns upon the flying rebels.

"In twenty-five minutes after the appearance of our men upon the lower end of Morris Island, they held all these bluffs, and were using the guns.

"There are no other earth-works upon Morris Island, except upon the northern extremity. Between the bluffs and the upper end, a distance of perhaps two and a half miles, the island is low and narrow, easily swept by guns from the channel. Along the slope are some six or eight houses, toward which our forces rapidly moved. About two miles from the bluffs and near the shore,

and within easy range of Fort Sumter, is a large and finely constructed earth-work, with all the usual accompaniments of an extensive fort, and mounting probably some twenty guns. This fortification, called Fort Wagner, was commenced immediately upon the breaking out of the rebellion, and is a formidable affair. Farther up, upon the extreme point of the island, and where the old Cummings' Point battery was, is another work, and a strong one, called Battery Bee. Sumter covers both of these.

"After the evacuation of the bluffs we moved slowly up the channel, shelling the low land as we moved. Soon the long-range guns of Wagner opened upon us, with an occasional gun landward toward the troops. Shells were fired from Wagner, destroying two of the houses on shore, as they were serving as a protection to our skirmishers, who were rapidly advancing under their cover. The burning houses filled the sky above with the black smoke, adding to the interest, which was now becoming intense.

"The four iron-clads were now in excellent position off Wagner, and sending their eleven and sixteen inch shell through and through the parapet, and opening great caves into the immense solid walls and traverses which formed the earth-work. Seldom was a head seen above the parapet, and when the men sprang to load their guns, as soon as the black port-holes in the turret were turned toward the fort, the men immediately disappeared as though shot.

"Shell after shell, with an occasional shrapnel and grape, were sent slowly and deliberately within the rebel work, doing fearful execution among the men, guns, and the well-arranged and nicely sodded bastions and angles. It was a magnificent sight, and he was a lucky one who had possession of a standing place within the little pilot-house and watched through the eyeholes the scene which was becoming so intensely exciting. On the right is Moultrie, silent and still; across the narrow sea way is Sumter, with its red walls looming above the sea around it, with its parapet occasionally lighted by the gun flash, while from under the rings of blue smoke which so gracefully float away above the strong walls, issue their shots and bolts, but falling into the water and doing the fleet no harm. To the rear of Sumter the steamers are occasionally running, evidently carrying men and munitions. To the left of Sumter is Cummings' Point and Battery Bee; still farther to the left is Fort Wagner, now being torn and rent by our shells. On the extreme left the regiments, which were but a few hours before marching in solid column up the beach, are now resting, their muskets stacked, and the men in groups upon the sand hills, watching the fight in which they have now no participation, excepting, indeed, the wary skirmishers and sharpshooters which, advancing from hut to bush, quietly kneel and give the rebel gunners knowledge of their presence, and receive in return, every now and then, the compliment of a shell.

"At forty minutes past twelve o'clock,

at signal from the Catskill, the iron-clads slowly withdrew down the channel and came to anchor, to give the men a resting and eating spell. The fire from Wagner, which for an hour had been decreasing, now rapidly revived, both upon us and upon the troops which now held and occupied the island. Neither, however, paid any attention to the firing, and it soon became slow and irregular.

"The little tug Dandelion, Captain Barryman, which forms a part of the blockading fleet, ran up into range of Sumter and received in quick succession three or four shots, which threw high into the air great columns of water. They are continually firing at the tug when an opportunity occurs.

"Just as the Montauk came to anchor, a rifled bolt from Wagner struck our deck on the starboard quarter, made a long, deep indentation into the iron, broke in two, and the parts went whizzing over our heads.

"We anchor abreast of the bluffs and come out upon the iron decks once more, with the most perfect nonchalance. A field battery of General Gillmore's, which has been harnessed up all the morning, is moving off from the beach toward the low, level land of the island.

"The troops fall back from the advanced position which they had attained, and are resting and taking dinner. Although the sun shines warm, the air is cool, with a fresh breeze.

"The commanders of the four iron-clads lunch with the Admiral on board of the Catskill, and after returning to their respective vessels, the order is given to get under weigh again, and at fifteen minutes past one our anchor is up and we are steaming toward Wagner again. In half an hour the old position is attained, and the little iron fleet are once more paving the interior of Wagner with iron globes.

"A large two-horse ambulance, which came to Wagner this morning, now moves slowly away up the beach, displaying an immense yellow flag.

"A large steamboat comes to the rear of Wagner with ammunition, and Captain Fairfax tells our master, Mr. Giraud, who has charge of the guns, to fire at the steamer, and a fifteen-inch flies above it, throwing up fountains of water beyond. Mr. Giraud is one of the finest shots in the service, and the accuracy of his fire to-day has been remarkable. As the afternoon wore away, the fire from Wagner slackened again and grew irregular and inaccurate. At twenty-five minutes to eight o'clock P.M. we withdrew after a hard day's fighting, and came to anchor again in the channel below. * * *

"We have been struck but once; the Catskill, however, bearing the Admiral's blue pennant, has some honorable scars, and well she deserved them, for her shells must have done much damage to the rebel fort."

Soon after the capture of the works on the south end of Morris Island, a Union force also succeeded in making good a landing and reoccupying a portion of James Island, which had been evacuated by General Hunter on the

failure of the attack (April 7th) by the iron-clads on Fort Sumter. On the 16th of July, the enemy made an effort to regain complete possession of the island, but failed.

The loss of the Unionists amounted to eight killed, and forty wounded and missing.

The enemy took an encouraging view of the failure of their attack. The official report declared, "We attacked part of the enemy's force on James Island this morning (July 16th), and drove them to the protection of their gun-boats in the Stono, with a small loss on both sides."

The colored regiments which had been recruited under an act of Congress were now beginning to be extensively employed. Of their good conduct during the attack on James Island, the most reluctant believer in the policy of using negro soldiers gave impressive testimony.

General Gillmore now began a series of engineering operations, with the object of reducing Fort Wagner. The first parallel being constructed, and heavy siege guns posted, he was ready to open fire. In the mean time, a sortie was made from their works by the enemy, who, after killing a man, wounding two men, and taking a single prisoner, retired. On the morning of the 18th of July, a bombardment of Fort Wagner was begun from the works on Morris Island and the iron-clad gunboats, and continued the whole day. At night, an assault was made by the troops under General Strong. "He had orders," says the correspondent* whom we quote, "to march his brigade across the open land to the beach near the old house at the right of our works; and for this movement the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, Colonel Robert Shaw, was added temporarily to his command. His other regiments were the Sixth Connecticut, Colonel John L. Chatfield; Ninth Maine, Colonel Sabine Emory; the remnant of the Seventh Connecticut battalion, Captain Sylvester S. Gray (not with the storming party); Forty-eighth New York, Colonel William B. Barton; Seventy-sixth Pennsylvania, commanded by Captain John Littell, and the Third New Hampshire, Colonel J. H. Jackson.

"Colonel H. S. Putnam was ordered to advance with his brigade to the rear of Strong's. His brigade had been on the beach, under the bluffs, all day, and consisted of the Seventh New Hampshire, Lieutenant-Colonel J. C. Abbott in command; One Hundredth New York, Colonel Dandy; Sixty-seventh Ohio, Colonel A. C. Voris, and the Sixty-second Ohio, Colonel Howell.

"Brigadier-General Stevenson was also ordered toward the front with his fine brigade as a reserve.

"It became necessary to communicate with Admiral Dahlgren, so that he might co-operate with the projected movement. Captain Burger, of General Gillmore's staff, was selected to bear the message, no trifling duty, for Admiral Dahlgren was on the Montauk, and the Montauk had just crept up

* N. Y. *Herald*.

nearer to Fort Wagner. Her movement had excited suspicion, and from the rebel forts desperate but futile efforts were being made to disable her. A boat, drawn up on the beach, was impressed for the service ; but her crew objected, under the circumstances, to visiting the Montauk. Eight sturdy oarsmen from the Seventh New Hampshire volunteered at once, and in half an hour Captain Burger was returning safely.

"As a part of the plan, the land batteries and iron-clads now made a furious assault on the fort, firing with the greatest possible rapidity. * * * The roar from the guns and mortars was almost deafening. Under this cover the two brigades advanced.

"Strong's brigade marched in column up past the old building on the right of our batteries ; then deployed and advanced in line a short distance, then deployed again, and marched up the beach in close column, Putnam's brigade following at supporting distance, and halting at a point where they had been ordered to stop. Fort Sumter saw the movement, and pitched her shells over among the troops, but hurt none of them. When Strong's troops, led by their gallant general, had got two-thirds the distance to the fort, the cannonading ceased, to avoid injuring our own troops, and then the rebels in Fort Wagner came out in full strength. A thousand muskets flashed almost together, and poured a deadly fire into our troops. The guns were brought to bear on them, and grape and canister hailed down upon them. With a shout they advanced, at a word from the General, on a double-quick, unfalteringly, directly up into that terrible fire. * * * They never staggered—never wavered—did not stop for the many who fell. * * * They reached the ditch and crossed it, some on planks, some rushing down in and toiling up, some seeking a better entrance to the left, where the ditch was, however, filled with water. As they were making the crossing, howitzers in the bastions kept up a raking fire, prostrating many bodies, but not deterring the mass. Over they went, and clambered up the parapets. But the grape met them everywhere, sweeping the ditch, the curtains outside, the parapets above, and the rebel infantry, seeing all, but unseen themselves, peppered them with bullets and gave no chance to respond effectually. Some retreated without further effort ; the majority struggled on manfully, and charged down over the parapet, driving all before them. There was certain danger now in retreating, uncertain danger in staying or advancing. The rebels were driven from one corner over a traverse, and the Sixth Connecticut colors planted on the parapet. But from the opposite sides of the fort, from behind parapets and traverses and bastions, the fire was kept up. Two guns commanded our position with their volleys of grape. All attempts to reach them commenced with slaughter and ended with retreat. The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts (colored) found a place lower down, and charged

bravely over the parapet, their officers urging them to distinguish themselves. But the rebels made a dash at them, with all their bitter feeling against negro troops aroused, and neglected all else for a moment in attacking the negroes. They took some prisoners, slaughtered many, bayonets clashed and muskets rattled, and the Massachusetts blacks got bewildered. They barely saved one of their flags, and the staff of another, and then, with thinned ranks, retreated through the showers of iron hail, leaving their colonel in the fort, many officers unaccounted for, and many black bodies, lifeless or disabled, along their track. All the other regiments got, wholly or in part, on or over the parapets, but all were finally forced to flee. The contest on their part was a short but bloody one. Had these regiments held on together but a moment longer, they would have had a whole brigade to help them; but the difficulties were greater than had been anticipated, and they could not be longer held where victory seemed impossible. With one or two regiments it was a rout; they went off helter-skelter, running wildly, anxious only for some shelter from the rebel fire. Others marched off as orderly as if executing a simple manœuvre, carrying their arms and taking away such of their wounded as were outside the ditch.

"The brigade of Colonel H. S. Putnam, with his Seventh New Hampshire Regiment on the right, when the advance was ordered, moved to the rear of the old house behind our batteries, and deployed into line. In this form they advanced to our intrenchments, and then deployed into close column. When the nature of the ground would admit, they again deployed into line, and in this manner advanced to the works. Colonel Putnam was one of the first to reach the parapet, surrounded by his brave New Hampshire Seventh boys, and inspiring his whole brigade by his fearless, gallant conduct. In approaching the ditch, the retreating men of the first charge were met, and some portions of the brigade were detained for a moment, but not permanently demoralized. Colonel Putnam sent Lieutenant-Colonel Abbott, of the Seventh, and Major Henderson, his adjutant-general, to intercept stragglers, rally those who halted, and hurry forward all troops. They did this under a very hot fire, which was as terrible a short distance from the fort as in it. The rear division of the Seventh and a portion of the One Hundredth New York were massed together, crossed the ditch, and essayed to get a foothold inside from one point, while the Sixty-second and Sixty-seventh Ohio went to another. Every regiment behaved nobly, and all have a fearful roll of casualties to attest the persistency and energy of their effort to obtain and hold the fort. One corner of the fort only was ours, and that was swept by grape and canister and exposed to musketry. The troops looked back, saw they were alone, and began to falter. General Strong had been up and cheered and rallied his quondam classmate and ever friend, Colonel Put-

nam, and returned to try and bring up reinforcements. Colonel Putnam implored, entreated, commanded his troops to hold on but a moment longer, and then another minute, and then a moment again, but no help came. He had sent a messenger to ask for reinforcements. He did not know that Generals Strong and Seymour had both been carried from the field wounded. The messenger learned the fact, and went to General Gillmore. The latter, anxious, but still cool and clear-headed, told him the reserve, a fresh brigade, had been ordered forward as soon as it was known a foothold had been gained in the rebel work. Before this messenger had left, another arrived to say that Colonel Putnam was killed, and that our troops had retired from the fort entirely. That was the result, briefly told. General Stevenson's brigade was being conducted by Colonel Turner, of General Gillmore's staff, to reinforce Colonel Putnam, when the news of his death and the retirement of his troops reached them in season to prevent the whole rebel fire taking effect on them. Sad and disappointed they turned back, and the battle-field was left to the enemy, and our dead and wounded. * * *

"Our fresh troops fell back to the intrenchments in good order, occupying all our old positions."

The havoc, as is usual in all assaults on a fortification, and especially in those which are unsuccessful, was terrible. The officers suffered greatly. Generals Seymour and Strong were severely wounded. Colonels Putnam and Shaw were killed, with several others of less rank. The total number of killed, wounded, and missing* amounted to nearly a thousand.

* "My medical director in the field," wrote Gillmore in a dispatch, July 23, "reports an aggregate loss in killed and wounded in our hands of 635. I judge there are 850 missing. The losses cover the three actions of the 10th, 11th, and 18th instant."

CHAPTER XII.

The Siege of Fort Wagner continued.—A Modification of Plan.—Great Batteries of Parrott Guns established.—Fire opened on Fort Sumter.—A terrible Bombardment.—Co-operation of Fleet.—Fire opened on Charleston.—Immense range of the Parrott Guns.—Sumter in Ruins.—Correspondence between Beauregard and Gillmore in regard to the fire upon Charleston.—Continuation of Siege of Fort Wagner.—The Difficulties.—The Details of the Siege Operations.—Ready for an Assault.—Evacuation of Forts Wagner and Gregg by the Enemy.—The Enemy's Flag still flying from Fort Sumter.—Naval Expedition against Fort Sumter.—Failure of the Expedition.—An Apocryphal Bulletin.—Causes of the Failure.—Why the Fleet did not advance.—Obstructions, Torpedoes, etc., in the Channels.—A Torpedo described.—The Attempt with a Torpedo upon the Ironsides.—Occupation of Forts Wagner and Gregg.—The Works Strengthened and Improved.—Fire upon Sumter and Charleston.—Running the Blockade during the Siege.

1863.

AFTER the two unsuccessful attempts, General Gillmore so far modified his original plan as to determine, before completing his siege operations against Fort Wagner, to effect the reduction or demolition of Fort Sumter, which kept up an annoying fire upon his trenches.

In order to reduce this work, General Gillmore constructed breaching batteries on Morris Island, and mounted them with two and three hundred pounder Parrott guns. These were placed at distances between 3,300 and 4,240 yards from Fort Sumter. Batteries were also established, in spite of a heavy fire from the enemy on James Island, by General Gillmore on his left, within effective range of Charleston.

On the 17th of August, fire was opened on Fort Sumter, and the bombardment, unequalled in its severity, was continued for seven days. The result was announced by the General on the 28th: "Fort Sumter is to-day," he said, "a shapeless and harmless mass of ruins." Colonel Turner, the chief of artillery, thus reported in detail, on the 23d:

"At the close of the seven days' bombardment the gorge wall of the fort is almost a complete mass of ruins for the distance of several casemates. About midway on this face the ramparts are removed nearly, and in places quite, to the arches; and but for the sand-bags with which the casemates were filled, and which have served to sustain the broken arches and masses of masonry, it would have long since been entirely cut away, and with it the arches to the floor of the second tier of casemates. The débris on this front now forms a rampart reaching as high as the floor of these casemates. The parapet wall of the two northeasterly faces is completely carried away, a small portion only being left in the angles made in the gorge wall, and the ramparts of these faces are also a total ruin.

"Quite one-half of our projectiles

seem to have struck the parade and parapet of these two faces, and, judging from the effects they have had upon the gorge wall within our observation, the destruction of masonry on these two sides must be very great, and I am of the opinion that nearly every arch of these fronts must be broken in. But one gun remains in position on these two fronts, and this is in the angle of the gorge, and, I think, unserviceable. The ruin extends around, taking in the northeasterly face as far as can be seen. A portion of this face, adjoining the angle it makes with the southeasterly face, is concealed; but, from the great number of missiles which have struck in this angle during the last two days, it cannot be otherwise than greatly damaged, and I do not think any guns can be left on this face in a serviceable condition. The ramparts in this angle, as well as in the southeasterly face, must be ploughed up and greatly shattered.

"The parapet on this latter face is torn off in many places, as we can see, and I hardly think the platforms of the remaining guns on this face could have escaped.

"With the assistance of a powerful glass I cannot determine that more than one of these guns can be used, and it has been dismounted once. The carriages of the others are evidently more or less shattered, and such is the condition of the parapet and parade, in the immediate vicinity of this gun, that it probably could not be served for any length of time.

"In fine, the destruction of the fort is so far complete, that it is to-day of no avail in the defence of the harbor of Charleston.

"By a longer fire it can be made more completely a ruin and a mass of broken masonry, but could scarcely be more powerless for the defence of the harbor.

"I therefore respectfully submit my opinion, that a continuance of our fire is no longer necessary, as giving us no ends adequate for the consumption of our resources."

While Gillmore was operating with his batteries against Fort Sumter, the enemy at Fort Wagner were occupied with the naval force, whose operations, to the 18th of August, were thus reported on that day by Admiral Dahlgren:

"Yesterday," he wrote, "was begun another series of operations against the enemy's works.

"Early in the morning General Gillmore opened all his batteries upon Fort Sumter, firing over Fort Wagner and the intermediate space.

"About the same time I moved up the entire available naval force, leading with my flag in the Weehawken, followed by the Catskill, Nahant, and Montauk, the Passaic and Patapsco in reserve, for Sumter; the Ironsides in position opposite to Wagner, and the gun-boats named in the margin at long range, viz.: Canandaigua, J. F. Green; Mahaska, Commander J. B. Creighton; Cimmarone, Commander A. K. Hughes; Ottawa, Lieutenant-Commander J. L.

Davis ; Dai-Ching, Lieutenant-Commander J. L. Chaplin ; Ladona, Lieutenant-Commander E. Broadhead.

"As the tide rose, the Weehawken was closed to about 450 yards off Wagner ; the other three Monitors followed, and the Ironsides was taken as near as her great draught of water permitted.

"After a steady and well-directed fire, Wagner was silenced about thirteen minutes past nine A.M., and the fire of our own vessels was slackened in consequence.

"Meanwhile the fire of our shore batteries was working effectually upon the gorge of Sumter, which appeared to have been strengthened in every possible manner.

"At this time the flag was shifted to the Passaic, which, with the Patapsco. both having rifled guns, steamed up the channel until within 2,000 yards of Fort Sumter, when fire was opened on the gorge, angle, and southeast front of the work.

"The Patapsco fired very well, and is believed to have struck the southeast front nine consecutive times.

"To all this Sumter scarcely replied. Wagner was silenced, and Battery Gregg alone maintained a deliberate fire at the Passaic and Patapsco.

"It was now noon. The men had been hard at work from daybreak, and needed rest ; so I withdrew the vessels to give them dinner.

"During the afternoon our shore batteries continued the fire at Sumter with little or no reply from the enemy, and I contented myself with sending up the Passaic and Patapsco to prevent Wagner from repairing damages.

"The fort replied briskly, but in a short time left off firing.

"I am not able to state with exactness the result of the day's work, but am well satisfied with what a distant view of Sumter allowed me.

"Our entire power is not yet developed, as it will be daily, while the enemy is damaged without being able to repair.

"The officers and men of the vessels have done their duty well, and will continue to do so.

"All went well with us, save one sad exception. Captain Rodgers, my chief of staff, was killed, as well as Paymaster Woodbury, who was standing near him.

"Captain Rodgers had more than once asked on this occasion if he should go with me as usual, or resume the command of his vessel, the Catskill; and he repeated the query twice during the morning, the last time on the deck of the Weehawken, just while preparing to move into action.

"In each instance I replied, "Do as you choose." He finally said, "Well, I will go in the Catskill, and the next time with you."

"The Weehawken was lying about 1,000 yards from Wagner, and the Catskill, with my gallant friend, just inside of me, the fire of the fort coming in steadily.

"Observing the tide to have risen a little, I directed the Weehawken to be

carried in closer, and the anchor was hardly weighed when I noticed the Catskill was also under weigh, which I remarked to Captain Calhoun.

"It occurred to me that Captain Rodgers detected the movement of the Weehawken, and was determined to be closer to the enemy if possible.

"My attention was called off immediately to a position for the Weehawken, and soon after it was reported the Catskill was going out of action, with a signal flying that her captain was disabled. He had been killed instantly.

"It is but natural that I should feel deeply the loss thus sustained; for the close and confidential relations which the duties of fleet-captain necessarily occasioned, impressed me deeply with the worth of Captain Rodgers. Brave, intelligent, and highly capable, devoted to his duty and to the flag under which he passed his life, the country cannot afford to lose such men. Of a kind and generous nature, he was always prompt to give relief when he could.

"I have directed that all respect be paid to his remains, and the country will not, I am sure, omit to honor the memory of one who has not spared his life in her hour of trial."

On the 21st of August, General Gillmore, after having notified General Beauregard of his intention, opened fire upon Charleston.*

"Between one and two o'clock, Saturday morning, August 21, the enemy," wrote a resident of Charleston, "commenced firing on the city, arousing our people from their slumbers. Twelve eight-inch shells fell into the city, thirteen in all having been fired. Fortunately no person was injured. Several shells flew in the direction of St. Michael's steeple, and fell either in the vacant lots in the burnt district on King Street, or more generally struck in the centre of the streets, as exhibited at the corner of Queen and Rutledge, where an eight-inch shell tore up the plank-road and dug a large hole in the ground. Another shot entered the warehouse of G. W. Williams & Co., corner of Hayne and Church streets, entered the roof, and exploded in the upper story, making a large opening in the brick wall of the medical purveyor's storehouse next door, scattering things in great confusion. Some loose straw or packing was set on fire by the explosion, which caused the alarm bell to ring and brought out the firemen. It was extinguished with little effort before it had made any progress. Four shells fell in this locality. One large piece was picked up and exhibited in the guard-house, where it was the subject of much curiosity."

That Fort Sumter should have been pounded to pieces, and the city of Charleston reached from such distances, were convincing proofs of the great effectiveness of modern artillery. The Parrott guns, manufactured at the foundry at West Point, New York, were the agents by which these marvellous feats had been accomplished. General Gill-

* The immense Parrott gun used on this occasion was called by a cruel irony of our soldiers the "Swamp Angel," *swamp*, from the fact of the battery being constructed in a marsh, and *angel* on the *lucus non lucendo* principle.

more, modestly wearing the credit which belonged to him for the skilful application of these monstrous powers of destruction, said in a letter to a friend on the destruction of Fort Sumter, "I take no special credit to myself for the attainment of this result. It was simply the development of the power of skilfully served artillery. Parrott is the real hero."

The fire upon the city of Charleston naturally excited the temper of the enemy, and led to an angry correspondence between General Beauregard and General Gillmore. The former, after being notified of the intentions of the Union general, protested against them as contrary to the usages of war.

"It would appear, sir," wrote General Beauregard, angrily, "that despairing of reducing these works, you now resort to the novel measure of turning your guns against the old men, the women and children, and the hospitals of a sleeping city—an act of inexcusable barbarity from your own confessed point of sight, inasmuch as you allege that the complete demolition of Fort Sumter within a few hours by your guns seems to you a matter of certainty.

"Your omission to attach your signature to such a grave paper must show the recklessness of the course upon which you have adventured. When the facts that you knowingly fixed a limit for receiving an answer to your demand which made it almost beyond the possibility of receiving any reply within that time, and that you actually did open fire and throw a number of the most destructive missiles ever used in war* into the midst of a city taken unawares, and filled with sleeping women and children, will give you a bad eminence in history—even in the history of this war."

General Gillmore replied, saying.

"If, under the circumstances, the life of a single non-combatant is exposed to peril by the bombardment of the city, the responsibility rests with those who have first failed to remove the non-combatants, or to secure the safety of the city after having held control of all its approaches for a period of nearly two years and a half in the presence of a threatening force, and who afterwards refused to accept the terms upon which the bombardment might have been postponed. From various sources, official and otherwise, I am led to believe that most of the women and children of Charleston were long since removed from that city; but, upon your assurance that the city is still full of them, I shall suspend the bombardment until eleven o'clock P.M. tomorrow, thus giving you two days from the time you acknowledged to have received my communication of the 21st instant."†

Aug. 22.

The siege of Fort Wagner, now that Fort Sumter was in ruins, was pursued with greater ease. The difficulties, however, were still great, not only from the strength of its construction, but

* These "destructive missiles" were bombs filled with an inflammable fluid called "Greek fire."

† The foreign consuls residing at Charleston had asked for a suspension of the bombardment of the city, and General Gillmore acceded to their request.

from its position. Skilfully built of the sand of that region, which has been found to be the best material to withstand the effect of shell and shot; provided with a wet ditch; mounted with seventeen guns, and possessed of a bomb-proof for its garrison, Fort Wagner was in itself a powerful work. The advantages of its site were, moreover, very great. On the east it was guarded by the sea, on the west by a creek called Vincent's, and a marsh, and in the rear by the enemy's fortifications at Cummings' Point and on Sullivan's Island. The only approach in front was the narrow ridge of sand, which contracted to a width of twenty-five yards on reaching the work. It was on this ground that General Gillmore had made his approaches. Nothing could be more unfavorable for the regular operations of a siege. On one side was a marsh, and on the other the sea, which occasionally, at high tide, overflowed the sand spit and put a stop to work. The besiegers, moreover, were exposed to a heavy fire, lessened, however, by the demolition of Sumter, to which they could respond only by centre-batteries. Gillmore, in spite of all obstacles, pushed on his approaches.

"The first parallel and the batteries in it were ready on July 18th, and the fire was opened at 1,350 yards, several hours prior to the assault on that day. The second parallel was opened by the flying sap on the 23d of July, at 750 yards from the fort, was made the principal defensive line, was well secured from sorties, and contained the breaching batteries afterwards used against Sumter. The third parallel, at 450 yards, was made by the flying sap also, on August 9th, and beyond this point the trenches were sometimes pushed forward by the flying sap, sometimes by the full sap, as opportunity demanded. The fourth parallel, at about 300 yards, was made on the 22d and 23d of August. The fifth parallel, at 200 yards, on a ridge wrested from the enemy, August 26th. Beyond this point the approaches were simply zig-zags, making very acute angles with each other, as there was not front enough for a parallel.

"Here came that period," says a professional writer,* "which almost every well-contested defence has shown, where the besieger, being in fact the enveloped party, his artillery to a great extent unavailable, his daily losses heavy, discouragement seizes upon the besieging force, and all but those who possess the bull-dog spirit are ready to give up. An officer present, writing to a friend, says: 'Matters seemed at a stand-still, and a spirit of dejection and discouragement began to pervade the entire command. There seemed, indeed, to be no adequate return for the daily loss of life which we suffered.'

"In this emergency new means and redoubled efforts were called for, and General Gillmore was equal to it. He moved to the front all his light mortars, enlarged the positions for his sharpshooters, obtained the co-operation of the Ironsides by day, used powerful calcium lights to blind the enemy by

* *Army and Navy Journal.*

night, opened fire with as many heavy guns to his rear as he could without danger to his men in the trenches, thus essaying to keep the garrison confined to their bomb-proof, and to breach this through a breach in the work. These measures were inaugurated on the morning of September 5th, and for forty-two hours, one who was present writes, 'the spectacle was magnificently grand, even sublime.' The fort was silent. The garrison were immured in their bomb-proof, and the work went on in safety except from the batteries on James Island. The men moved about in the trenches, even sat on their parapets, and hunted torpedoes, at which they had become as skilful as rat-catchers at scenting out rat-holes. The counterscarp of the work was crowned on the night of September 6th, and some formidable obstructions in the ditch removed. All being now ready for an assault, the order for it was given; but seeing the hopelessness of their position, the enemy evacuated just in time to avoid the result."

Fort Gregg, at Cummings' Point, being evacuated at the same time as Fort Wagner, the whole of Morris Island remained in possession of the Union forces.

"Last night," wrote General Gillmore in his official dispatch of September 7, 1863, "our sappers crowned the crest of the counterscarp of Fort Wagner on its sea front, masking all its guns; and an order was issued to carry the place by assault at nine o'clock this morning, that being the hour of low tide.

"About ten o'clock last night the enemy commenced evacuating the island, and all but seventy-five of them made their escape from Cummings' Point in small boats.

"Captured dispatches show that Fort Wagner was commanded by Colonel Keitt, of South Carolina, and garrisoned by 1,400 effective men; and Battery Gregg by between 100 and 200.

"Fort Wagner is a work of the most formidable kind. Its bomb-proof shelter, capable of holding 1,800 men, remains intact after the most terrible bombardment to which any work was ever subjected. We have captured nineteen pieces of artillery and a large supply of excellent ammunition.

"The city and harbor of Charleston are now completely covered by my guns."

From the ruins of Fort Sumter the enemy, though they had not a single gun in position, still hung out their flag. Admiral Dahlgren, accordingly, fitted out an expedition with the view of taking by surprise and capturing the troops in possession.

"At about eleven o'clock at night," says a correspondent,* "the expedition, consisting of over twenty boats, with thirty-four officers and 413 men, of which 120 were marines, was placed under the direction of Commander Thomas H. Stevens, of the Patapsco, with Lieutenant-Commander S. B. Bunce, and Lieutenant Moreau Forrest, as aids. Lieutenant-Commander Williams, of the Wissahickon, was placed in charge of

* N. Y. *Herald*.

the first division of boats ; Lieutenant Remey, of the naval battery, of the second ; Flag-Lieutenant Preston, of the third ; Lieutenant Higginson, of the Powhatan, of the fourth, and Captain McCawley, commanding the marines, and Ensign Craven, of the Housatonic, the fifth division. Captains Stevens and his aids led the flotilla in the admiral's barge.

"The plan of attack was to assail the fort on three sides—one party landing on the gorge wall and attempting to ascend the débris and gain the parapet; a second was to attempt to gain entrance through the lower embrasures, and a third was to act as a reserve. The Daffodil took the boats in tow and steamed up to a short distance from Sumter, when they cast off and formed in line of attack. The boats pulled cautiously along and made slow progress necessarily, as the proper line of attack had to be observed.

"At half-past one the first line of boats approached closely the fort, and were discovered by the sentry on the walls of the work and sharply challenged. No reply was made to the question of 'What boat is that?' A second challenge of the same nature failing to elicit a reply, the sentry discharged his musket and called to the officer below to 'Turn out the guard.' The boats on being hailed pulled quickly to the fort; but before they could reach it, several shots had been fired at them. The boats had dashed rapidly up, the formation of the line of advance being broken. and each boat striving to effect the first landing.

"Seven boats succeeded in getting alongside of the débris on the gorge wall ; the others while pushing up were met with a sharp fire of musketry. Signal lights were burned from Sumter, and in a moment all the rebel batteries bearing on the fort opened a fire of shell and shrapnel on the fort itself, and, of course, on any party that might be about its base. About 150 sailors and marines got ashore, and instead of finding a slope of débris up to the parapet of the gorge wall, they found a perpendicular range of masonry, which the rebels had constructed, meeting them full in the face. All their efforts to find a place of ascent were fruitless. Not a soul could ascend the wall, and the party found themselves in a critical position. The rebels had manned the parapet with infantry, and were also firing through loopholes, formed by sand-bags, in the upper slope of the débris. In addition to this, five hand-grenades were hurled upon the assaulting party's heads, and bricks were detached and tumbled down upon them. Three of the boats were torn to pieces by hand-grenades or shells, from the distant rebel batteries, and retreat was being rapidly cut off. At this juncture a rebel ram came down and opened fire with grape and canister upon the boats, the rebels on the fort throwing flashes of light upon the dark waters about them from a large locomotive lamp. As each boat was brought to light, volleys of musketry, canister, and grape were poured in from the fort and gunboat, and many men killed and wounded.

The only mark for our men to fire at was this light, and a volley or two was thrown at it, but to little effect. Finally, a continuance of their effort to carry out the plan being evidently of no avail, and promising only a heavy loss of men without any gain, the order to retire was given. Four boats came off from the landing at the gorge, and three, being destroyed, were left there. Only a small portion of the storming party succeeded in regaining their boats. Many were killed and the balance taken prisoners."

The loss in this untoward expedition was, according to the Union accounts, ten officers and 104 men. General Beauregard in his official account gave a higher estimate.

"Last night," he wrote in his dispatch of September 9, 1863, "thirty of the launches of the enemy attacked Fort Sumter. Preparations had been made for the event. At a concerted signal all the batteries bearing on Sumter, assisted by one gun-boat and a ram, were thrown open. The enemy was repulsed, leaving in our hands 113 prisoners, including thirteen officers. We also took four boats and three colors." He added, though apocryphally, "We took the original flag of Fort Sumter which Major Anderson was compelled to lower, and which Dahlgren had hoped to replace."

There was much public disappointment that the fleet had apparently effected so little, while the land operations had been so successful. After the guns of Sumter had been silenced, it was thought that the iron-clad gunboats would have been able to approach Charleston. The enemy, however, had so obstructed the harbor, that to attempt to enter it without a further reduction of its defences was deemed too hazardous. Apart from the regular fortifications, whose means of resistance being obvious, could be easily opposed, there was a number of ingenious contrivances for offence and defence, which were so hidden that they could not be readily provided against. Among these were torpedoes, some of which were fixed, and others movable. The latter were either allowed to float down the current and left to the chance of contact, or were pushed down by external force against the object it was intended to destroy. The floating torpedoes occasionally picked up were found to be constructed of staves bound together by iron hoops, in the form of elliptical barrels, supplied with nipples and primed with fulminating mercury, which, on being struck, would explode the coarse powder with which the machine was filled.

A memorable attempt was made with one of the other kind of movable torpedoes. "It was on the night of Monday, the 5th of October," wrote a correspondent,* "that a little cigar-shaped craft was descried approaching the New Ironsides. She was towed down to the vicinity of our picket-boats by a steamer, and there cast off, and while her consort was manœuvring about the harbor, and by her move-

* N. Y. *Herald*.

ments attracting the attention of the pickets, the venturesome little craft made her way without discovery to within a few hundred feet of the frigate.

"As soon as the stranger was made out, she was hailed and challenged by Ensign Howard, the officer of the deck. The only reply received was a volley of musketry. Instantly all hands were piped to quarters, and the marines, the earliest on hand, answered with their rifles to the volley of the stranger. They seemed to produce no effect on the coming craft, which, dashing on with all the speed it could make, soon struck the frigate on the starboard side. Instantly a terrific explosion followed, the Ironsides trembled from stem to stern. Vast columns of water were thrown up, and, descending, extinguished the fires of the venturesome steamer. By the fearful shock, some sailors lying on the gun-deck of the Ironsides were thrown with violence up to the under surface of the spar-deck, and one of them had his leg broken by the fall.

"This was all the damage the New Ironsides sustained. As soon as her guns could be brought to bear upon the rebel craft, they were opened, and when the smoke of the first fire cleared away, the stranger was no longer visible. Only the circling waves where it had gone down, and a few objects floating or struggling in the water, marked the spot where it had been a moment before.

"On the following morning, Captain Rowan, thinking it not unlikely that some of the rebel crew had been picked up by vessels of the surrounding fleet, ordered a search to be made; and on a coal schooner from Philadelphia, Lieutenant Glassell, of the rebel navy, and a rebel sailing-master, named Toombs, were discovered. The lieutenant had already assumed the garb of a Union coal carrier, for which he had paid the captain of the schooner the sum of 300 dollars and a gold watch, and was patiently awaiting an opportunity to get back to Sullivan's Island, in which effort the Philadelphia skipper had covenanted to aid him. The three persons were chained together and taken in irons to Port Royal.

"From all that we could learn of the strange craft," adds the writer, "she was built expressly for the purpose of destroying the New Ironsides, and was constructed by means of a public subscription circulated in Charleston. Five months have been consumed in getting her ready. Her hull, though long, was narrow and shallow, affording room only for her engines and a crew of four or five picked men. Projecting thirty or forty feet beyond her bows was an immense torpedo, which, although exploding by percussion as intended, had no other effect than to jar the frigate it was meant to annihilate."

General Gillmore, immediately on occupying Forts Wagner and Gregg, set vigorously to work to adapt them to his own purposes. After strengthening the works and mounting them with more and heavier guns, he opened fire upon Fort Sumter, where the enemy were suspected to be engaged in erect-

Oct. 26.

ing new batteries under the cover of the ruins of the old work. At the same time some shots were fired at the city of Charleston. The audacity of commerce was impressively displayed by the fact, that during the siege of Charleston several vessels ventured to break the blockade, and thus expose themselves to the immense powers of destruction concentrated there.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Effect of Burnside's Failure at Fredericksburg upon the Army of the Potomac.—His Officers' Interview with President Lincoln.—The Effect.—Burnside's Resignation.—The Report of the Congressional Committee on the subject. Successor of Burnside.—General Joseph Hooker.—"Fighting Joe."—Life of Hooker.—His Military Career and Services.—His Personal Appearance and Character.—His excessive Self-reliance.—The Effect upon the many.—Effect upon the judicious few.—Hooker's freedom of criticism upon his cotemporaries. —Hooker *versus* McClellan.—Hooker *versus* Burnside.—The famous Order No. 8.—The Army of the Potomac inspirited by the appointment of Hooker. —Activity of Hooker.—Cavalry Expeditions.—Mosby's Raids.—The Enemy's Cavalry checked by the Unionists.—Wyndham's Expedition.—Wadsworth's Expedition.—Averill's Expedition.—Hooker determined to give Lee battle at Fredericksburg. Hooker's plan.—The Army of the Potomac crosses the Rappahannock.—Hooker's confidence. —Battle of Chancellorsville.—Attack of Sedgwick on Fredericksburg. Its success.—Position of the Enemy.—The Enemy turn upon Sedgwick.—His Defeat at Salem Heights.—Sedgwick retreats across the Rappahannock.—Hooker retires across the Rappahannock to his old position opposite Fredericksburg.

1863.

THE failure of General Burnside at Fredericksburg created in the Army of the Potomac so much distrust of his capacity to command it, that some of his officers ventured to state the fact to the President. Mr. Lincoln was so far impressed by the statement that he wrote to General Burnside: "I have reason for saying that you must not make a general movement without letting me know it." This interference led to the General's resignation, the circumstances of which are authentically given in the report of the Congressional Committee on the conduct of the war.

"General Burnside," they say, "came to Washington to ascertain from the President the true state of the case. He was informed by the President that some general officers from the Army of the Potomac, whose names he declined to give, had called upon him and represented that General Burnside contemplated soon making a movement, and that the army was so dispirited and demoralized that any attempt to make a movement at that time must result in disaster; that no prominent officers in the Army of the Potomac were in favor of any movement at that time.

"General Burnside informed the President that none of his officers had been informed what his plan was, and then proceeded to explain it in detail to the President. He urged upon the Pres-

ident to grant him permission to carry it out; but the President declined to do so at that time. General Halleck and Secretary Stanton were sent for, and then learned for the first time of the President's action in stopping the movement, although General Halleck was previously aware that a movement was contemplated by General Burnside. General Halleck, with General Burnside, held that the officers who had made those representations to the President should be at once dismissed the service. General Burnside remained here at that time for two days, but no conclusion was reached upon the subject.

"When he returned to his camp, he learned that many of the details of the general movement, and the details of the cavalry expedition, had become known to the rebel sympathizers in Washington, thereby rendering that plan impracticable. When asked to whom he had communicated his plans, he stated that he had told no one in Washington, except the President, Secretary Stanton, and General Halleck, and in his camp none knew of it except one or two of his staff officers who had remained in camp all the time. He professed himself unable to tell how his plans had become known to the enemy.

"A correspondence then took place between the President, General Halleck, and General Burnside. General Burnside desired distinct authority from General Halleck, or some one authorized to give it, to make a movement across the river. While urging the importance and necessity for such a movement, he candidly admitted that there was hardly a general officer in his command who approved of it. While willing to take upon himself all the responsibility of the movement, and promising to keep in view the President's caution concerning running any risk of destroying the Army of the Potomac, he desired to have at least General Halleck's sanction or permission to make the movement. General Halleck replied, that while he had always favored a forward movement, he could not take the responsibility of giving any directions as to how and when it should be made.

"General Burnside then determined to make a movement without any further correspondence on the subject. He was unable to devise any as promising as the one just thwarted by this interference of his subordinate officers, which interference gave the enemy the time, if not the means, to ascertain what he had proposed to do. He, however, devised a plan of movement, and proceeded to put it in execution. As is well-known, it was rendered abortive in consequence of the severe storm which took place shortly after the movement began.

"General Burnside states that, besides the inclemency of the weather, there was another powerful reason for abandoning the movement—viz., the almost universal feeling among his general officers against it. Some of those officers freely gave vent to their feelings in the presence of their inferiors.

"In consequence of this, and also what had taken place during the battle

of Fredericksburg, etc., General Burnside directed an order to be issued, which he styled General Order No. 8.

"That order dismissed some officers from the service, subject to the approval of the President; relieved others from duty with the Army of the Potomac, and also pronounced sentence of death upon some deserters who had been tried and convicted.

"General Burnside states that he had became satisfied that it was absolutely necessary that some such example should be made, in order to enable him to maintain the proper authority over the army under his command. The order was duly signed and issued, and only waited publication.

"Two or three of his most trusted staff officers represented to General Burnside that, should he then publish that order, he would force upon the President the necessity of at once sanctioning it, or, by refusing his approval, assume an attitude of hostility to General Burnside. The publication of the order was accordingly delayed for the time.

"General Burnside came to Washington and laid the order before the President, with the distinct assurance that in no other way could he exercise a proper command over the Army of the Potomac; and he asked the President to sanction the order or accept his resignation as major-general. The President acknowledged that General Burnside was right, but declined to decide without consulting with some of his advisers. To this General Burnside replied that, if the President took time for consultation, he would not be allowed to publish that order, and therefore asked to have his resignation accepted at once. This the President declined to do.

"General Burnside returned to his camp, and came again to Washington that night at the request of the President, and the next morning called upon the President for his decision. He was informed that the President declined to approve his Order No. 8, but had concluded to relieve him from the command of the Army of the Potomac, and to appoint General Hooker in his place. Thereupon General Burnside again insisted that his resignation be accepted. This the President declined to do; and, after some urging, General Burnside consented to take a leave of absence for thirty days, with the understanding that at the end of that time he should be assigned to duty, as he deemed it improper to hold a commission as major-general and receive his pay without rendering service therefor. General Burnside objected to the wording of the order which relieved him from his command, and which stated that it was at his own request, as being unjust to him and unfounded in fact; but upon the representation that any other order would do injury to the cause, he consented to let it remain as it then read."

General Burnside, on his resignation,* turned over his command to **Jan. 26.**

* Major-Generals Sumner and Franklin were, at the same time, relieved from their commands. The former died on the 21st of March, 1863; the latter was placed in command of a corps under General Banks, in Louisiana.

General Joseph Hooker, an officer who had won by his gallantry a conspicuous position. The title of "Fighting Joe," by which he was known among his soldiers, proved the popular estimate of his dashing qualities.

General Joseph Hooker was born in Hadley, Massachusetts, in 1815. In 1833 he entered the Military Academy of West Point, and graduated in 1837, ranking No. 28 in a class of fifty. On the 1st of July, 1837, he became second lieutenant of the First Artillery, and on the 1st of November, 1838, was promoted to the first lieutenancy. From July 1 to October 3, 1841, he was the adjutant of the Military Academy of West Point, and from 1841 to 1846 was the adjutant of his regiment. He served with distinction in Mexico, and was aid-de-camp to Brigadier-General Hamer. He was, in May, 1847, brevetted captain for gallant conduct in the several conflicts at Monterey, which took place on the 21st, 22d, and 23d days of September, 1846. His brevet bore the last-mentioned date. He was appointed on the staff as assistant adjutant-general, with the brevet rank of captain, on the 3d of March, 1847, and in March, 1849, was further brevetted major for gallant and meritorious conduct in the affair at the National Bridge, Mexico, his brevet dating from June 11, 1847. In the same month he received another brevet—viz., lieutenant-colonel—for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Chapultepec. This brevet bore date September 13, 1847. On the 29th of October, 1848, he was appointed a captain of the First Artillery, and on the same day vacated his regimental commission, retaining his position in the adjutant-general's department, with brevet of lieutenant-colonel.

After serving a while in California, he resigned on the 21st of February, 1853, and purchasing some land at Sonoma, on the bay of San Francisco, became a farmer. He was, however, employed by the Government to superintend the construction of the National Road between California and Oregon. While in the latter State, he was urged to accept a nomination for the U. S. Senate, but declined in favor of the late General Baker, who was his personal friend, and whose political interests he warmly advocated.

As soon as Hooker heard of the fall of Sumter, he left his farm and hastened to Washington, where, immediately on his arrival, he was appointed a brigadier-general of volunteers, with a commission dating from the 17th of May, 1861. His first service was in Maryland, under General Dix; but he was soon after promoted to a separate command under General McClellan. He showed energy and tact in his management of the rebelliously disposed counties of Prince George and Charles, which he subjected to military control without loss of life. He took possession, at the same time, of the Maryland shore of the Potomac, and kept his troops actively employed in expeditions into Virginia. He subsequently crossed the river with a portion of his troops, took possession of the



enemy's batteries which so long blockaded the Potomac, and advanced some distance into the interior.

When McClellan entered upon his peninsular campaign, General Hooker joined him with his division. In the severe battles which were fought from Williamsburg to Malvern Hills, Hooker and his men did a large share of the fighting, and became noted for their readiness and courage.

At the battle of Antietam, General Hooker commanded a wing of McClellan's army, and for his bearing on that day received great applause. He was wounded in the foot during the fight, but remained on the field until the victory was won, which he thus announced to General McClellan:

"A great battle has been fought, and we are victorious. I had the honor to open it yesterday afternoon, and it continued until ten o'clock this morning, when I was wounded and compelled to quit the field. The battle was fought with great violence on both sides. The carnage has been awful. I only regret that I was not permitted to take part in the operations until they were concluded, for I had counted on either capturing their army or driving them into the Potomac. My wound has been painful, but it is not one that will be likely to lay me up. I was shot through the foot."

His wound proved so severe that he was prevented for some time from active service. On his recovery he was promoted to a major-generalship of volunteers, with a commission dating from July 4th, 1862,* and soon after appointed to the brigadier-generalship in the regular army, vacated by the death of General Mansfield, killed at Antietam, with a commission dating from September 20, 1862. On the removal of General Fitz John Porter, General Hooker was appointed to the fifth army corps, the command of which he assumed on the 12th of November, 1862. Subsequently, when the Army of the Potomac was divided by General Burnside into three grand divisions, he was given the command of the centre, composed of the third and fifth army corps. At the battle of Fredericksburg, Hooker's troops, as usual, distinguished themselves by their fighting qualities.

General Hooker is described as "very tall, erect, compactly but not heavily built, extremely muscular, and of great physical endurance; of a light complexion, a fresh, ruddy countenance, full, clear mild eyes, intellectual head, brown hair, slightly tinged with gray—and altogether, one of the most commanding officers in his bearing and appearance in the army."† With a social disposition and unreserved manners, he yields readily to the influence of conviviality, and has thus incurred the censure of the more rigid.

From the gallantry and activity shown by General Hooker on various battle-

* On Hooker's appointment to the command of the Army of the Potomac, the President requested that his commission of major-general of volunteers should date from May 5, 1862, instead of July 4th, 1862, since the former was the day of the fight at Williamsburg, in which he had so greatly distinguished himself.

† N. Y. *Herald*.

fields, great expectations were entertained of his success as the commander of the Army of the Potomac. His excessive self-reliance and proportionate distrust of others, although so freely expressed as to cause the judicious to doubt his prudence, served perhaps only to strengthen the confidence of the people in their favorite, whom, with a well-founded predisposition in his favor, they did not hesitate to exalt according to his own estimate of himself and his fellows.

When asked by the Congressional Committee to what he attributed the failure of the peninsular campaign, he answered: "I do not hesitate to say that it is to be attributed to the want of generalship on the part of our commander." He also repeatedly declared that on several occasions during that campaign he could have taken Richmond. Again, after the failure of General Burnside at Fredericksburg, he is believed to have so freely censured that General's conduct, as to obtain for himself a prominent place in the famous Order No. 8, by which he, with others of lesser note, was relieved from command.

While this extreme self-asserter may have heightened the popular expectation of the success of the new commander, it exposed him to a severer judgment in case of failure.

The Army of the Potomac—still on the heights of the Rappahannock opposite to Fredericksburg—though temporarily disheartened by its failure under Burnside, seemed to recover its spirits upon the assumption of command by General Hooker, who immediately made ready for an active campaign. The cavalry forces of both sides entered upon a series of expeditions preliminary to a general engagement. The enemy, presuming upon the discouragement of the defeated Union troops, were especially active and bold.

A large force of the enemy's cavalry, under Fitz Hugh Lee and Hampton, crossed the Rappahannock at Kelly's Ford, broke through the line of Union outposts, and strove to make their way in the rear, with the view of destroying the communications. The Union cavalry having, in the meantime, concentrated in force, compelled the marauders to retreat and recross the river.

Feb. 25.

A cavalry officer, Captain Mosby, signalized himself by an audacious raid in the rear of the Union army, and entering Fairfax Court House, captured General Stoughton, his staff, escort, and baggage.

Mar. 9.

Mosby's superior in command, General Stuart, chief of the enemy's cavalry, deemed the exploit of his subordinate worthy of "a recognition in general orders."

"Captain John S. Mosby," he said, "has for a long time attracted the attention of his generals by his boldness, skill, and successes so signally displayed in his numerous forays upon the invaders of his native State.

"None know his daring enterprise and dashing heroism better than those foul invaders, though strangers themselves to such noble traits.

"His late brilliant exploit—the capture of Brigadier-General Stoughton, United States Army, two captains, thirty other prisoners, together with their arms, equipment, and fifty-eight horses—justifies this recognition in general orders.

"This feat, unparalleled in the war, was performed in the midst of the enemy's troops, at Fairfax Court House, without loss or injury.

"The gallant band of Captain Mosby share the glory, as they did the danger, of this enterprise, and are worthy of such a leader."

Mosby, while engaged in another raid, was surprised, but escaped capture by quickly rallying his men and boldly charging the Union troops. He was on his way to Dranesville, and had bivouacked upon a plantation, when a squadron of the First Vermont Cavalry came suddenly upon him.

Mar. 31.

"Mosby's men were dismounted, and received our cavalry," says a correspondent, "with a fire from behind fences, which stampeded some of the raw soldiers. The fight soon became desperate. Mosby threatened his men with death if they flinched, and himself wounded Captain Flint five times with his revolver before killing him. Lieutenant Grout, of the Vermont Cavalry, and seven men were also killed. Our loss was about sixty killed, wounded, and prisoners.

"Mosby was in the house upon the plantation when he was surprised; but we learn that he rallied his men with lightning-like celerity, and when our squadron broke, he pursued and hacked them severely. The guerrilla chief received a severe sabre cut on the forehead.

"We learn that the Vermont carbine companies delivered their fire upon the enemy with good effect, and then opened to the right and left to allow the sabre companies to charge; but they did not come up to the work."

Captain Mosby, recovering from his wound, and being again in the saddle, soon made his name familiar as that of one of the most audacious of the enemy's guerrilla chiefs.

The Union cavalry was also actively occupied. A detachment, under Colonel Percy Wyndham, started from Centreville for Warrenton, which was taken by surprise, and horse patrols were sent forward to Sulphur Springs and Waterloo, on the Rappahannock, but the enemy had disappeared. Some smugglers, however, were captured with supplies of contraband goods, consisting of "boots, silks, phosphorus, and treasury notes," intended for the rebels.

Feb. 2.

Early in March, a detachment of the First Maine Cavalry, commanded by Captain Wadsworth, scoured the neck of land between the Rappahannock and Mattapony rivers. In the course of the expedition a thorough reconnoissance of the district was made. Several boats plying across the Rappahannock were destroyed, and a "smuggling nest," filled with boots, shoes, caps, blankets, horses, and mules, was broken up.

A more imposing expedition of cavalry, under the command of General Averill, sent out to reconnoitre, forced a

passage across the Rappahannock beyond Kelly's Ford, in the face of the enemy's defences, occupied by a considerable body of sharpshooters.

Mar. 17.

"The ford," says a chronicler, "admitted but a single horseman at a time, and the stream, which was swollen, was very rapid.

"Arriving at the south side of the river, our cavalry charged the rebels in their intrenchments, killing and capturing nearly the entire force, besides securing a large number of horses picketed near by.

"A short distance from the shore General Averill's command encountered the rebel cavalry under Stuart and Fitz Hugh Lee, who had hastened from Culpepper to prevent our passage. They made some dashing charges upon our troops, who repulsed and in turn charged them with fatal effect, using sabres only in the conflict. Whenever the enemy made a stand, they were immediately charged upon and routed from their positions with great loss.

"The battle lasted five hours, and was a series of charges and hand-to-hand conflicts, resulting in the falling back of the enemy. The forces were about 2,000 on each side.

"The enemy at last took refuge behind an intrenched battery, four miles from the ford, flanked by rifle-pits and abattis. General Averill, having accomplished his object, and securing his prisoners, the wounded on both sides, and a large number of horses, recrossed the river without attack or demonstration on the part of the rebels, who were so badly whipped that they could not follow or annoy him."

General Averill brought back with him about eighty prisoners. Other reconnoitring expeditions went and returned without meeting serious opposition, but daily skirmishes, with varying results, occurred between the small cavalry detachments of both armies. Captain Mosby, in the mean time, continued his tormenting raids in the rear of General Hooker's army, pouncing now and then upon a supply train or a line of suttlers' wagons.

General Hooker, having completed a series of reconnoissances, determined to advance and give battle to General Lee, intrenched on the heights of Fredericksburg. His plan was simply to flank the enemy on the left. With this object he determined to divert them by an attack with a considerable force on their right and front at Fredericksburg, and a demonstration of cavalry in their rear, while he moved his main body to their left.

On the 28th of April, the Union army began to move, and before the opening of the third day, the right being composed of the fifth, eleventh, and twelfth corps, having crossed Kelly's Ford on the Rappahannock, and Ely's and Germania Mills Fords on the Rapidan, encamped at Chancellorsville. The enemy's sharpshooters made some show of resistance at the rivers, and their cavalry with flying artillery slightly harassed the flanks of the advancing column.

General Hooker was so well satisfied with the result of the movement of his

right wing that he expressly complimented it.

"It is," he said in his order, April 30, "with feelings of heartfelt satisfaction that the Commanding General announces to the army that the operations of the last three days have determined that the enemy must either ingloriously fly or come out from behind his defences and give us battle on our own ground, where certain destruction awaits him.

"The operations of the fifth, eleventh, and twelfth corps have been a succession of splendid achievements."

General Hooker subsequently added to his right wing the first and third corps, leaving the sixth corps and one division of the second to attack the enemy on the front and the left of their intrenchments at Fredericksburg.

While General Hooker was congratulating his troops on their achievements, General Lee suddenly made a flank movement, which gave him the advantages of position claimed by his adversary. Disregarding, for the moment, the menace in his front and right, he concentrated all his force on his left, and leaving his intrenchments at Fredericksburg, attacked Hooker in his encampment at Chancellorsville. On Friday, May 1, there was an exchange of artillery and some severe skirmishing, which seemed to result to the advantage of the Unionists.

"About nine o'clock" (Saturday, May 2d), says a correspondent* describing the attacks on the second and third day, "a regiment was seen to come into the plank road, in front of the Chancellor House, in column, and attempt to deploy. One or two doses of canister caused them to deploy rather irregularly, and more like skirmishers on the retreat.

"Soon after, General Hooker and staff began an inspection of our lines, which occupied full two hours. Every portion was visited, and the work of the night was closely inspected. On the extreme left new lines were chosen, and the engineer officers soon marked out the line and character of the defences to be erected. When the inspection closed, the intrenchments were pronounced to be of the very best character, especially those on the right, where the columns of Slocum and Howard were posted.

"There had been only slight disturbances during the night, as both forces had been busy with their axes rather than their muskets. From General Howard's front came a report that the enemy was engaged all the night in cutting a road past his picket line to the right. How much attention was paid to this fact at the time I do not know, but subsequent events proved that it was very significant.

"The day continued to pass in a very dull manner for a day of battle, and only here and there was there anything more than desultory skirmishing and picket firing.

"About three o'clock the pickets on the right of General Slocum's front reported that from a certain position wagons had been seen moving in a westerly direction nearly all day. It

* N. Y. *Daily Times*.

was at once surmised that this might be a retreat, but subsequent events proved that it was part of an affair of altogether another nature. To ascertain, however, what it really was, General Sickles, who was still in reserve, was ordered to make a reconnoissance in heavy force in that direction. This was done with great promptness, and the divisions of Generals Birney and Whipple, with General Barlow's brigade, from Howard's corps, were pushed out to the front, Berdan's brigade of sharpshooters having the advance, and supporting Randolph's battery. Our troops moved rapidly, and very soon became more or less engaged, especially the artillery, and the sharpshooters as skirmishers. Berdan soon sent in some sixty prisoners, belonging to the Twenty-third Georgia, including one major, two captains, and three lieutenants. Being upon the ground, I examined these prisoners, and soon found that the 'wagon train' which we had seen moving during the day was composed mainly of ordnance wagons and ambulances, and that Stonewall Jackson and staff were at the head of a column of troops which the wagons followed.

"Nothing more was needed to convince us that this daring opponent was executing another of his sudden movements, and it was at once resolved to checkmate him. General Sickles was ordered to push on, and General Williams' division of Slocum's column was ordered to co-operate. Birney pushed ahead with great vigor, and with Randolph's battery soon sent to the rear as prisoners of war the entire remnant of the Twenty-third Georgia Regiment, numbering over 400 officers and men. The column of the enemy which had been moving up this road was now literally cut in two, and General Williams had commenced a flank movement on the enemy's right, which promised the most auspicious results.

"But at five o'clock, a terrible crash of musketry on our extreme right announced that Jackson had commenced his operations. This had been anticipated, but it was supposed that after his column was cut, the corps of General Howard (formerly General Sigel's), with its supports, would be sufficient to resist his approach, and finding that he was himself assailed in the rear, he would turn about and retreat to escape capture.

"But to the disgrace of the eleventh corps be it said, the division of General Schurz, which was the first assailed, almost instantly gave way. Threats, entreaties, and orders of commanders were of no avail. Thousands threw down their guns and streamed down the road toward headquarters. The enemy pressed his advantage. General Devens' division, disaffected by the demoralization of the forces in front of him, soon followed suit, and the brave General was for the second time severely wounded in the foot while endeavoring to rally his men. General Howard, with all his daring, resolution, and vigor, could not stem the retreating tide. The brigades of Colonels Bushbeck and McDean only remained fighting, and maintained themselves nobly as long as possible. But

they, too, gave way, though in good order, before vastly superior numbers.

"General Hooker now sent to the aid of General Howard the choicest division of his army, the creation of his own hand—the famous second division of the third corps—commanded by Major-General Berry. Captain Best soon moved his batteries on a ridge running across the road, and after a short but sanguinary contest the farther advance of the enemy was stayed.

"Of course this disaster compelled the recall of Sickles and Slocum, who had been pursuing their work with remarkable vigor. General Williams' division returned only to find a portion of their works filled with the enemy. Sickles' division could not communicate with the rest of the army at all by the way they advanced, and only at great risk by any other route.

"This was the position at dark, and it did not look very promising. But our energetic commander was more than equal to the emergency. New dispositions to repair this disaster were at once made with Generals Birney and Whipple, and a night attack ordered, to restore the connection of the lines. General Ward's brigade, of General Birney's division, made the attack at eleven at night, aided by Captain Best's guns, massed on the ridge in front of the enemy. Birney's position was on the extreme left of this new line of battle, but Ward's terrific attack was entirely successful, communication was restored, and in a charge made by the brigade, a portion of the artillery lost by Howard was gallantly retaken by General Hobart Ward.

"This night attack was the most grand and terrific thing of the war. The moon shone bright, and an enemy could be seen at good musket range. The air was very still, and the roar and reverberation of the musketry and artillery past all conception. Malvern Hill was a skirmish compared with this, save in the degree of slaughter. But it was successful—the enemy were driven back nearly half a mile, and our tired men once more slept on their arms. That night's work was ended.

"Now I come to Sunday. It was perfectly evident, from the position of affairs on Saturday night, that there must be a change of our lines, which would throw the enemy out of our rear and into our front again. It will be seen by what skilful generalship the enemy was fought and checked on front, and flank, and rear while this was being done.

"General Reynolds' first army corps arrived at United States Ford on Saturday afternoon. It was immediately put into position on our right, which was withdrawn from the plank road to the Ely's Ford turnpike. This line was immediately formed by Generals Reynolds and Meade, the latter's position, on the left, having been relieved by General Howard's eleventh corps, which, notwithstanding its disorganized condition, was so far reorganized during the night as to be fit for duty again this morning. They were assigned the position on the left, where it was prob-

able there would be little or no fighting, and were protected by the strong works built the day before by General Meade's corps. Our new line now assumed the shape of a triangle, prolonged at the apex, the right of the line being somewhat longer than the left. As the portion of the line on the right was new, time was necessary to fortify and intrench it, and the work was carried on vigorously by the fifth and first army corps.

"It was very evident at daylight this morning that the day would bring forth a terrific battle. We knew that the enemy had been reinforcing his line all night, at the expense, undoubtedly, of the strength of his force on our left. His intention was, evidently, to fight for the possession of the plank road, which it was perfectly apparent he must have, as that portion of it which we then held was subject to the enemy's assaults in front and on both flanks.

"But the possession of this road was not obtained by the enemy save at our own time, at his severest cost, and after one of the most desperate, tenacious, and bloody conflicts, for its short duration, of the whole war. At five o'clock A.M. the rebels could be plainly seen up the plank road, about a mile and a half from the Chancellor House, which General Hooker still retained as his headquarters, though a shell had gone through it the evening before, and another had cut down a tree directly in front of it.

"Our line of battle was formed with General Berry's gallant division on the right, General Birney next on the left, General Whipple and General Williams supporting. At half-past five A.M. the advance became engaged in the ravine, just beyond the ridge where Captain Best's guns had made their terrific onslaught the night before, and where they still frowned upon the enemy and threatened his destruction.

"The rattle of musketry soon became a long continued crash, and in a few moments, as battalion after battalion became engaged, the roar surpassed all conception, and indicated that the fight would be one of the most terrible nature. General Berry's division, which had checked the enemy's advance the night before, engaged him again, and if it were possible for them to add more laurels to their fame, then they did it thrice over again. The enemy advanced his infantry in overwhelming numbers, and seemed determined to crush our forces. But the brave men of Sickles and Slocum, who fought their columns with desperate gallantry, held the rebels in check, and inflicted dreadful slaughter among them. General French's division was sent in on the right flank of our lines at about seven A.M., and in a short time a horde of ragged, streaming rebels running down the road indicated that that portion of the enemy's line had been crushed. At eight o'clock A.M., General French sent his compliments to General Hooker, with the information that he had charged the enemy, and was driving him before him.

"Sickles sustained the attack upon

his line with great endurance. The enemy seemed determined to crush him with the immensity of his forces, and, as subsequently shown from the statements of prisoners, five whole divisions of the rebel army were precipitated upon this portion of the line, for from these five divisions we took during the day an aggregate of over 2,000 prisoners.

"The exploits of our gallant troops in those dark, tangled, gloomy woods may never be brought to light; but they would fill a hundred volumes. It was a deliberate, desperate hand-to-hand conflict, and the carnage was perfectly frightful. Cool officers say that the dead and wounded of the enemy covered the ground in heaps, and that the rebels seemed utterly regardless of their lives, and literally threw themselves upon the muzzles of our guns. Many desperate charges were made during the fight, particularly by Berry's division. Mott's brigade made fifteen distinct charges, and captured seven stand of colors, the Seventh New Jersey, Colonel Francine, alone capturing four stand of colors and 500 prisoners.

"General Couch's second army corps, though only in part present, did excellent work. It was General French who charged and drove the enemy on the flank, and it was the indomitable Hancock who gallantly went to the relief of the hard-pressed Sickles.

"The engagement lasted without the slightest intermission from half-past five A.M. to a quarter to nine A.M., when there was a temporary cessation on our part, occasioned by getting out of ammunition. We held our position for nearly an hour with the bayonet, and then, being re-supplied, an order was given to fall back to the vicinity of the Chancellor House, which we did in good order. Here the contest was maintained for an hour or more, not so severely as before, but with great havoc to the enemy, and considerable loss to ourselves.

"The vicinity of the Chancellor House was now the theatre of the fight, and my visits to that spot became less frequent. General Hooker maintained his headquarters there until ten A.M., when it was set on fire by the enemy's shells, and is now in ruins. Chancellorsville is no longer in existence, having perished with the flames, but Chancellorsville is in history, never to be effaced.

"Our new line was now so far established as to render it safe to withdraw all our forces on that front, which was accordingly done, and at half-past eleven A.M. the musketry firing ceased.

"The engagement had lasted six hours, but had been the most terrific of the war. Our artillery had literally slaughtered the enemy, and many of the companies had lost heavily in men themselves, but the guns were all saved.

"The enemy was no longer in our rear, but had been shoved down directly in our front, between us and our forces in Fredericksburg, and we were again in an intrenched and formidably fortified position. The enemy has gained some ground, it is true, but at the

sacrifice of the flower of his force, five of his seven divisions having been cut to pieces in the effort, and over two thousand prisoners having fallen into our hands.

"Our right wing under Generals Reynolds and Meade was not engaged, save the division of General Humphreys, which went into the woods on the enemy's left flank, and fought valiantly under their brilliant leader until their ammunition was exhausted.

"During the afternoon the enemy had made several attempts to force our lines, particularly at the apex of our position, near the Chancellor House, but Captain Weed had massed a large quantity of artillery in such a position as to repulse with great loss everything placed within its range. The enemy tried several batteries and regiments at that point at different times during the afternoon, and they were literally destroyed by the fire of our terrible guns."

When General Lee had changed his front and marched his main force in the attack on General Hooker at Chancellorsville, General Sedgwick, who commanded the sixth corps and the one division of the second left to menace the enemy in front, took the occasion to cross the Rappahannock and assail their rear, consisting of a single division under General Early, guarding the intrenchments upon the heights of Fredericksburg.

"Between four and five P.M. on Saturday, May 2," says a correspondent,* "the light brigade was thrown forward —the Thirty-first New York in the first line as skirmishers, supported by the Sixth Maine, the Fifth Wisconsin, and the Sixty-first Pennsylvania Volunteers, drawn up in line of battle. This advance was directly from the river, across the open, level plain just over the point at which the bridges spanned the stream, and this little field of battle was bounded on the right by the ravine that runs up from one Bernard's house, and on the left by the other Bernard's house. Across the front of the field ran the Bowling Green road, and the possession of that road was the object of the present advance.

"Briskly received by the enemy's pickets, our line still went on, and in twenty minutes had possession of the road. As soon as the fire began on the south side, all of our troops who remained at this point on the north side of the river were sent across and began to take up positions. But there was so much change in these positions, that it was midnight before the men were in their places or had a chance to eat their supper. When once they were at rest, no fires were permitted, and so but few suppers were eaten; for a soldier does not care for a cold bite at that hour.

* * * * *

"It was at half-past twelve o'clock in the morning, on Sunday, May 3, that we left the green plain on the river's bank and marched to and up the Bowling Green road. Shaler's brigade had the advance; behind it came Battery G, Second United States Artillery, Lieutenant Butler; then Wheaton's brigade,

* N. Y. *Herald*.

and the second brigade of Newton's division, commanded by Colonel Brown.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Hamblin, with the First United States Chasseurs, skirmished in advance of the whole line. For the greater part of the distance our march was unmolested; but as the advance was on the descent of a little hill just south of the town, a fire of pickets was opened upon them from an opposite hill to the left. By this fire several men were knocked down, and Major Healy, of the Chasseurs, was wounded.

* * * * *

"But the Chasseurs went on steadily, and at about three o'clock entered the town of Fredericksburg, and held it until the remainder of the column came up. It was a bold feat to enter thus a place like this, where every house might suddenly open upon us like a mine. But the result justified the apparent rashness of the venture.

"On we went through the town in a direction nearly north until we came to the railroad track, and then we turned to our left and went fair west; again we went to our right in a northwesterly direction. At this time no one knew, perhaps, exactly where we were. But here was Shaler's brigade massed in the road; in the same road Butler's battery, men all mounted, caissons up, etc. We were on the march. Shaler was ordered to the left to feel, and discovered that we were in dangerous proximity to the enemy in position, and to what else it was impossible to make out in the dark. General Newton, wisely cautious, stopped this advance. * * *

"Day was just at peep when the presence of the bad place in front was made out, and we then had to look around us. We occupied the town. Our skirmishers held the ends of the side streets, and the streets that ran down to the river were enfiladed by the enemy's fire. * * *

"Just after daylight, we received the first fire from the enemy. A fierce fusilade was begun from a rifle-pit fairly in our front. Unfortunately, it so happened that the Twenty-third Pennsylvania was in line of battle in the open field, within range of the rifle-pits on the hill. From those pits a fierce eruption of musketry suddenly broke forth, and took the Twenty-third by surprise; but they stood there, bravely and gloriously; not a man moved a foot. But when the fire held up for a moment, then this magnificent Twenty-third answered it—not with fire, but with one magnificent cheer.

"This fire knocked down a number of men and told us where the enemy were. Immediately Battery G, Second United States Artillery, Lieutenant Butler, with McCarthy's, Horn's, and Hexamer's batteries, unlimbered and opened a fire on the position whence the enemy's fire had come. This stopped the musketry, as the enemy kept his men covered, and commenced to shell the town, in which our men were massed.

"On our advance up the Bowling Green road we appeared to expose our line of retreat. But we did not do so, inasmuch as the line of retreat went

with us; for as soon as we were over the river, the pontoon bridges were taken to pieces, and while we went up the river on one side they went up the river, and when we reached Fredericksburg, there was our line of retreat all handy if we should need it.

"Another use was also made of the bridges; for in a short time after the sixth corps had occupied the town, Gibbon's division of the second corps crossed to participate in the struggle, and that also was in the streets in the lower part of the town.

"Brooks' division of the sixth corps had not come with us. We had here Newton's division, Howe's division, the light division, and Gibbon's division of the second corps, all massed in the town and fairly in front of the very position that Sumner had vainly endeavored to carry last winter.

"General Frank Wheaton's brigade was now thrown forward to the left, and skirmished toward the enemy's position in that direction. The enemy was found to be there. Still farther to the left, General Howe did the same, and the enemy was there. Could it be possible that this line was thus occupied through its whole extent? That seemed incredible, but, occupied or not, we must find a point somewhere, and pierce the line.

"After some examination, a point far to our right was picked out, and Brigadier-General G. K. Warren thought that 'that was the place.' It was determined that there were neither artillery nor men at that point. General Gibbon was sent there with his command. First a battery was placed on a hill at point blank range opposite a work of the enemy's, so that guns should not be brought there. Scarcely was the battery—the Third Rhode Island, Captain Hazard—in position, before two guns opened upon it from the work in front, to which Captain Hazard, on the open field, responded handsomely.

"Hazard's battery was supported by the Second Rhode Island.

"Meanwhile General Gibbon's infantry was in motion toward the supposed pregnable point of the enemy's line. Far away to the right, across the green plain and toward the hillside, they moved in column, and at them also the enemy began to throw shell. While this infantry was in motion toward a work that was thought to be undefended, your correspondent, from a position on the left of Hazard's battery, could clearly see in these very pits swarms of the enemy as they peered over the intrenchments and gazed with malign interest upon our men on the plain.

"As Gibbon's line thus advanced to the right, a bad place in the road caused the Twentieth Massachusetts to become somewhat massed, and the enemy suddenly opened upon it a fire of grape and canister, which proved very destructive.

"General Gibbon, soon after Hazard's battery opened, got into action Captain Adams' Rhode Island battery, across the plain to the right, and in the road that skirted the battle-field. Captain Adams practised at the rebels, and was also practised at, and well, too, by the

battery on the hill to his left, and by another which suddenly opened on his right, nearer to him, while he endeavored to get the range of the first. Between this cross fire this battery was severely cut up, and the position became too hot for it.

"As General Gibbon went to the right, the enemy's men were sent in that direction to meet him. As they had the shorter lines, the same men could be employed at whatever point we might threaten. Thus 10,000 men should have been equal to at least 50,000, and we did not have more than 15,000 on the field.

"On the front, where General Gibbon commanded, the Tenth Massachusetts skirmished toward the enemy's pits, and the fire demonstrated that there were men there as well as cannon.

"Away on the left, Howe did just what Gibbon did on the right, and Newton did the same in the centre; yet, with all, though men were killed and wounded plentifully, there was nothing done. Every battle has these periods of indefinite endeavor, from which some one fact eventually shapes itself out and becomes the fact of the occasion. So it was here, and while in every direction the artillery thundered at the enemy, while Howe felt for a chance on the left, and Gibbon found every point equally difficult on the right, a plan of assault was determined upon, to be made by the third and eighth divisions under General Newton, against the enemy's centre.

"Yet a distinguished officer had said, only a short time before, that 'to attempt to carry the place by storm would be a waste of life.'

"Attempts to storm were to be made simultaneously by Gibbon on the right, Howe on the left, and Newton on the centre, and were so made; but inasmuch as Newton's was the successful attempt —as he was the first to penetrate the line, and as when the line was once penetrated at one point it was no longer tenable anywhere — Newton's assault appears to deserve the especial honor.

"It was made on the centre against Marye's Hill. Directly west, out of the town of Fredericksburg, runs a road that finally reaches Chancellorsville. Just in the outskirts of the town, at much less than a mile from the main street, this road ascends a hill that, while it is sufficiently steep to render the ascent toilsome, is not so steep as to render any less effective the fire of artillery and musketry. This is Marye's Hill, and at the summit of this hill is Marye's House. Near the hill a road leaves the Chancellorsville road, runs toward the south across the front and right of the hill at its base. The latter road has a substantial stone wall on each side of it, and these roads, with a little assistance from the spade, had been converted into excellent breast-works. About the centre of the first wall was a little house, which made the position the stronger, and this was only the base of the hill. No artillery fire could touch those walls, for it was a sunken road, and though the walls were four feet high in the road, in the fields their tops were level

with the surface. Thus, as seen by our batteries, there were actually no walls there. Behind the second line of pits rises the hill, and around its whole crest runs a well-constructed earth-work, in which there was one large howitzer. Both flanks of this hill were completely swept by the fire of works of the same character on either side.

"To the left (our left) of this position was an open ploughed field, on the farther side of which were the stone walls. To the right was an open green plain, and here there were no pits at the foot of the hill; so the way was clear to the crest, though of course every inch of it was under fire. Worst of all, perhaps, was the central approach, which was the road. Though, at its exit from the town, this road is covered by a few houses, it is fairly under fire all the way, and at the ascent of the hill it is a mere gulch, broken and stony, and an awful place for men to be packed in under a plunging fire of grape and canister in addition to the musketry fire.

"The right column was formed of the Sixty-first Pennsylvania Regiment, Colonel Spear, and the Forty-third New York, Colonel Baker. It was supported, as we have said, by two regiments in line, the First Long Island, Colonel Nelson Cross, and the Eighty-second Pennsylvania, Major Basset. These two regiments were part of Shaler's brigade, and Shaler went with them.

"The left column of attack was formed of the Seventh Massachusetts, Colonel Johns, and the Thirty-sixth New York, Lieutenant-Colonel Walsh. This column was supported by two regiments in line of battle and a regiment of skirmishers in the open field to the left. These skirmishers were the Forty-third New York. The regiments in line were the Sixth Maine and the Fifth Wisconsin. These two columns and their supports numbered in all about 3,000 men. They moved out of the town to the assault at about eleven A.M.

"As soon as they came well into the enemy's field of fire, the terrible fusilade began. Colonel Spear, at the head of his regiment, was one of the first hit, and his fall affected his men so that they wavered and fell into confusion and disorder, and communicated it to the Forty-third, behind them, and much of the ground already gained was lost. For this column it was so far a fair repulse. But in this critical juncture Colonel Shaler, with magnificent gallantry, rallied the column, brought it up to the work once more, and took it on up the hill.

"Meantime in the left column matters were somewhat the same. The colonel of the Massachusetts Seventh was hit, and his regiment faltered also, but was rallied handsomely by Colonel Walsh, of the Thirty-sixth New York, and with those glorious fellows it went on once more. The supports in the open plain drew the enemy's fire heavily; but they went on steadily from the first, and went into the work with the rest. Indeed, Colonel Burnham, of the Sixth Maine, claims that the colors of his regiment were first planted on the hill.

"Many of the enemy's men were slain in their places in the pits, where they stood till the last moment, and resisted even as our men clambered over the walls.

"Colonel Spear, of the Sixty-first Pennsylvania Volunteers; Major Basset, of the Eighty-second Pennsylvania Volunteers; Major Faxon, of the Thirty-sixth New York; Major Haycock, of the Sixth Maine, with Captains Ballings, Young, and Gray, of that regiment, were killed in this assault. Colonel Johns, of the Seventh Massachusetts, was wounded here.

"By this success the place was ours; the enemy's line gave way precipitately; our men entered at several points at once, and we captured eight guns and from 800 to 1,000 prisoners."

Lee's forces were thus, by this success of General Sedgwick, placed between two portions of the Union army, separated from each other by a distance of ten miles. This position, however, was entirely in favor of the enemy, who, having by their victory over General Hooker forced him to inactivity, were enabled to detach a large force to overwhelm the victorious Sedgwick in their rear. The latter was driving before him the fugitives from the heights of Fredericksburg, and marching to join Hooker at Chancellorsville, where the enemy, reinforced by Lee, turned and met him. Thus was fought the severe battle of Salem Heights, in which the Unionists were beaten and forced to retreat. Sedgwick fell back fighting with the enemy at every step, to Banks' Ford, where he recrossed the Rappahannock.*

* As there is no attainable official report of the battle of Salem Heights, the reader must content himself with the following account from the N. Y. *Herald*:

"In the advance from the heights of Fredericksburg, the division of General Brooks led the way, with Newton's column upon the right and that of General Howe upon the left. Skirmishers from the Sixty-first Pennsylvania, Forty-third New York, Eighty-second Pennsylvania, and Seventh Massachusetts were thrown out in front and on both flanks, and the march for the first two miles was unopposed by the retiring foe, toward whom our resolutely advancing troops occasionally directed a volley of their musketry. At this distance, however, the rebel General Early rallied his men, and posted a battery of flying artillery in such a position as for a time to annoy us, but nevertheless inflicting slight damage. An order to charge upon this battery was obeyed with the greatest alacrity; but before our infantry, who went up on the double-quick, could reach it, the rebels limbered up and hurried away.

"At four o'clock in the afternoon the corps had reached a point four miles from the city, on the turnpike toward Chancellorsville. Here they emerged from a wood which extended some distance from either side of the road into an open field of, I should judge, 800 acres in extent. Beyond us was a belt of timbered land, commencing at the foot of a gentle slope, and covering its side and summit. In the midst of the grove, on the left of the road as we advanced, stood a little edifice known as the Salem Tabernacle. Two or three smaller buildings also showed themselves through the trees a little farther beyond. Midway between the church and our entrance to the open field was a plantation mansion of moderate pretensions, and nearer to the wooded heights beyond us stood another dwelling. These constitute the hamlet of Salem Heights. Across the field, and running diagonally with the road on which we were advancing, was a ravine.

"As our troops emerged from the woods and entered this open space, word was sent back from the skirmishers that the rebels had a battery in position on the heights opposite the church; and almost simultaneously a shell from one of the rebel guns exploded in the road, killing a mounted orderly and his horse, and seriously wounding Captain Reed, assistant adjutant-general on the staff of General Brooks.

"The regiments of Colonel Penrose's New Jersey brigade, together with the Sixteenth and One Hundred and Twenty-first New York, from Bartlett's brigade, immediately pressed forward and charged into the woods on the right, while the brigade of General Russell made a similar movement on the left. A battery of artillery, under Captain Williston, was also hurried forward, and began to play with most excellent effect upon the intrenched enemy. They were driven through the woods to the summit beyond. But our ranks were fearfully thinned

General Hooker finding his position, though sufficiently strong to resist immediate attack, not convenient for a basis of operations, and influenced by

by the deadly musketry of the enemy; and, exhausted by their previous fighting, their subsequent march, and their hurried charge, they were obliged to fall back. They found the enemy beyond the woods still stronger intrenched, and prepared, by the arrival of reinforcements, whom they had met while on the retreat, to dispute our farther advance. As our troops withdrew from the charge, the rebels pursued them. Again our artillery, which had been brought still nearer, and was now posted beyond the ravine on the right of the road, dealt death and destruction among the foe, and they withdrew to the cover of the trees.

"Nothing could exceed the coolness and intrepid bravery with which our gallant soldiers of Brooks' division charged upon the enemy. They were flushed with their glorious success of the forenoon, and seemed determined to risk every chance in order to dislodge the rebels. But the latter, having regained their first line, shoved forward their reinforcements and held the edge of the woods despite every effort on the part of our brave men. Regiment after regiment was pressed forward to the assault; but they fell like grass before the mower's scythe. The fire was terrific, and for a time it appeared as if certain destruction awaited the entire corps. * * *

"Being assured of the strong position of the enemy, and of the arrival of a large body of reinforcements from their rear, our troops were placed in the best possible position for defence—General Newton holding the right, General Brooks the centre, and General Howe the extreme left. General Newton's division occupied a position near the road, while the headquarters of General Sedgwick were in the road, in front of the house. This disposition of our force effected, the tired troops threw themselves upon the ground, and, with only the sky above them, sought sleep and rest upon the battle-field. They were up early the next morning, and before ten o'clock on Monday forenoon, May 4th, the enemy were pressing in force upon our left flank, succeeding in forcing it back, and cutting off all communication with the city of Fredericksburg, thus gaining all the hills we had taken the previous day. * * *

"Thus threatened on both flanks, as well as in the front, our communication with the city cut off, and certain destruction seemingly looking us in the face, our position was one of great peril. Only one door of retreat had been left open to us, and that was at Banks' Ford. The intention of the enemy was to annihilate or capture the entire sixth army corps. Their plans were well laid, and they were nearly repaid with success. The indomitable energy of General Sedgwick and his division and brigade commanders, and the obstinate bravery of their troops, alone prevented this calamity.

"Closely followed by the enemy, the corps moved toward Banks' Ford, which they reached shortly before six P.M. The division of General Newton, with the light division of Colonel Burnham, occupied the right, resting on the bank of the river but a short distance above the ford. General Brooks held the centre, while General Howe resisted the enemy's approach on the left. The forces were arrayed in the form of a semicircle.

"A little after six o'clock the enemy moved out against our centre, but were repulsed with very heavy loss by a concentrated artillery fire. They next essayed a movement against our left centre with great force. Regiments followed each other undauntedly up to our lines; but when within close range were slaughtered like worms before the fire of our batteries. They fell back in disorder, relinquishing this attack.

"An occasional shot from the rebel artillery opposed to our left, and brisk skirmishing at the same point, clearly indicated that both the above attacks were feints, and that their real attack would be upon General Howe's extreme left, which rested upon or near the river. But to insure the deception, they next commenced an attack upon our right, where two regiments of the light division, under Colonel Burnham, and three regiments of Colonel Shaler's brigade were stationed. This was repulsed, and our troops held their position.

"All these attacks followed each other in quick succession, so that one hardly ended before another began. For a while the entire corps was encircled by a cordon of fire. Then the real attack commenced on our extreme left. Gen. Howe's troops behaved admirably. They held their ground against fearful odds, determined not to yield an inch.

"General Wheaton's brigade, of Newton's division, was in this emergency dispatched from the right to the left, and rendered great assistance in repelling the enemy. The Sixty-second New York, and the Ninety-eighth, Ninety-third, and one Hundred and Second Pennsylvania, all of General Wheaton's command, were actively engaged, and suffered heavily. The artillery of General Howe was employed with rapid and fearful effect upon the rebels, and for more than an hour the unequal contest was maintained. * * *

"The movement was attended with unusual peril. The light division suffered considerably at this time, the enemy getting in the rear of their pickets and bagging several entire companies, man by man. But owing mainly to the skill of General Newton, to whom was confided the selections of points for defence and the general supervision of the movement, it was attended with greater success than the most sanguine had dared to look for. Howe, on the left, persistently held his position, while the other lines were withdrawn and safely concentrated on the hills near the ford. Darkness having come on, and the firing having ceased, he was enabled to fall back unmolested. At two o'clock on the following morning (Tuesday) the corps was crossing the river, and at six o'clock they were safely over."

the defeat of General Sedgwick, determined to withdraw. He accordingly, May 6. taking advantage of a stormy night, recrossed the Rappahannock and encamped his army in its old position at Falmouth, opposite to Fredericksburg. The time was opportune, and the retreat skilfully conducted. The enemy hardly made an attempt to harass the retiring troops. Thus ended General Hooker's nine days' campaign across the Rappahannock.

CHAPTER XIV.

Success of Hooker's Cavalry.—Reorganization of Cavalry.—General Stoneman in chief command.—Stoneman's Cavalry Expedition.—Its Force.—Crossing the Rappahannock.—In the rear of the Enemy.—Destruction.—The Alarm of the Enemy.—The Enemy's Apology for their Cavalry.—The Losses in Hooker's Campaign.—Havoc among Officers.—Wounds of General "Stonewall" Jackson.—Amputation.—Death.—Tribute to the Memory of Jackson.—His Last Moments.—Congratulatory Orders of Hooker and Lee.—Contradictory Documents.—Who is to reconcile them?

The cavalry expedition sent to make 1863. a raid in the rear of the enemy was the only part of General Hooker's plan of campaign which met with success. It, however, proved of no permanent benefit, since the other movements to which it was subordinate had failed.

General Hooker, upon assuming command of the Army of the Potomac, reorganized and consolidated the cavalry and formed it into a separate corps, under General Stoneman, who so skilfully conducted the expedition now to be recorded. It was originally intended to send out a force of 10,000, but General Averill, who was to have joined with his division, had been checked by meeting with the enemy at Rapidan Station, and failed to make a junction. General Stoneman's force was thus reduced to about 5,000, consisting of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, which acted as his escort, two brigades under General Gregg, four regiments of regulars under General Buford, and a battery of Second United States Artillery under Major Robinson.

"On the morning of the 28th of April," wrote a campaigner,* "we crossed the Rappahannock at Kelly's Ford, at the same time that the eleventh and twelfth corps of infantry were crossing. General Gregg's division crossed upon the pontoons, while General Buford's forces forded the river a short distance above. A good portion of the day was consumed in crossing, and at eleven o'clock at night we bivouacked some five miles from the Rapidan River. Up to this time no one, with the exception of the generals in command, was aware of our destination; but at twelve o'clock that night the colonels of the various regiments were assembled and informed

* N. Y. *Herald.*

of General Stoneman's plan, and received their instructions. They were ordered to send to the rear every description of wagons, pack mules, led horses, and such horses as would be unable to march fifty miles a day; to provide themselves with eight days' rations, and as much grain as each one could carry upon his horse, and to be in readiness to move at four o'clock in the morning. * * * It was fairly daylight before the train was in readiness to move, General Stoneman being the first mounted, and evidently annoyed at the delay; but to pack and start off several hundred refractory mules is a work of time, and this had all to be seen to before we could leave.

"Finally the last mule was started and our march commenced. We were obliged to move cautiously, being ignorant of the exact locality of the enemy, and it was eleven o'clock before we arrived in sight of the Rapidan. We struck the river at Morton's Ford, which we found quite swollen, but still fordable. General Buford crossed his brigade at this point, while General Stoneman, with the balance of his command, continued on a few miles farther up to Raccoon Ford.

"Here we learned that the enemy had been encamped the night previous, some 1.600 strong, under General W. H. Lee, with one piece of artillery; but in consequence of General Buford crossing below, which they supposed he could not do, they were compelled to skedaddle.

"General Buford reached Raccoon Ford in time to capture a lieutenant and nine men belonging to the Fauquier County Artillery; but the balance of the force escaped. The command of General Gregg had all crossed by dusk, and the whole force bivouacked till two o'clock in the morning.

"Our course the next day was in a southeasterly direction, General Buford marching toward Orange Court House, while General Gregg went to Orange Springs. The advance guard, under Major Beaumont, of the First New Jersey Cavalry, reached Orange Springs at one o'clock in the afternoon, where they encountered a small force of the enemy. The Major at once charged them, capturing a major and one private, and dispersing the rest in all directions. We here ascertained from contrabands that a large supply train passed there in the morning in great haste, throwing away large quantities of forage and provisions, and that the rebels were falling back from Culpepper Court House toward Spottsylvania Court House, taking with them as much of their movable effects as possible, and driving before them their negroes.

"In hopes of overhauling a portion of the train, General Gregg sent Colonel Wyndham, who commands the second brigade of his division, after them with one regiment, with instructions to follow on for five miles, and if he then saw nothing of them to return, as time was too valuable to waste in further pursuit. The Colonel went the five miles in double-quick, but saw nothing of the enemy. In the mean time our boys, to

amuse themselves, instituted a search of the different houses in the vicinity.

* * * "At six o'clock we resumed our march in the direction of Louisa Court House, where we arrived about midnight.

"This place we expected to find defended, as the Virginia Central Railroad, connecting Fredericksburg with Gordonsville, passes through it. We halted about a mile from the town, and at once made preparations to destroy the railroad. One squadron of the Tenth New York, under Colonel Irwin, was sent five miles above the town, and another squadron, under Major Avery, of the same regiment, five miles below, who were to cut the road, while Colonel Kilpatrick with the Seventh New York (Harris Light) Regiment charged through the town. Colonel Kilpatrick charged into the town about two o'clock in the morning, his boys yelling like demons, but not a single 'grayback' did they see. The inhabitants were much terrified at such unusual proceedings, doubtless expecting that the Yankees were about to murder them all in cold blood; but nothing was disturbed in the town. Guards were stationed upon all the avenues leading to the town, and the work of destroying the railroad commenced.

The track was torn up a distance of two miles, the ties burned, and the rails so warped by fire as to be useless. The bridges, culverts, switches, water tanks, and everything appertaining to the road of a destructive nature, were thoroughly destroyed. It was the opinion of our engineers that it would take at least three weeks to get the road in running order with all the force they could put to work.

"In order to give our horses some rest after their long march, and the men an opportunity to catch a little sleep, we did not resume our march till two o'clock the next afternoon (Saturday). Intelligence was then received that a large force of rebel cavalry were approaching on the Gordonsville road, and were distant about four hours' march. General Gregg at once got his division out, passed through the town and formed Colonel Wyndham's brigade in line of battle on the brow of a hill about half a mile south of the town. Here he posted two guns, supported on either side by the First Maryland and Twelfth Illinois regiments, while the First New Jersey was drawn up behind the hill as a reserve. He waited here till the time had expired when the enemy should have made his appearance, and hearing nothing of him resumed his march, leaving a portion of Companies B and I of the First Maine Regiment, in all about fifty men, five miles from the Court House, on the Gordonsville road, to watch the movements of the enemy.

"Soon after our departure a regiment of the enemy appeared in sight, when the Maine boys gallantly charged them, driving them back some distance; but losing in the charge one man killed, one wounded, and twenty-eight taken prisoners. * * *

"Our route still continued in a south-

easterly direction, and a few hours brought us to Thompson's Cross Roads, which point General Stoneman had selected from which to send out expeditions in different directions to destroy bridges, railroads, canals, etc. Upon our arrival we found General Buford, who had taken another road from Louisa Court House, and with him a train of twenty-six wagons, with four mules to each wagon, which he had captured on the route.

"We were now in the heart of the enemy's country, and what was to be done must be done quickly, as the enemy were known to be concentrating all the force they could scrape together to effect our capture and prevent the accomplishment of our plans.

"On Saturday morning, May 3, Colonel Wyndham, with two regiments of his brigade—the First New Jersey and First Maryland—was directed by General Stoneman to proceed to Columbia, on the James River, cut the canal and destroy as much as possible everything that could give aid and comfort to the enemy. The party got off in high spirits at two o'clock in the morning, having had only two hours' rest, with an intelligent negro boy for a guide, and was expected to go there, a distance of twenty-five miles, accomplish their mission and return by three o'clock in the afternoon.

"The country through which we passed was inhabited mostly by wealthy farmers, who had never before had the pleasure of seeing any of the detested Yankee army, and as they were totally ignorant of our presence in that vicinity, their looks of wonderment and surprise can be better imagined than described. As many of our horses had given out, and the best of them were in but a sorry condition, the Colonel detailed a squad of men to scour the country and take every horse fit for service, and to leave in its place one of ours, provided they could not get it any farther. Very many valuable horses were obtained in this way, and as General Stuart set the example and established the precedent when he made his raid into Pennsylvania, they can find no fault; but still it did seem rather hard to go into a man's yard, take his horses before his eyes and ride off without as much as—I thank you for it.

"We arrived in the vicinity of Columbia about nine o'clock. As we approached the town, horsemen were seen hovering about, watching our movements, and one of our vedettes reported a large force of cavalry about a mile ahead. Captain W. R. Robbins, of the First New Jersey, was sent out with six men to ascertain the facts in the case. He scoured the country for a distance of five or six miles, capturing two prisoners, but discovered no force of the enemy. Colonel Wyndham now made a disposition of his forces. He stationed the First Maryland outside of the town and charged through it with the First New Jersey, under Lieutenant-Colonel Broderick. As we entered the town, the rebels could be seen leaving on the opposite side in great haste. Chase was immediately given them by Captains

Kester, Lucas, Gray, Boyd, and others, but they only succeeded in capturing a few of them.

"Parties were at once detailed to cut the canal, destroy the locks, burn the bridges, tow-boats, etc. In ten minutes after we entered the town, flames were issuing from five bridges and three canal-boats loaded with forage, bacon, whiskey, and other stores; and two parties, under the supervision of Major Russell, of the First Maryland, and Lieutenant-Colonel Broderick, were engaged in cutting down the bank of the canal and destroying the locks. While this was being accomplished at the canal, another party, under Captains Thomas and Hick, of Colonel Wyndham's staff, were in the town destroying an immense storehouse filled with supplies of every description for the rebel army. A large quantity of whiskey, nicely bottled, labelled, and boxed, from the medical purveyor's office in Richmond, and what we could not carry away, was demolished and thrown into the canal.

"Immense numbers of "contrabands" flocked around, shouting, clapping their hands, and fairly crazed with joy at our arrival. We allowed them to help themselves to as much sugar and other stores as they could carry, and all those who could raise an animal of any description accompanied us when we left. The town contains a white population of some four or five hundred, and has the dead and shiftless appearance so characteristic of all Southern towns. Colonel Wyndham was fortunate enough to capture a very valuable imported horse called "Southerner," which was the property of a lieutenant in the rebel artillery service. The horse is valued at 2,000 dollars.

"The inhabitants were much terrified at our presence. One lady came running out of her house as I was passing up the street, and asked if we would be kind enough not to murder the women and children. I assured her that the only object of the expedition was to destroy government property. As far as I saw, no house was entered, or citizen insulted or molested in any way, and the object of the expedition having been accomplished, the troops quietly left the town. The only part of the expedition which they were unable to accomplish, was the destruction of the aqueduct where the canal crosses the Rivanna River. This is built of solid masonry, and is of immense strength, and we had no means of destroying it. After leaving the town, Major Beaumont volunteered to return with a company and again attempt its destruction, and was permitted to do so by Colonel Wyndham. He succeeded in finding powder and fuse in Columbia, but in consequence of the short time in which he had to work, was unable to accomplish it. This James River Canal runs from Lynchburg to Richmond, and nearly one-half of their supplies are transported over it. I think they succeeded in damaging it sufficiently to stop all transportation for three or four weeks. The command reached Stoneman's headquarters in safety about dusk,

having marched between fifty and sixty miles.

"While this was in progress, another party, under Captain R. S. C. Lord, commanding the First Regiment of regulars, was sent to Tolersville to destroy the Virginia Central Railroad at that point. Tolersville is situated about six miles from Louisa Court House. They tore up the track for miles, burned the ties, destroyed bridges, switches, culverts, etc., rendering the road impassable for weeks. A portion of the command, under Captain Eugene Baker, then went six miles farther, to Frederick Hall, and cut the railroad at that point. They also destroyed the telegraph instrument, cut the wire and destroyed government property. At sunset, Captain John Feelner, of the same regiment, with thirty men, proceeded on the road toward Fredericksburg some six miles, where a bridge eighty or ninety yards long crosses the North Anna River. This bridge was guarded by rebel infantry. The Captain charged across it, driving the enemy from it, and succeeded in burning it, without the loss of a man, and captured five prisoners.

"The length of time the regiment was absent caused much uneasiness at headquarters, and General Stoneman, fearing they were in trouble, sent out a squadron of the Sixth regulars, under Captain J. W. Claflin, to communicate with them, which he did, and returned with the command. * * *

"Captain Harrison, commanding the Fifth regulars, was sent with his regiment to destroy a bridge over the James River at Cartersville, some twelve miles south of Columbia. He started late on Sunday night, and arrived at Shannon, or, as the inhabitants call it, 'Flemming's Cross Roads,' at two o'clock, and bivouacked till daylight. Two hundred picked men were then selected and placed under the command of Captain Drummond, with instructions to proceed to Cartersville and destroy the bridge at all hazards. Captain Harrison, with the balance of his command, remained at Flemming's Cross Roads to protect him from attack in that direction.

"Shortly after sunrise, as Lieutenant Hastings, with fifteen men, was patrolling the road in the direction of Gordonsville, he discovered a large party of rebel cavalry approaching. He at once perceived that the safety of Captain Harrison depended upon his prompt action. He immediately charged the advance guard, driving them pell-mell back upon their main column, thus gaining sufficient time to rally upon his reserves. Captain Harrison only had thirty men all told, the remainder being stationed on the various roads as pickets. He drew them up across the road, prepared to resist to the best of his ability the charge of the rebels, who were seen approaching in solid column. He stood their charge, checking them, and escaped with all his men.

"The rebels captured the pickets, consisting of Captain Owen, Lieutenant Buford (a nephew of the General), and fifteen men. Word was at once sent to



General Stoneman of the proximity of the rebels, and he came down with General Buford's command at a double-quick, with six pieces of artillery, but did not arrive in time to meet the enemy. I ascertained from the inhabitants who witnessed the skirmish, that quite a number of rebels were wounded. The enemy's force consisted of the Ninth and Thirteenth Virginia and a portion of the First and Second.

"While these events were in progress, two other very important expeditions were being carried out under General Gregg and Colonel Kilpatrick. General Gregg, with the Tenth New York and First Maine, and two pieces of artillery, was to proceed to Ashland, and, if possible, destroy the railroad bridge at that point, while Colonel Kilpatrick, with the Harris Light and Twelfth Illinois, was to go between Ashland and Richmond, destroying bridges, railroads, etc.

"General Gregg destroyed the bridge across the South Anna, on the road from Columbia to Spottsylvania Court House; then struck east and destroyed the road from Beaver Dam Station; then, turning north, struck the Richmond and Gordonsville pike. From there he sent a detachment and burned the Ground Squirrel Bridge. The column then marched up the pike to within eight miles of Ashland, where they bivouacked Monday night.

"From here he sent a detachment of the First Maine Cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, to Ashland, to burn the bridge and destroy the track. The bridge was defended by infantry, and could not be destroyed, but he succeeded in destroying the track for a number of miles.

"Colonel Kilpatrick, of the New York Cavalry, and Colonel Davis, of the Twelfth Illinois, left the command at this point.*

* The following official reports of Colonels Kilpatrick and Davis give in detail the work performed by them:

"YORKTOWN, VA., *May* 8, 1863.

"Major-General H. W. HALLECK, Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army:

"GENERAL—I have the honor to report that, by direction of Major-General Stoneman, I left Louisa Court House the morning of the 3d instant, with one regiment (the Harris Light Cavalry of my brigade), reached Hungary on the Fredericksburg Railroad at daylight on the morning of the 4th, destroyed the dépôt, telegraph wires, and railroad for several miles; passed over to the Brook turnpike; drove in the rebel pickets down the pike, across the brook; charged a battery and forced it to retire to within two miles of the city of Richmond; captured Lieutenant Brown, aid-de-camp to General Winder, and eleven men within the fortifications; passed down to the left to the Meadow Bridge, on the Chickahominy, which I burned; ran a train of cars into the river; retired to Hanovertown, on the Peninsula; crossed and destroyed the ferry, just in time to check the advance of a pursuing cavalry force; burned a train of thirty wagons, loaded with bacon; captured thirteen prisoners, and encamped for the night five miles from the river.

"I resumed my march at one A.M. of the 5th; surprised a force of 300 cavalry at Aylett's; captured two officers and thirty-three men; burned fifty-six wagons and the dépôt, containing upward of 20,000 barrels of corn and wheat, quantities of clothing and commissary stores, and safely crossed the Mattapony, and destroyed the ferry again, just in time to escape the advance of the rebel cavalry pursuit. Late in the evening I destroyed a third wagon train and dépôt, a few miles above and west of Tappahannock, on the Rappahannock, and from that point made a forced march of twenty miles, being closely followed by a superior force of cavalry, supposed to be a portion of Stuart's, from the fact that we captured prisoners from the First, Fifth, and Tenth Virginia cavalry.

"At sundown I discovered a force of cavalry drawn up in line of battle above King and Queen Court House. The strength was unknown; but I at once advanced to the attack, only, however, to discover that they were friends—a portion of the Twelfth Illinois Cavalry, who had become separated from the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Davis, of the same regiment.

"From citizens who left Richmond in the morning, and unwittingly came within our lines, we learned that a perfect panic existed in Richmond in

"At ten o'clock A.M. on the 7th I found safety and rest under our brave old flag, within our lines at Gloucester Point.

"This raid and march about the entire rebel army—a march of nearly 200 miles—has been made in less than five days, with a loss of one officer and thirty-seven men having captured and parolled upward of 300 men. * * *

"J. KILPATRICK, Colonel Commanding."

"HEADQUARTERS, TWELFTH ILLINOIS CAVALRY, GLOUCESTER POINT, VA., *May* 10, 1863.

"To Brigadier-General RUFUS KING, commanding at Yorktown:

"GENERAL—In compliance with your request, I have the honor to submit the following report of the operations of the Twelfth Illinois Cavalry since leaving the main body of the cavalry corps on the South Anna, on the morning of Sunday last. My orders were to penetrate to the Fredericksburg Railroad, and, if possible, to the Virginia Central, and destroy communications. Should we cross the Virginia Central, I was to make for Williamsburg, said to be in possession of our forces.

"We marched before daybreak, passing down the bank of the South Anna through a region never before occupied by our forces. We burned one bridge, and dispersed a party of mounted guerrillas, who made a poor attempt to oppose us. We struck the first railway line at Ashland. Lieutenant Mitchell, with about a dozen men, was sent ahead to occupy the place. He dashed into the village and took it without loss. There were but few of the enemy there, and they escaped us. We captured their arms, however, and destroyed them. Words cannot describe the astonishment of the inhabitants at our appearance. I assured them no harm would be done their persons or property, and we soon became better acquainted. We cut the telegraph wires and tore up half a dozen rails, and piling a quantity of boards on some trestle-work south of the town, made an immense fire, which soon consumed the entire structure. While at this work a train of cars approaching the town was captured and brought in for inspection. It proved to be an ambulance train from Fredericksburg of seven cars, filled with 250 sick and wounded officers and soldiers, with a guard. Among them was an aid of Governor Letcher and general officers of considerable rank. We received their version of the late fight and parolled them and let them go, leaving the cars for the benefit of the poor fellows who were more seriously injured. The engine and tender of the train, together with another found in town, were rendered completely useless by a mechanic from the ranks. We found here a stable filled with rebel horses and mules Some of them we took with us, but were obliged to leave the most of them. We destroyed twenty wagons, with harness, etc.

"We left Ashland at six o'clock P.M. A few miles from the town, word was brought in that a train of eighteen wagons was camped in the woods near by. I sent Captain Roder, with Companies B and C, to destroy them, which he did. We struck the Central Railroad at Hanover Station about eight P.M. Although wearied and exhausted by our day's labor, I thought it best to complete the duty assigned us, and break all the enemy's communications before resting. Not an enemy opposed us. We captured and parolled about thirty officers and men at the station. They made no resistance. Captain Shears was ordered to destroy the trestle-work, which reached about ten rods to the south of the dépôt. The work was effectually done by the same process as at Ashland, and by its blaze we could clearly discern the rebel guards passively standing at the other end. We also burned a culvert and cut the telegraph wires, and burned the dépôt buildings, storehouses, stables, and a train of cars, all belonging to the Confederate Government, and filled with property. It would be impossible to give a precise statement of the damage here inflicted upon the enemy. It must have been great. There were more than 100 wagons, 1,000 sacks of flour and corn, and a large quantity of clothing and horse equipments. The buildings and cars were full of property collected for the use of the Southern army. All private property we respected, and I believe that none whatever was damaged. By the light of the burning buildings we left the station and marched for the Court House, which had been previously occupied by Captain Fisher, with Companies A and G, who had placed pickets there and taken a captain and four men prisoners. We passed through the Court House and marched down to within seven miles of Richmond, where we bivouacked till eight A.M. The next morning we marched for Williamsburg. At Tunstall's Station (near the White House and the Richmond and Yorktown Railroad), a train of cars filled with infantry and a battery of three guns was run out to oppose us. I thought it best to make an effort to break through before the men could be got out of the cars, or the battery in position. I therefore brought up my two foremost squadrons and ordered a charge, which was executed by them, Captain Reames, with Companies D and F, taking the lead, and followed by Captain Shears, with Companies H and I. This charge was made most gallantly. The infantry filled the embankment of the railway and poured upon us a severe fire; but my men dashed up to the embankments in splendid style, and with carbines and pistols responded to the fire with equal effect. It was, however, impossible to break through. There were formidable rifle-pits to the left of the road, and the enemy soon filled them, and we were forced to retire with a loss of two killed and several wounded, among the latter Lieutenant Marsh, who was among the foremost in the charge, and who received so severe a wound in the right arm that we were obliged to

consequence of our close proximity; that all the stores were closed, and hasty preparations were in progress for leaving the city by many of the citizens and office-holders under Jeff.'s government; that there were no guns mounted on the fortifications guarding the approaches to the city, and that all the soldiers capable of bearing arms had been sent to Fredericksburg to join Lee's army.

* * * * *

"On Tuesday, May 5, General Gregg rejoined Stoneman, making a forced march of about seventy miles. General Stoneman having accomplished the object of his raid made his arrangements for returning. He ascertained that two brigades of rebel cavalry, under Generals W. H. Lee and Hampton, were within two miles of him, but evidently afraid to attack him in his present position, but would doubtless pounce upon his rear column at the first opportunity. General Stoneman now displayed his generalship. His object was to throw the enemy off his track, and, by forced marches, get beyond his reach before he discovered his absence. On Tuesday he had the whole of Gregg's division that remained stationed at Yanceyville to guard the bridge over the South Anna River, and everything in readiness to apply the torch as soon as the column should have passed over. General Buford's brigade was still stationed at Shannon, awaiting the action of Captain Drummond.

"Captain Drummond reported during the afternoon, having successfully performed his mission, and everything was at once got in readiness for our march homeward. The trains of mules and horses which we had accumulated on the trip, and which extended a distance of three miles or more, were placed in the centre of General Gregg's division. General Buford was sent to make a demonstration on Gordonsville, and by dark the division of General Gregg had safely crossed the South Anna River, and the bridge burned. The weather, which up to this time had been warm and pleasant, suddenly changed to a cold northeast storm, rendering the prospect of a night's march over exe-

---

leave him in one of the neighboring houses. Failing to penetrate the enemy's line at this point, I determined to cross the Pamunkey and Mattapony rivers and make for Gloucester Point. In this movement I had nothing to guide me but a common map of the State of Virginia, and I was in entire ignorance of the position of the enemy's force, except that the line before me was closed. My information was of that poor sort derived from contrabands. I selected Plunkett's Ferry over the Pamunkey, and occupied it after driving away a picket on the other side, with whom we exchanged shots We crossed in a boat, holding fifteen or eighteen men and horses, which was poled over the river. Our passage was not disputed. In the same manner we crossed the Mattapony at Wolkerton, after driving away a picket, two of whom we captured.

"Between these two ferries a portion of the command under Major Bronson became detached, and did not join us until the 7th instant. They captured fifteen rebels, and destroyed a quantity of saddles at King and Queen Court House.

"From Wolkerton we marched to Gloucester Point, having travelled a distance of over 200 miles, much of it through Southern lands never disturbed by the presence of an enemy. Not far from Saluda we captured and destroyed a train of eighteen wagons, loaded with corn and provisions.

"Our total loss in the expedition has been two commissioned officers and thirty-three enlisted men. We brought with us 100 mules and 75 horses, captured from the enemy. We captured in the course of our march a much larger number, which we could not bring in. The amount of property destroyed is estimated at over one million dollars. Respectfully submitted,

"H. DAVIS, Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding."

erable roads anything but agreeable or charming.

"Both men and horses were worn down with fatigue and loss of sleep, and our rations had been exhausted for some days, rendering it imperative for us to forage upon the country. * * *

"Nothing of interest occurred during the night. The mule train and contrabands became separated at one time from the head of the column, taking a wrong road and going some miles on it before they were missed, the rear-guard of course following in their wake. This caused a delay of some hours; but by the almost superhuman efforts of the energetic officers comprising Generals Stoneman's and Gregg's staff, the long column got once more in motion, and did not halt again until nine o'clock in the morning. In the morning we found General Buford waiting for us, he having gone within three miles of Gordonsville, but meeting no enemy.

"It still continued wet and cold, and the roads in a terrible condition. On the afternoon of Wednesday we again moved on, marching without halting all night, and reached Raccoon Ford at daylight. Many of the men became so exhausted for want of sleep that they laid down in the mud, and could not be aroused either by persuasion or force.

"On Friday morning, at daylight, we reached Kelly's Ford, and found the stream so much swollen as to render it necessary to swim the horses across.

"The country through which we passed was the finest I ever saw in Virginia. It had not been afflicted by the visitation of troops of either army until we passed through, and I am convinced that it is the earnest prayer of the inhabitants that they may never be so afflicted again. The whole State looks like one vast field of grain, every acre susceptible of cultivation having been either sown with wheat or planted with corn. If it is the policy of the administration to starve them out, it will certainly have to be done before the next crop is harvested, for they will then have grain enough to feed the world.

"The inhabitants are heartily tired and sick of the war, and many of them would gladly have peace upon any terms. The female portion of the community are by far the most bitter in their hatred to the Yankees, and will be the last to yield. Very much valuable information was obtained by General Stoneman from the contrabands, who acted as guides and informed of the whereabouts of rebels in the neighborhood. The prisoners we captured will more than outnumber those taken from us. Among our captures was a major on Stuart's staff and a lieutenant on Jackson's staff."

The enemy were not only greatly alarmed by the near approach of General Stoneman to their capital, but much chagrined that their boasted cavalry had failed to intercept him.

In the several battles of Hooker's campaign, the losses on both sides were very great, probably amounting to 40,000 men, about equally divided between the two antagonists. The enemy

lost more in killed and wounded, and the Unionists in prisoners. Among the officers killed were Major-General Berry, of the Union army, and General Paxton, of the Confederate service.

General "Stonewall" Jackson was severely wounded, and subsequently, after submitting to amputation, died. His death was much bewailed by his comrades, and his enemies even paid tributes of reverence to his memory. General Lee, upon being informed of Jackson's severe wound, wrote to him—"I cannot express my regret at the occurrence. Could I have directed events, I should have chosen for the good of the country to have been disabled in your stead." On hearing of his death, General Lee thus made known the fact to his troops:

"With deep grief the Commanding General announces to the army the death of Lieutenant-General T. J. Jackson, who expired on the 10th of May, at a quarter-past three P.M. The daring, skill, and energy of this great and good soldier, by an all-wise Providence, are now lost to us. But while we mourn his death, we feel that his spirit still lives, and will inspire the whole army with his indomitable courage and unshaken confidence in God as our hope and strength. Let his name be a watchword to his corps, who have followed him to victory on so many fields. Let the officers and soldiers imitate his invincible determination to do everything in the defence of our beloved country."

Such was the impression that this remarkable man had made upon the world, by his disinterested devotion to the cause he had adopted, his tenacity of purpose, and his inexhaustible energy, that all, even those most heavily smitten by his Gideon-like blows, joined in reverencing his memory, lingered fondly upon the records of his life, and caught eagerly every sound from his dying lips. Biographies of "Stonewall" Jackson were published, not only in Richmond, but in London and New York, and sold by tens of thousands.*

* The particulars of his wound, the events of his illness and of his death, were thus given in the Richmond *Enquirer* of May 13th:

"General Jackson, having gone some distance in front of the line of skirmishers on Saturday evening, was returning about eight o'clock, attended by his staff and part of his couriers. The cavalcade was in the darkness of the night mistaken for a body of the enemy's cavalry, and fired upon by a regiment of his own corps. He was struck by three balls; one through the left arm, two inches below the shoulder joint, shattering the bone and severing the chief artery; another ball passed through the same arm between the elbow and wrist, making its exit through the palm of the hand; a third ball entered the palm of the right hand about its middle, passing through, and broke two bones. He was wounded on the plank road, about fifty yards in advance of the enemy. He fell from his horse, and was caught by Captain Wormley, to whom he remarked, 'All my wounds are by my own men.' He had given orders to fire at anything coming up the road before he left the lines. The enemy's skirmishers appeared ahead of him, and he turned to ride back. Just then some one cried out, 'Cavalry, charge!' and immediately the regiment fired. The whole party broke forward to ride through our line to escape the fire. Captain Boswell was killed, and carried through the line by his horse, and fell among our own men. Colonel Couchfield, chief of staff, was wounded by his side. Two couriers were killed. Major Pendleton and Lieutenants Morrison and Smith escaped uninjured. General Jackson was immediately placed on a litter, and started for the rear. The fighting attracted the attention of the enemy, and was resumed by both lines. One litter-bearer was shot down, and the General fell from the shoulders of the men, receiving a severe contusion, adding to the injury of the arm and injuring his side severely.

"The enemy's fire of artillery on this point was terrible. General Jackson was left for five minutes, until the fire slackened, then placed in an ambulance, and carried to

The narrative of General Hooker's campaign would not be complete without including the congratulatory orders of himself and his antagonist. Future historians will be better able than a contemporary chronicler to measure the relative truth of these contradictory documents.

"HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, *May* 6, 1863.

"The Major-General Commanding tenders to this army his congratulations on its achievements of the last seven days.

"If it has not accomplished all that was expected, the reasons are well known to the army.

"It is sufficient to say they were of a character not to be foreseen or prevented by human sagacity or resources.

---

the field hospital at Wilderness Run. He lost a large amount of blood, and at one time told Dr. McGuire he thought he was dying, and would have bled to death, but a tourniquet was immediately applied. For two hours he was nearly pulseless from the shock. As he was being carried from the field, frequent inquiries were made by the soldiers, 'Who have you there?' He told the Doctor, 'Do not tell the troops I am wounded.'

"After the reaction, a consultation was held between Drs. Black, Coleman, Walls, and McGuire, and amputation was decided upon. He was asked, 'If we find amputation necessary, shall it be done at once?' He replied, 'Yes, certainly, Dr. McGuire; do for me whatever you think is right.' The operation was performed while he was under the influence of chloroform, and was borne well. He slept on Sunday morning, was cheerful, and in every way was doing well. He sent for Mrs. Jackson, asked minutely about the battle, spoke cheerfully of the result, and said: 'If I had not been wounded, or had an hour more of daylight, I would have cut off the enemy from the road to the United States Ford, and we would have had them entirely surrounded, and they would have been obliged to surrender, or cut their way out. They had no other alternative. My troops sometimes may fail in driving the enemy from a position; but the enemy always fail to drive my men from a position.' This was said smilingly. He complained this day of the fall from the litter, although no contusion or abrasion was apparent as the result of the fall. He did not complain of his wounds—never spoke of them unless asked. On Sunday evening he slept well. On Monday he was carried to Chancellor's House, near Guiney's Dépôt. He was cheerful; talked about the battle and the gallant bearing of General Rodes, and said that his major-general's commission ought to date from Saturday, the grand charge of his old Stonewall brigade, of which he had heard; asked after all his officers; during the day talked more than usual, and said: 'Men who live through this war will be proud to say, I was one of the Stonewall brigade, to their children.' He insisted that the term 'Stonewall' belonged to them, and not to him.

"During the ride to Guiney's he complained greatly of heat, and, besides wet applications to his wounds, begged that a wet cloth be applied to his stomach, which was done, greatly to his relief, as he expressed it. He slept well on Monday night and ate with relish the next morning. On Tuesday his wounds were doing very well. He asked, 'Can you tell me, from the appearance of my wounds, how long I will be kept from the field?' He was greatly satisfied when told they were doing remarkably well. He did not complain of any pain in his side, and wanted to see the members of his staff, but was advised not. On Wednesday his wounds looked remarkably well. He expected to go to Richmond this day, but was prevented by rain. This night, while his surgeon, who had slept none for three nights, was asleep, he complained of nausea, and ordered his boy Jim to place a wet towel over his stomach. This was done. About daylight the surgeon was awakened by the boy saying, 'The General is in great pain.' The pain was in the right side, and due to incipient pneumonia and some nervousness, which he himself attributed to the fall from the litter. On Thursday Mrs. Jackson arrived, greatly to his joy and satisfaction, and she faithfully nursed him to the end. By Thursday evening all pain had ceased. He suffered greatly from prostration On Friday he suffered no pain, but prostration increased.

"On Sunday morning, when it was apparent that he was rapidly sinking, Mrs. Jackson was informed of his condition. She then had free and full converse with him, and told him he was going to die. He said: 'Very good—very good. It is all right.' He had previously said, 'I consider these wounds a blessing. They were given me for some good and wise purpose; I would not part with them if I could.' He asked of Major Pendleton: 'Who is preaching at headquarters to-day.' He sent messages to all the generals. He expressed a wish to be buried in Lexington, in the valley of Virginia. During delirium his mind reverted to the battle-field, and he sent orders to General A. P. Hill to prepare for action, and to Major Hawks, his commissary, and to the surgeons. He frequently expressed to his aids his wish that Major-General Ewell should be ordered to command his corps. His confidence in General Ewell was very great, and the manner in which he spoke of him showed that he had duly considered the matter."

"In withdrawing from the south bank of the Rappahannock before delivering a general battle to our adversaries, the army has given renewed evidence of its confidence in itself and its fidelity to the principles it represents.

"In fighting at a disadvantage we would have been recreant to our trust, to ourselves, our cause, and our country. Profoundly loyal and conscious of its strength, the Army of the Potomac will give or decline battle whenever its interest or honor may demand.

"It will also be the guardian of its own history and its own honor.

"By our celerity and secrecy of movement our advance and passage of the rivers were undisputed, and on our withdrawal not a rebel returned to follow.

"The events of the last week may swell with pride the hearts of every officer and soldier of this army.

"We have added new laurels to its former renown. We have made long marches, crossed rivers, surprised the enemy in his intrenchments, and whenever we have fought we have inflicted heavier blows than we have received.

"We have taken from the enemy 5,000 prisoners and fifteen colors, captured and brought off seven pieces of artillery, and placed *hors de combat* 18,000 of his chosen troops. We have destroyed his dépôts filled with vast amounts of stores, damaged his communications, captured prisoners within the fortifications of his capital, and filled his country with fear and consternation.

"We have no other regret than that caused by the loss of our brave companions, and in this we are consoled by the conviction that they have fallen in the holiest cause ever submitted to the arbitrament of battle.

"By command of

"MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER.

"S. WILLIAMS,

"Assistant-Adjutant General."

"HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA, *May* 7, 1863.

"With heartfelt gratification the General Commanding expresses to the army his sense of the heroic conduct displayed by officers and men during the arduous operations in which they have just been engaged.

"Under trying vicissitudes of heat and storm you attacked the enemy, strongly intrenched in the depths of a tangled wilderness, and again on the hills of Fredericksburg, fifteen miles distant, and, by the valor that has triumphed on so many fields, forced him once more to seek safety beyond the Rappahannock.

"While this glorious victory entitles you to the praise and gratitude of the nation, we are especially called upon to return our grateful thanks to the only Giver of victory for the signal deliverance He has wrought.

"It is, therefore, earnestly recommended that the troops unite on Sunday next in ascribing to the Lord of Hosts the glory due unto His name.

"Let us not forget in our rejoicing the brave soldiers who have fallen in defence of their country; and while we mourn their loss, let us resolve to emulate their noble example.

"The army and the country alike lament the absence for a time of one to whose bravery, energy, and skill they are so much indebted for success.

"The following letter from the President of the Confederate States is communicated to the army as an expression of his appreciation of its success:

"'I have received your dispatch, and reverently unite with you in giving praise to God for the success with which He has crowned our arms.

"'In the name of the people I offer my cordial thanks to yourself and the troops under your command for this addition to the unprecedented series of great victories which your army has achieved.

"'The universal rejoicing produced by this happy result will be mingled with a general regret for the good and brave who are numbered among the killed and the wounded.'

"R. E. Lee, General."

CHAPTER XV.

Lee assuming the Offensive.—Cavalry Scouts and Raiders.—Mosby's Exploits.—A Surprise and a Repulse.—Lee's Plan of Campaign described by Himself.—Lee's Invasion of the North.—Lee's Report.—Lee makes light of the Attack on his Rear-guard at Falling Waters.—Kilpatrick's Account of it.—Hooker falls back to cover Washington.—His Movements described.—Resignation of Hooker.—Appointment of General Meade.—His Report of the Preliminary Operations and Battle of Gettysburg.—Numbers.—Losses.—Everett's Description of the Battle of Gettysburg.

1863.

General Lee, presuming upon the depressing effects of defeat upon the Army of the Potomac, soon assumed the offensive. As usual, he prefaced his campaign by sending out cavalry scouts and stimulating the guerrilla parties to increased activity. The bold raider Mosby energetically pursued his vocation of surprising picket guards, attacking railway trains, and capturing army wagons and sutlers' stores in the rear of the Union army. Early in May he surprised a detachment of the First Virginia Cavalry (Union) near Warrenton Junction. The men were dismounted and engaged in feeding and watering their horses, when Mosby and his band made a sudden charge, and after capturing some of them, drove the rest to the cover of the neighboring houses, where they manfully held out and refused to surrender. Mosby now ordered the torch to be applied. "At this critical moment," says a campaigner, "the Fifth New York, led on by Colonel De Forest in person, came yelling and charging into the rebel midst. For a short time there ensued a hand-to-hand encounter, when the rebels broke and ran, entirely demoralized and panic-stricken. They left, without a thought of our men, their prisoners, and leaving behind them some twenty-seven of their comrades, wounded and slain. Major

Hammond, of the Fifth New York, continued the pursuit, and parties were dispatched in all directions to cut off the scattered and fleeing rebels."

Though Mosby was reported wounded in the shoulder and his band extinguished, he and his men soon made their reappearance and renewed their annoying enterprises.

The plan of campaign Lee had decided upon is thus described by himself.

"The position occupied by the enemy opposite Fredericksburg being one in which he could not be attacked to advantage, it was determined to draw him from it. The execution of this purpose embraced the relief of the Shenandoah Valley from the troops that had occupied the lower part of it during the winter and spring, and, if practicable, the transfer of the scene of hostilities north of the Potomac.

"It was thought that the corresponding movement on the part of the enemy, to which those contemplated by us could probably give rise, might offer a fair opportunity to strike a blow at the army therein commanded by General Hooker, and that, in any event, that army would be compelled to leave Virginia, and possibly to draw to its support troops designed to operate against other parts of the country. In this way, it was supposed that the enemy's plan of campaign for the summer would be broken up, and part of the season of active operations be consumed in the formation of new combinations and the preparations that they would require.

"In addition to these advantages, it was hoped that other valuable results might be attained by military success."

The movement of Lee's army began on the 3d of June. Its advance, progress, invasions of Maryland and Pennsylvania, defeat at Gettysburg, and return to Virginia, are thus briefly described by General Lee in his report of July 1st, 1863.

"McLaws' division, of Longstreet's corps," he says, "left Fredericksburg for Culpepper Court House, and Hood's division, which was encamped on the Rapidan, marched to the same place.

"They were followed on the 4th and 5th of June by Ewell's corps, leaving that of A. P. Hill to occupy our lines at Fredericksburg.

"The march of these troops having been discovered by the enemy on the afternoon of the 5th, the following day he crossed a force, amounting to about one army corps, to the south side of the Rappahannock, on a pontoon bridge laid down near the mouth of Deep Run. General Hill disposed his command to resist their advance; but as they seemed intended for the purpose of observation rather than attack, the movements in progress were not arrested.

"The forces of Longstreet and Ewell reached Culpepper Court House by the 8th, at which point the cavalry, under General Stuart, was also concentrated.

"On the 9th, a large force of Federal cavalry, strongly supported by infantry, crossed the Rappahannock at Beverly's and Kelly's fords, and attacked General Stuart. A severe engagement ensued.

continuing from early in the morning until late in the afternoon, when the enemy was forced to recross the river with heavy loss, leaving 400 prisoners, three pieces of artillery, and several colors in our hands.

"General Jenkins, with his cavalry brigade, had been ordered to advance toward Winchester to co-operate with the infantry in the proposed expedition into the lower valley, and at the same time General Imboden was directed, with his command, to make a demonstration in the direction of Romney, in order to cover the movement against Winchester, and prevent the enemy at that place from being reinforced by the troops on the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Both of these officers were in position when General Ewell left Culpepper Court House on the 10th. Crossing the Shenandoah near Front Royal, he detached Rodes' division to Berryville, with instructions, after dislodging the force stationed there, to cut off communications between Winchester and the Potomac. With the divisions of Early and Johnson, General Ewell advanced directly upon Winchester, driving the enemy into his works around the town on the 13th. On the same day the troops at Berryville fell back before General Rodes, retreating to Winchester. On the 14th, General Early stormed the works at the latter place, and the whole army of General Milroy was captured or dispersed. Most of those who attempted to escape were interrupted and made prisoners by General Johnson. Their leader fled to Harper's Ferry with a small party of fugitives.

"General Rodes marched from Berryville to Martinsburg, entering the latter place on the 14th, where he took 700 prisoners, five pieces of artillery, and a considerable quantity of stores. These operations cleared the valley of the enemy, those at Harper's Ferry withdrawing to Maryland Heights. More than 4,000 prisoners, 29 pieces of artillery, 270 wagons and ambulances, with 400 horses, were captured, besides a large amount of military stores. Our loss was small.

"On the night that Ewell appeared at Winchester, the Federal troops in front of A. P. Hill at Fredericksburg recrossed the Rappahannock, and the next day disappeared behind the hills of Stafford.

"The whole army of General Hooker withdrew from the line of the Rappahannock, pursuing the roads near the Potomac, and no favorable opportunity was offered for attack. It seemed to be the purpose of General Hooker to take a position which would enable him to cover the approaches to Washington city. With a view to draw him farther from his base, and, at the same time, to cover the march of A. P. Hill, who, in accordance with instructions, left Fredericksburg for the valley as soon as the enemy withdrew from his front, Longstreet moved from Culpepper Court House on the 15th, and advancing along the east side of the Blue Ridge, occupied Ashby's and Snicker's Gaps. His force had been augmented while at Culpepper

by General Pickett with three brigades of his division.

"The cavalry, under General Stuart, was thrown out in front of Longstreet to watch the enemy, now reported to be moving into Loudon. On the 17th his cavalry encountered two brigades of ours, under General Stuart, near Aldie, and was driven back with loss. The next day the engagement was renewed, the Federal cavalry being strongly supported by infantry, and General Stuart was, in turn, compelled to retire.

"The enemy advanced as far as Upperville, and then fell back. In these engagements General Stuart took about 400 prisoners and a considerable number of horses and arms.

"In the mean time, a part of General Ewell's corps had entered Maryland, and the rest was about to follow. General Jenkins, with his cavalry, who accompanied General Ewell, penetrated Pennsylvania as far as Chambersburg. As these demonstrations did not have the effect of causing the Federal army to leave Virginia, and as it did not seem disposed to advance upon the position held by Longstreet, the latter was withdrawn to the west side of the Shenandoah. General Hill having already reached the valley.

"General Stuart was left to guard the passes of the mountains and observe the movements of the enemy, whom he was instructed to harass and impede as much as possible, should he attempt to cross the Potomac. In that event, General Stuart was directed to move into Maryland, crossing the Potomac east or west of the Blue Ridge, as in his judgment should be best, and take position on the right of our column as it advanced.

"By the 24th, the progress of Ewell rendered it necessary that the rest of the army should be in supporting distance, and Longstreet and Hill marched to the Potomac. The former crossed at Williamsport and the latter at Shepherdstown. The columns reunited to Hagerstown, and advanced thence into Pennsylvania, encamping near Chambersburg on the 27th.

"No report had been received that the Federal army had crossed the Potomac, and the absence of the cavalry rendered it impossible to obtain accurate information. In order, however, to retain it on the east side of the mountains after it should enter Maryland, and thus leave open our communication with the Potomac, through Hagerstown and Williamsport, General Ewell had been instructed to send a division eastward from Chambersburg to cross the South Mountain. Early's division was detached for this purpose, and proceeded as far east as York, while the remainder of the corps proceeded to Carlisle.

"General Imboden, in pursuance of the instructions previously referred to, had been actively engaged on the left of General Ewell during the progress of the latter into Maryland. He had driven off the forces guarding the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, destroying all the important bridges on that route from Cumberland to Martinsburg, and seriously damaged the Chesapeake and

Ohio Canal. He subsequently took position at Hancock, and after the arrival of Longstreet and Hill at Chambersburg, was directed to march by way of McConnelsburg to that place.

"Preparations were now made to advance upon Harrisburg; but on the night of the 29th, information was received from a scout that the Federal army, having crossed the Potomac, was advancing northwards, and that the head of the column had reached the South Mountain. As our communications with the Potomac were thus menaced, it was resolved to prevent his farther progress in that direction by concentrating our army on the east side of the mountains. Accordingly, Longstreet and Hill were directed to proceed from Chambersburg to Gettysburg, to which point General Ewell was also instructed to march from Carlisle.

"General Stuart continued to follow the movements of the Federal army south of the Potomac after our own had entered Maryland, and in his efforts to impede its progress, advanced as far eastward as Fairfax Court House. Finding himself unable to delay the enemy materially, he crossed the river at Seneca and marched through Westminster to Carlisle, where he arrived after General Ewell had left for Gettysburg. By the route he pursued, the Federal army was interposed between his command and our main body, preventing any communication with him until his arrival at Carlisle.

"The march toward Gettysburg was conducted more slowly than it would have been had the movements of the Federal army been known.

"The leading division of Hill met the enemy in advance at Gettysburg on the morning of the 1st of July. Driving back these troops to within a short distance of the town, he there encountered a large force, with which two of his divisions became engaged. Ewell, coming up with two of his divisions by the Heidlersburg road, joined in the engagement. The enemy was driven through Gettysburg with heavy loss, including about 5,000 prisoners and several pieces of artillery.

"He retreated to a high range of hills south and east of the town. The attack was not pressed that afternoon, the enemy's force being unknown, and it being considered advisable to await the arrival of the rest of our troops. Orders were sent back to hasten their march; and, in the mean time, every effort was made to ascertain the numbers and position of the enemy, and find the most favorable point of attack It had not been intended to fight a general battle at such a distance from our base, unless attacked by the enemy; but, finding ourselves unexpectedly confronted by the Federal army, it became a matter of difficulty to withdraw through the mountains with our large trains. At the same time the country was unfavorable for collecting supplies while in the presence of the enemy's main body, as he was enabled to restrain our foraging parties by occupying the passes of the mountains with regular and local troops. A battle thus became, in a



measure, unavoidable. Encouraged by the successful issue of the engagement of the first day, and in view of the valuable results that would ensue from the defeat of the army of General Meade, it was thought advisable to renew the attack.

"The remainder of Ewell's and Hill's corps having arrived, and two divisions of Longstreet's, our preparations were made accordingly. During the afternoon, intelligence was received of the arrival of General Stuart at Carlisle, and he was ordered to march to Gettysburg and take position on the left. * *

"The preparations for attack were not completed until the afternoon of the 2d of July.

"The enemy held a high and commanding ridge, along which he had massed a large amount of artillery. General Ewell occupied the left of our line, General Hill the centre, and General Longstreet the right. In front of General Longstreet the enemy held a position, from which, if he could be driven, it was thought that our army could be used to advantage in assailing the more elevated ground beyond, and thus enable us to reach the crest of the ridge. That officer was directed to endeavor to carry this position, while General Ewell attacked directly the high ground on the enemy's right, which had already been partially fortified, General Hill was instructed to threaten the centre of the Federal line, in order to prevent reinforcements being sent to either wing, and to avail himself of any opportunity that might present itself to attack.

"After a severe struggle, Longstreet succeeded in getting possession of and holding the desired ground. Ewell also carried some of the strong positions which he assailed, and the result was such as to lead to the belief that he would ultimately be able to dislodge the enemy. The battle ceased at dark.

"These partial successes determined me to continue the assault next day. Pickett, with three of his brigades, joined Longstreet the following morning, and our batteries were moved forward to the position gained by him the day before.

"The general plan of attack was unchanged, except that one division and two brigades of Hill's corps were ordered to support Longstreet.

"The enemy, in the mean time, had strengthened his line with earth-works. The morning was occupied in necessary preparations, and the battle recommenced in the afternoon of the 3d, and raged with great violence until sunset. Our troops succeeded in entering the advanced works of the enemy and getting possession of some of his batteries; but our artillery having nearly expended its ammunition, the attacking columns became exposed to the heavy fire of the numerous batteries near the summit of the ridge, and, after a most determined and gallant struggle, were compelled to relinquish their advantage and fall back to their original positions, with severe loss.

"The conduct of the troops was all that I could desire or expect, and they deserved success so far as it can be

deserved by heroic valor and fortitude. More may have been required of them than they were able to perform, but my admiration of their noble qualities, and confidence in their ability to cope successfully with the enemy, has suffered no abatement from the issue of this protracted and sanguinary conflict.

"Owing to the strength of the enemy's position and the reduction of our ammunition, a renewal of the engagement could not be hazarded, and the difficulty of procuring supplies rendered it impossible to continue longer where we were. Such of the wounded as were in condition to be removed, and part of the arms collected on the field, were ordered to Williamsport. The army remained at Gettysburg during the 4th, and at night began to retire by the road to Fairfield, carrying with it about 4,000 prisoners. Nearly 2,000 had previously been parolled, but the enemy's numerous wounded, that had fallen into our hands after the first and second day's engagement, were left behind.

"Little progress was made that night, owing to a severe storm, which greatly embarrassed our movements. The rear of the column did not leave its position near Gettysburg until after daylight on the 5th.

"The march was continued during that day without interruption by the enemy, except an unimportant demonstration upon our rear in the afternoon, when near Fairfield, which was easily checked. Part of our train moved by the road through Fairfield, and the rest by the way of Cashtown, guarded by General Imboden. In passing through the mountains, in advance of the column, the great length of the trains exposed them to attack by the enemy's cavalry, which captured a number of wagons and ambulances; but they succeeded in reaching Williamsport without serious loss.

"They were attacked at that place on the 6th by the enemy's cavalry, which was gallantly repulsed by General Imboden. The attacking force was subsequently encountered and driven off by General Stuart, and pursued for several miles in the direction of Boonsboro'. The army, after an arduous march, rendered more difficult by the rains, reached Hagerstown on the afternoon of the 6th and morning of the 7th of July.

"The Potomac was found to be so much swollen by the rains that had fallen almost incessantly since our entrance into Maryland as to be unfordable. Our communications with the south side were thus interrupted, and it was difficult to procure either ammunition or subsistence, the latter difficulty being enhanced by the high waters impeding the working of neighboring mills. The trains with the wounded and prisoners were compelled to await at Williamsport the subsiding of the river and the construction of boats, as the pontoon bridge left at Falling Waters had been partially destroyed. The enemy had not yet made his appearance; but, as he was in condition to obtain large reinforcements, and our situation,

for the reason above mentioned, was becoming daily more embarrassing, it was deemed advisable to recross the river. Part of the pontoon bridge was recovered, and new boats built, so that by the 13th a good bridge was thrown over the river at Falling Waters.

"The enemy in force reached our front on the 12th. A position had been previously selected to cover the Potomac from Williamsport to Falling Waters, and an attack was awaited during that and the succeeding day. This did not take place, though the two armies were in close proximity, the enemy being occupied in fortifying his own lines. Our preparations being completed, and the river, though still deep, being pronounced fordable, the army commenced to withdraw to the south side on the night of the 13th.

"Ewell's corps forded the river at Williamsport, those of Longstreet and Hill crossed upon the bridge. Owing to the condition of the roads, the troops did not reach the bridge until after daylight of the 14th, and the crossing was not completed until one P.M., when the bridge was removed. The enemy offered no serious interruption, and the movement was attended with no loss of material except a few disabled wagons and two pieces of artillery, which the horses were unable to move through the deep mud. Before fresh horses could be sent back for them, the rear of the column had passed.

"During the slow and tedious march to the bridge, in the midst of a violent storm of rain, some of the men lay down by the way to rest. Officers sent back for them failed to find many in the obscurity of the night, and these, with some stragglers, fell into the hands of the enemy.

"Brigadier-General Pettigrew was mortally wounded in an attack made by a small body of cavalry, which was unfortunately mistaken for our own and permitted to enter our lines. He was brought to Bunker Hill, where he expired a few days afterward. He was a brave and accomplished officer and gentleman, and his loss will be deeply felt by the country and the army.

"The following day the army marched to Bunker Hill, in the vicinity of which it encamped for several days. The day after its arrival, a large force of the enemy's cavalry, which had crossed the Potomac at Harper's Ferry, advanced toward Martinsburg. It was attacked by General Fitz Lee, near Kearneysville, and defeated with heavy loss, leaving its dead and many of its wounded on the field.

"Owing to the swollen condition of the Shenandoah River, the plan of operations which had been contemplated when we recrossed the Potomac could not be put in execution, and before the water had subsided, the movements of the enemy induced me to cross the Blue Ridge and take position south of the Rappahannock, which was accordingly done. * * *

"It is not in my power to give a correct statement of our casualties, which were severe, including many brave men and an unusual proportion of

distinguished and valuable officers. Among them I regret to mention the following general officers: Major-Generals Hood, Pender, and Trimble, severely, and Major-General Heth, slightly wounded.

"General Pender has since died. This lamented officer has borne a distinguished part in every engagement of this army, and was wounded on several occasions while leading his command with conspicuous gallantry and ability. The confidence and admiration inspired by his courage and capacity as an officer were only equalled by the esteem and respect entertained by all with whom he was associated for the noble qualities of his modest and unassuming character. Brigadier-Generals Barksdale and Garnett were killed, and Brigadier-General Semmes mortally wounded, while leading their troops with the courage that always distinguished them. These brave officers and patriotic gentlemen fell in the faithful discharge of duty, leaving the army to mourn their loss and emulate their noble examples.

"Brigadier-Generals Kemper, Armistead, Scales, G. T. Anderson, Hampton, J. M. Jones, and Jenkins, were also wounded. Brigadier-General Archer was taken prisoner. General Pettigrew, though wounded at Gettysburg, continued in command until he was mortally wounded near Falling Waters.

"The loss of the enemy is unknown, but from observations on the field, and his subsequent movements, it is supposed that he suffered severely."

General Lee, in his report, makes very light of an attack on his rear-guard at Falling Waters, saying: "The enemy offered no serious interruption, and the movement was attended with no loss of material except a few disabled wagons and two pieces of artillery, which the horses were unable to move through the deep mud." By the Union authorities the affair at Falling Waters was considered a more serious matter, as will appear from the report of General Kilpatrick, who led the cavalry in the attack at that place.

"On the morning of the 14th of July" he says, "I learned that the enemy's pickets were retiring on my front. Having been previously ordered to attack at seven A.M., I was ready to move at once. At daylight I had reached the crest of hills occupied by the enemy an hour before, and at a few minutes before six General Custer drove the rear-guard of the enemy into the river at Williamsport. Learning from citizens that a portion of the enemy had retreated in the direction of Falling Waters, I at once moved rapidly for that point, and came up with the rear-guard of the enemy at half-past seven A.M., at a point two miles distant from Falling Waters. We pressed on, driving them before us, capturing many prisoners and one gun. When within one and a half miles of Falling Waters the enemy was found in large force, drawn up in line of battle on the crest of a hill commanding the road on which I was advancing. His left was protected by earth-works, and his right extended to the woods far on



Edward Everett

my left. The enemy was, when first seen, in two lines of battle, with arms stacked. Within less than 1,000 yards of this large force a second piece of artillery, with its support, consisting of infantry, was captured while attempting to get into position. The gun was taken to the rear.

"A portion of the Sixth Michigan Cavalry, seeing only that portion of the enemy behind the earth-works, charged. This charge, led by Major Weber, was the most gallant ever made. At a trot he passed up the hill, received the fire from the whole line, and the next moment rode through and over the earth-works, passed to the right, sabring rebels along the entire line, and returned with a loss of thirty killed, wounded, and missing, including the gallant Major Weber, killed.

"I directed General Custer to send forward one regiment as skirmishers. They were repulsed before support could be sent them, and driven back, closely followed by the rebels, until checked by the First Michigan and a squadron of the Eighth New York.

"The second brigade having come up, it was quickly thrown into position, and after a fight of two hours and thirty minutes routed the enemy at all points, and drove him toward the river.

"When within a short distance of the bridge, General Buford's command came up and took the advance.

"We lost twenty-nine killed, thirty-six wounded, and forty missing. We found upon the field 125 dead rebels, and brought away upward of fifty wounded.

"A large number of the enemy's wounded were left upon the field in charge of their own surgeons.

"We captured two guns, three battle-flags, and upward of 1,500 prisoners."

While Lee was advancing through Virginia, General Hooker was falling back with his army from Fredericksburg to cover Washington. When the former crossed the Potomac, the latter followed, still interposing between the enemy and the capital. On the 28th of June, General Hooker was suddenly relieved of the command of the Army of the Potomac, and General Meade appointed to succeed him. The preliminary movements of the Army of the Potomac while under General Hooker are well narrated in this extract from Mr. Everett's address at the consecration of the national cemetery at Gettysburg, November 19th:

"Unable to force the passage of the Rappahannock, where General Hooker, notwithstanding the reverse at Chancellorsville in May, was strongly posted, the Confederate general resorted to strategy. He had two objects in view. The first was by a rapid movement northward, and by manœuvring with a portion of his army on the east side of the Blue Ridge, to tempt Hooker from his base of operations, thus leading him to uncover the approaches to Washington, to throw it open to a raid by Stuart's cavalry, and enable Lee himself to cross the Potomac in the neighborhood of Poolesville, and thus fall upon the capital. This plan of operations was wholly frustrated. The design

of the rebel general was promptly discovered by General Hooker, and moving himself with great rapidity from Fredericksburg, he preserved unbroken the inner line, and stationed the various corps of his army at all the points protecting the approach to Washington, from Centreville up to Leesburg. From this vantage ground the rebel general in vain attempted to draw him. In the mean time, by the vigorous operations of Pleasanton's cavalry, the cavalry of Stuart, though greatly superior in numbers, was so crippled as to be disabled from performing the part assigned it in the campaign. In this manner General Lee's first object, viz., the defeat of Hooker's army on the south of the Potomac and a direct march on Washington, was baffled.

"The second part of the Confederate plan, and which is supposed to have been undertaken in opposition to the views of General Lee, was to turn the demonstration northward into a real invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania, in the hope that, in this way, General Hooker would be drawn to a distance from the capital; that some opportunity would occur of taking him at disadvantage, and, after defeating his army, of making a descent upon Baltimore and Washington. This part of General Lee's plan, which was substantially the repetition of that of 1862, was not less signally defeated, with what honor to the arms of the Union the heights on which we are this day assembled will forever attest.

"Much time had been uselessly consumed by the rebel general in his unavailing attempts to outmanœuvre General Hooker. Although General Lee broke up from Fredericksburg on the 3d of June, it was not till the 24th that the main body of his army entered Maryland, and instead of crossing the Potomac, as he had intended, east of the Blue Ridge, he was compelled to do it at Shepherdstown and Williamsport, thus materially deranging his entire plan of campaign north of the river. Stuart, who had been sent with his cavalry to the east of the Blue Ridge, to guard the passes of the mountains, to mask the movements of Lee and to harass the Union general in crossing the river, having been very severely handled by Pleasanton at Beverly Ford, Aldie, and Upperville, instead of being able to retard General Hooker's advance, was driven himself away from his connection with the army of Lee, and cut off for a fortnight from all communication with it; a circumstance to which General Lee, in his report, alludes more than once, with evident displeasure. Let us now rapidly glance at the incidents of the eventful campaign.

"A detachment from Ewell's corps, under Jenkins, had penetrated, on the 15th of June, as far as Chambersburg. This movement was intended at first merely as a demonstration, and as a marauding expedition for supplies. It had, however, the salutary effect of alarming the country, and vigorous preparations here in Pennsylvania and in the sister States were made to repel the inroad. After two days passed at

Chambersburg, Jenkins, anxious for his communications with Ewell, fell back with his plunder to Hagerstown. Here he remained for several days, and having swept the recesses of Cumberland Valley, came down upon the eastern flank of the South Mountain and pushed his marauding parties as far as Waynesboro'. On the 22d the remainder of Ewell's corps crossed the river and moved up the valley. They were followed on the 24th by Longstreet and Hill, who crossed at Williamsport and Shepherdstown, and pushing up the valley encamped at Chambersburg on the 27th. In this way the whole rebel army, estimated at 90,000 infantry, upward of 10,000 cavalry, and 4,000 or 5,000 artillery, making a total of 105,000 of all arms, was concentrated in Pennsylvania.

"Up to this time, no report of Hooker's movements had been received by General Lee, who, having been deprived of his cavalry, had no means of obtaining information. Rightly judging, however, that no time would be lost by the Union army in the pursuit, in order to detain it on the eastern side of the mountains in Maryland and Pennsylvania, and thus preserve his communications by the way of Williamsport, he had, before his own arrival at Chambersburg, directed Ewell to send detachments from his corps to Carlisle and York. The latter detachment, under Early, passed through this place on the 26th of June. You need not, fellow-citizens of Gettysburg, that I should recall to you those moments of alarm and distress, precursors as they were of the more trying scenes which were so soon to follow.

"As soon as General Hooker perceived that the advance of the Confederates into the Cumberland Valley was not a mere feint to draw him away from Washington, he moved himself rapidly in pursuit. Attempts, as we have seen, were made to harass and retard his passage across the Potomac. These attempts were not only altogether unsuccessful, but so unskilfully made as to place the entire Federal army between the cavalry of Stuart and the army of Lee. While the latter was massed in the Cumberland Valley, Stuart was east of the mountains, with Hooker's army between, and Gregg's cavalry in close pursuit. Stuart was accordingly compelled to force a march northward, which was destitute of all strategical character, and which deprived his chief of all means of obtaining intelligence.

"No time, as we have seen, had been lost by General Hooker in the pursuit of Lee. The day after the rebel army entered Maryland, the Union army crossed the Potomac at Edward's Ferry, and by the 28th lay between Harper's Ferry and Frederick. The force of the enemy on that day was partly at Chambersburg, and partly moving on the Cashtown road, in the direction of Gettysburg, while the detachments from Ewell's corps, of which mention has been made, had reached the Susquehanna opposite Harrisburg and Columbia. That a great battle must soon be fought no one could doubt; but in the

apparent, and perhaps real, absence of plan on the part of Lee, it was impossible to foretell the precise scene of the encounter. Wherever fought, consequences the most momentous hung upon the result.

"In this critical and anxious state of affairs, General Hooker was relieved, and General Meade was summoned to the chief command of the army."

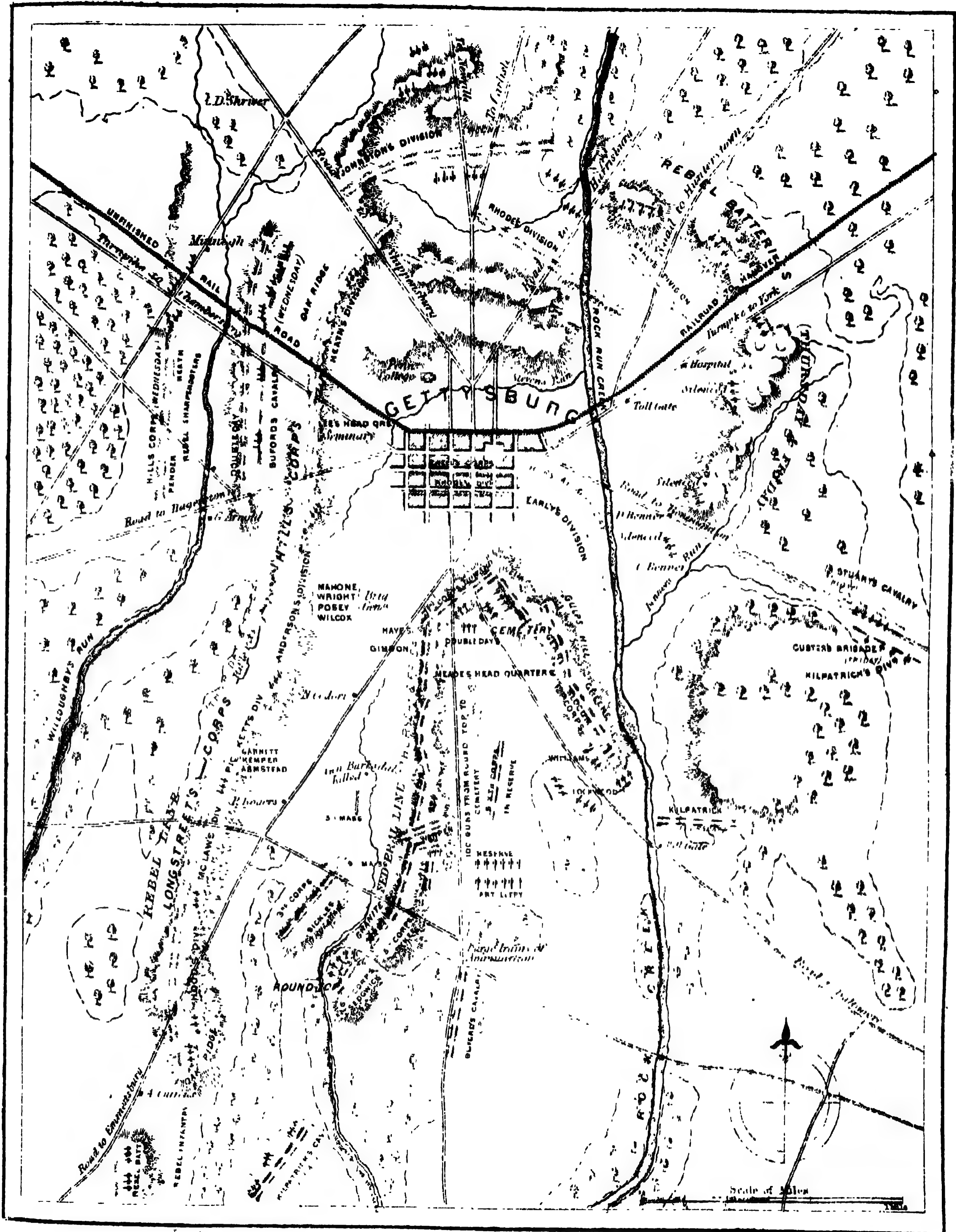
General Meade thus relates the movements of the Army of the Potomac from the time he assumed its command to its victory at Gettysburg and the retreat of the enemy:

"On the 28th of June," he says, "I received orders from the President, placing me in command of the army. The situation of affairs was briefly as follows: The Confederate army, commanded by General R. E. Lee, estimated at over 100,000 strong, all arms, had crossed the Potomac River, and advanced up the Cumberland Valley. Reliable intelligence placed his advance (Ewell's corps) on the Susquehanna, between Harrisburg and Columbia. Longstreet's corps was at Chambersburg, and Hill's corps between that place and Cashtown.

"The 28th of June was spent in ascertaining the position and strength of the different corps of the army, but principally in bringing up cavalry, which had been covering the rear of the army in its passage over the Potomac, and to which a large increase had just been made from the force previously attached to the defences of Washington. Orders were given on that day to make General French, commanding at Harper's Ferry, move with 7,000 men to occupy Frederick and the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and the balance of his force, estimated at 4,000, to remove and escort the public property to Washington.

"On the 29th the army was put in motion, and on the evening of that day was in position, its left at Emmettsburg and its right at New Windsor. Buford's division of cavalry was on the left flank, with its advance at Gettysburg. Kilpatrick's division was in front at Hanover, where he encountered this day General Stuart's Confederate cavalry, which had crossed the Potomac at Seneca Creek, and passing our right flank was making its way toward Carlisle, having escaped Gregg's division, which was delayed in taking its position on the right flank by the occupation of the roads by columns of infantry.

"On the 30th, the right flank of the army was moved up to Manchester, the left still being at Emmettsburg, in the vicinity of which place three corps—the first, eleventh, and third—were collected, under orders of Major-General Reynolds. General Buford having reported from Gettysburg the appearance of the enemy on the Cashtown road, in some force, General Reynolds was directed to occupy Gettysburg. On reaching that place on the 1st of July, General Reynolds found Buford's cavalry warmly engaged with the enemy, who had debouched his infantry through the mountains on the Cashtown road, but was being held in check in a most gallant manner by General Buford's cavalry.



Charles Sholl
Top.l Engineer

"Major-General Reynolds immediately moved around the town of Gettysburg, and advanced on the Cashtown road, and without a moment's hesitation deployed his advance division and attacked the enemy, at the same time sending orders for the eleventh corps (General Howard) to advance as promptly as possible. Soon after making his dispositions for the attack, Major-General Reynolds fell mortally wounded, the command of the first corps devolving on Major-General Doubleday, and the command of the field on Major-General Howard, who arrived about this time (half-past eleven A.M.) with the eleventh corps, then commanded by Major-General Schurz. Major-General Howard pushed forward two divisions of the eleventh corps to support the first corps, now warmly engaged with the enemy on the ridge to the north of the town, and posted his third division, with three batteries of artillery on Cemetery Ridge, on the south side of the town. Up to this time the battle had been with the forces of the enemy debouching from the mountains on the Cashtown road, known to be Hill's corps. In the early part of the action success was on our side—Wadsworth's division of the first corps having driven the enemy back some distance, and capturing numerous prisoners, among them General Archer, of the Confederate army.

"The arrival of reinforcements to the enemy on the Cashtown road, and the junction with Ewell's corps, coming on the York and Harrisburg roads, which occurred between one and two o'clock P.M., enabled the enemy to bring vastly superior forces against both the first and eleventh corps, outflanking our line of battle and pressing it so severely that at about four P.M. Major-General Howard deemed it prudent to withdraw these two corps to Cemetery Ridge, on the south side of the town, which operation was successfully accomplished—not, however, without considerable loss in prisoners, arising from the confusion incident to portions of both corps passing through the town and the men getting confused in the streets.

"About the time of the withdrawal Major General Hancock arrived, whom I had dispatched to represent me on the field on hearing of the death of General Reynolds. In conjunction with Major-General Howard, General Hancock proceeded to post troops on Cemetery Ridge, and to repel an attack that the enemy made on our right flank. This attack was not, however, very vigorous. The enemy, seeing the strength of the position occupied, seemed to be satisfied with the success he had accomplished, desisting from further attack this day.

"About seven P.M., Major-Generals Slocum and Sickles, with the twelfth corps and part of the third, reached the ground and took post on the right and left of the troops previously posted.

"Being satisfied, from reports received from the field, that it was the intention of the enemy to support, with his whole army, the attack already made, and reports from Major-Generals Hancock and Howard on the character of the position being favorable, I determ-

ined to give battle at this point, and early in the evening of the 1st, issued orders to all corps to concentrate at Gettysburg, directing all trains to be sent to the rear at Westminster.

"At eleven P.M. of the 1st of July I broke up my headquarters, which till then had been at Taneytown, and proceeded to the field, arriving there at one A.M. of the 2d. So soon as it was light I proceeded to inspect the position occupied, and to make arrangements for posting several corps as they should reach the ground. By seven A.M., the second and fifth corps, with the rest of the third, had reached the ground and were posted as follows: The eleventh corps retained its position on the cemetery side, just opposite to the town. The first corps was posted on the right of the eleventh, on an elevated knoll, connecting with the ridge extending to the south and east, on which the second corps was placed. The right of the twelfth corps rested on a small stream at a point where it crossed the Baltimore pike, and which formed on the right flank of the twelfth something of an obstacle. Cemetery Ridge extended in a westerly and southerly direction, gradually diminishing in elevation till it came to a very prominent ridge, called Round-top, running east and west. The second and third corps were directed to occupy the continuation of Cemetery Ridge, on the left of the eleventh corps. The fifth corps, pending the arrival of the sixth, was held in reserve. While these dispositions were being made, the enemy was massing his troops on the exterior ridge, distant from the line occupied by us from a mile to a mile and a half.

"At two P.M. the sixth corps arrived, after a march of thirty-two miles, accomplished from nine A.M. the day previous. On its arrival being reported, I immediately directed the fifth corps to move over to our extreme left, and the sixth to occupy its place as a reserve for the right. About three P.M. I rode out to the extreme left to await the arrival of the fifth corps and post it, when I found that Major-General Sickles, commanding the third corps, not fully apprehending the instructions in regard to the position to be occupied, had advanced, or rather was in the act of advancing his corps a half mile or three-quarters of a mile in front of the line of the second corps, on the prolongation of which it was designed his corps should rest. Having found Major-General Sickles, I was explaining to him that he was too far in advance, and discussing with him the propriety of withdrawing, when the enemy opened upon him with several batteries on his front and his flank, and immediately brought forward columns of infantry, and made a vigorous assault. The third corps sustained the shock most heroically. Troops from the second corps were immediately sent by Major-General Hancock to cover the right flank of the third corps, and soon after the assault commenced, the fifth corps most fortunately arrived, and took position on the left of the third.

"Major-General Sykes' command immediately sending a force to occupy Round-top Ridge, a most furious con-

test was maintained, the enemy making desperate but unsuccessful efforts to secure it. Notwithstanding the stubborn resistance of the third corps, under Major-General Birney, Major-General Sickles having been wounded early in the action, the superiority in number of corps in the enemy enabling him to outflank its advance position, General Birney was counselled to fall back and re-form behind the line originally designed to be held. In the mean time, perceiving great exertions on the part of the enemy, the sixth corps (Major-General Sedgwick's) and part of the first corps (to the command of which I had assigned Major-General Newton), particularly Lockwood's Maryland brigade, together with detachments from the second corps, were all brought up at different periods, and succeeded, together with the gallant resistance of the fifth corps, in checking, and finally repulsing the assault of the enemy, who retired in confusion and disorder about sunset, and ceased any further efforts.

"On the extreme left another assault was, however, made about eight P.M. on the eleventh corps from the left of the town, which was repulsed with the assistance of the troops from the second and first corps. During the heavy assault upon our extreme left, portions of the twelfth corps were sent as reinforcements. During their absence, the line on the extreme right was held by a very much reduced force. This was taken advantage of by the enemy, who, during the absence of Geary's division of the twelfth corps, advanced and occupied part of the line. On the morning of the 3d, General Geary, having returned during the night, was attacked at early dawn by the enemy, but succeeded in driving him back and occupying his former position. A spirited contest was maintained all morning along this part of the line, General Geary, reinforced by Wheaton's brigade, sixth corps, maintained his position and inflicted very severe losses on the enemy. With this exception the quiet of the lines remained undisturbed till one P.M. on the 3d, when the enemy opened from over 125 guns, playing upon our centre and left. This cannonade continued for over two hours, when our guns failing to make any reply, the enemy ceased firing, and soon his masses of infantry became visible, forming for an assault on our left and left centre. The assault was made with great firmness, being directed principally against the point occupied by the second corps, and was repelled with equal firmness by the troops of that corps, supported by Doubleday's division and Stannard's brigade of the first corps.

"During the assault, both Major-General Hancock, commanding the left centre, and Brigadier-General Gibbon, commanding the second corps, were severely wounded.

"This terminated the battle, the enemy retiring to his lines, leaving the field strewed with his dead and wounded, and numbers of prisoners fell into our hands.

"Buford's division of cavalry, after its arduous service at Gettysburg on the

1st, was, on the 2d, sent to Westminster to refit and guard our trains. Kilpatrick's division, that on the 29th, 30th, and 1st, had been successfully engaging the enemy's cavalry, was on the 3d sent to our extreme left, on the Emmettsburg road, where good service was rendered in assaulting the enemy's line and occupying his attention. At the same time General Gregg was engaged with the enemy on our extreme right, having passed across the Baltimore pike and Bonaughtown road, and boldly attacked the enemy's left and rear.

"On the morning of the 4th, a reconnoissance developed that the enemy had drawn back his left flank, but maintained his position in front of our left, apparently assuming a new line parallel to the mountain.

"On the morning of the 5th, it was ascertained that the enemy was in full retreat by the Fairfield and Cashtown roads. The sixth corps was immediately sent in pursuit on the Fairfield road, and cavalry on the Cashtown road, and by the Emmettsburg and Monterey Passes.

"The 5th and 6th of July were employed in succoring the wounded and burying the dead. Major-General Sedgwick, commanding the sixth corps, having pushed the pursuit of the enemy as far as the Fairfield Pass and the mountains, and reporting that the Pass was very strong—one in which a small force of the enemy could hold in check and delay for a considerable time any pursuing force—I determined to follow the enemy by a flank movement, and accordingly, leaving McIntosh's brigade of cavalry and Neil's brigade of infantry to continue harassing the enemy, I put the army in motion for Middletown, and orders were immediately sent to Major-General French, at Frederick, to reoccupy Harper's Ferry, and send a force to occupy Turner's Pass in South Mountain. I subsequently ascertained that Major-General French had not only anticipated these orders, in part, but had pushed a cavalry force to Williamsport and Falling Waters, where they destroyed the enemy's pontoon bridge and captured its guard. Buford was, at the same time, sent to Williamsport and Hagerstown. The duty above assigned to the cavalry was most successfully accomplished, the enemy being greatly harassed, his trains destroyed, and many captures of guns and prisoners made.

"After halting a day at Middletown to procure necessary supplies and bring up trains, the army moved through South Mountain, and by the 12th of July was in front of the enemy, who occupied a strong position on the heights near the marsh which runs in advance of Williamsport. In taking this position, several skirmishes and affairs had been had with the enemy, principally by the cavalry and the eleventh and sixth corps. The thirteenth was occupied in reconnoissances of the enemy's position and in preparations for an attack; but on advancing on the morning of the 14th, it was ascertained that he had retired the night previous by the bridge at

Falling Waters and ford at Williamsport. The cavalry in pursuit overtook the rear-guard at Falling Waters, capturing two guns and numerous prisoners. Previous to the retreat of the enemy, Gregg's division of cavalry was crossed at Harper's Ferry, and coming up with the rear of the enemy at Charlestown and Shepherdstown, had a spirited contest, in which the enemy was driven to Martinsburg and Winchester, and pursued and harassed in his retreat.

"The pursuit was resumed by a flank movement of the army crossing the Potomac at Berlin and moving down the Loudon Valley. The cavalry were immediately pushed into several passes of the Blue Ridge, and having learned from servants of the withdrawal of the Confederate army from the lower valley of the Shenandoah, the army (the third corps, Major-General French, being in advance) was moved into Manassas Gap in the hope of being able to intercept a portion of the enemy in possession of the Gap, which was disputed so successfully as to enable the rear-guard to withdraw by the way of Strasburg. The Confederate army retiring to the Rapidan, a position was taken with this army on the line of the Rappahannock, and the campaign terminated about the close of July.

"The result of the campaign may be briefly stated in the defeat of the enemy at Gettysburg, his compulsory evacuation of Pennsylvania and Maryland, and his withdrawal from the upper valley of the Shenandoah; and in the capture of 3 guns, 41 standards, and 13,621 prisoners. 24,978 small-arms were collected on the battle-field. Our own losses were very severe, amounting, as will be seen by the accompanying return, to 2,834 killed, 13,709 wounded, and 6,643 missing—in all 23,186."

The strength of the two armies after the first day was about equal, the amount of each available force being computed at about 105,000 of all arms. The loss of the enemy in the battle has been estimated as high as 5,500 killed, 21,000 wounded, and 14,000 taken prisoners.

CHAPTER XVI.

Life of General Meade.—His Military Education, Career, and Services.—The Victory of Gettysburg gained under unfavorable circumstances.—Great credit due to Meade.—What would have been the Consequences of a Defeat at Gettysburg.—The North ill-prepared for Defence.—Political Inquietude.—Alarm at the North at the Prospect of Lee's Invasion.—The People Arming at last.—Action of Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania.—The People of Pennsylvania slow to move.—Their Excitement and Alarm.—What was done by the Pennsylvanians.—President Lincoln calls out the Militia.—His Proclamation.—Proclamations of the Governors.—Prompt Response of New York and New Jersey.—Their Militia early in the Field.

1863.

GENERAL MEADE, who had so signally illustrated his assumption of the command of the Army of the Potomac by the great victory of Gettysburg, was born in Spain, in 1815. His parents, who were Americans, were residing at the time of his birth in Barcelona. After their return to the United States, one of their sons entered the navy, and the other, George C. Meade, the present General, became, in 1831, a cadet at West Point. He graduated on the 30th of June, 1835, number nineteen, in a large class. On the 1st of July, 1835, he was appointed a brevet second lieutenant in the Third Artillery, and in December following was promoted to the full rank. On the 26th of October, 1836, he resigned and engaged in some civil occupation, in which he remained until the 19th of May, 1842, when he re-entered the U. S. military service with the appointment of second lieutenant of Topographical Engineers. Serving during the war with Mexico, he was honorably mentioned in the official reports for his good conduct at the battle of Palo Alto, and subsequently, after bearing a distinguished part in the battle of Monterey, was brevetted a first lieutenant, dating from September 23, 1846. In August, 1851, he was promoted to a first lieutenancy, and on the 19th of May, 1856, to a captaincy, which rank he held at the beginning of the rebellion. When the call was made by the President for 300,000 volunteers, Captain Meade was appointed one of the brigade commanders of the division of Pennsylvania troops under General McCall, and raised to the rank of brigadier-general of volunteers, with a commission dating August 31, 1861. When McCall's division was organized at Tenallytown, near Washington, General Meade commanded the second brigade, and joined effectively in the work.

In the advance of the Army of the Potomac toward Manassas, in March, 1862, the division in which General Meade commanded was attached to the first corps, under General McDowell, with whom it remained north of the Rappahannock, until after the battle of Hanover Station. The division now



Geo. G. Meade

joined McClellan's army, and forming part of the right wing, occupied the neighborhood of Mechanicsville. When the famous flank attack was made on the 26th of June, 1862, by "Stonewall" Jackson, General Meade especially distinguished himself by the firmness of his resistance. At the battle of Gainesville, next day, he also did so well that he was nominated for the brevet of lieutenant-colonel in the regular army, having previously been promoted to a majority in the Engineer Corps.

At the battle of New Market Cross Roads, General Meade was wounded, and on his recovery he took command of the division until the return of Generals McCall and Reynolds, who had been taken prisoners at the battle of Mechanicsville.

On the invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania by Lee, after the defeat of Pope, General Meade was placed in command of the division of Pennsylvania reserves, and led them in the battles of South Mountain and Antietam. When General Hooker was carried from the field wounded, Meade became, temporarily, the commander of the ninth corps.

In the battle of Fredericksburg, on the 13th of December, 1862, General Meade greatly distinguished himself with the Pennsylvania division, which lost, during that disastrous conflict, 1,624 men.

On the 15th of December, 1862, General Meade was appointed to the command of the fifth army corps, formerly under Fitz John Porter. In January, 1863, the President having previously appointed him a major-general of volunteers, his name was laid before the Senate. His appointment, however, was not confirmed until the following March, but his commission was dated November 29, 1862.

When General Hooker assumed the command of the Army of the Potomac, Meade was retained as the commander of the fifth corps, which, in the advance upon Chancellorsville, formed part of the right wing. In the severe battles which ensued, Meade's corps was among the firmest to resist the enemy's repeated attacks, and finally covered the retreat of Hooker's whole army. The skill with which General Meade handled his troops on this occasion marked him out as an able commander, and led to his appointment as the successor of General Hooker in the chief command of the Army of the Potomac.

The victory he so soon after won at Gettysburg was especially creditable to him as a commander, for he had assumed charge of the Army of the Potomac when in the face of the enemy and on the eve of a great battle, both of which were circumstances singularly unfavorable for a new leader. The issue, moreover, was one of the grandest ever hazarded on the field, and fixes the success of the arms of the Union on that occasion among the most memorable events in its history.

The invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania by General Lee, if it had not been checked by the victory won by General Meade at Gettysburg, might

not have perhaps, as has been conjectured by some, led to the permanent dissolution of the Union, but it would have undoubtedly prevented its early restoration. The enemy had never, during the war, concentrated such powerful means of offence, and the North was never, apparently, so ill-prepared for resistance. The Army of the Potomac had been dispirited by successive defeats, and bewildered by a sudden change in the chief command. The country, moreover, was agitated by political dissension, and depressed by a momentary distrust of its leaders.

When it was first discovered that the invasion of Pennsylvania and Maryland was the design of General Lee, great alarm arose throughout the North. The necessity of effort was at once recognized, but the excited state of public feeling perplexed the general action. Consequently, it was not until the enemy had marched into the heart of Pennsylvania and Maryland, and so concentrated their forces as to render the issue dependent upon the hazard of a single battle, that the people arose in their might. They were thus finally able to bear a part, though a subordinate one, when it should have been the principal, in driving back the invaders.

Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, had been among the first to anticipate the design of General Lee, and strove to arouse the people of Pennsylvania to a timely defence; but trusting to the protecting power of the Army of the Potomac, they were slow to move. When the invaders, however, came, the citizens throughout the State became greatly alarmed. The people finally mustered in great strength. The chief cities, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Harrisburg, Carlisle, and others, responded enthusiastically to the warm appeals of their Governor, and offered their arms and treasure for the defence of the State. A large force of militia was at last gathered in Pennsylvania, and was being rapidly organized under General Couch, the commander of the Department of the Susquehanna, when General Meade marched to meet the enemy at Gettysburg. The President of the United States called out 100,000 militia, conjointly from the States of Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Western Virginia. The Governors of these States promptly exercised their official authority and personal influence and energy in arousing their fellow-citizens to efforts worthy of the occasion. The neighboring States of New Jersey and New York, though not called upon by the President, volunteered their aid, and sent a considerable force of militia with such promptitude, that it was ready to take the field as soon as, if not before, the aroused citizens of Pennsylvania and Maryland.

CHAPTER XVII.

Subordinate and Co-operative Military Movements.—Western and Southeastern Virginia.—Activity of General Dix.—Parker's Expedition up the Pamunkey.—The Co-operation of the Troops.—March to White House.—The Attack of the Enemy on Suffolk.—Different Versions of the Affair.—Fight on the Blackwater.—Pryor's Account of it.—A Union Narrative.—The Enemy holds the bank of the Blackwater on the Suffolk side.—Intrenchments dug.—An Unsuccessful Attempt of the Unionists to carry the works.—The Enemy advance with increased force.—They reach the Nansemond, and threaten Suffolk.—Siege of Suffolk.—Obstructions to Navigation.—Gun-boats disabled.—The Unionists sally out.—Getty's Skirmish.—The Siege of Suffolk raised. Reconnoissance of Getty, and severe engagement.—The Enemy pursued.—Loss of the Unionists during the Siege of Suffolk.—Expeditions.—Railroads destroyed.—Suffolk abandoned by the Unionists.—Dix's Operations on the Peninsula.—Keyes' Expedition.—The Advance checked.—General Foster succeeds Dix.—His Activity.—Reconnoissance up the James River.—The Gun-boat Commodore Barry struck by a Torpedo, and disabled.—Western Virginia.—A Succession of Raids.—Advance of the Enemy under General Loring.—Attack on the Union Encampment at Fayette.—Retreat of Lightburn.—A Succinct Account of the Invasion of the Valley of the Kanawha and Retreat of the Federal Forces.—Loring recalled.—Succeeded by Echols.—Gillmore assigned to the command of the Union Troops in Western Virginia.—Advance of General Cox.—The retirement of the Enemy.—Capture of Point Pleasant.—Retaken by the Unionists.—The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad damaged.—Exploits of Jenkins and Imboden.—The Union Troops regain the ascendancy in Western Virginia.—Destruction of Wytheville.—Expedition of Averill.—The Enemy pursued and driven from Western Virginia.—A Satisfactory Announcement.

SUBORDINATE to the movements and battles of the two great armies, which were respectively covering the capitals of Washington and Richmond, and contending for the possession of central Virginia, there were military operations, both in the western and southeastern parts of that State, which claim a record.

1863.

General Dix, from his headquarters at Fortress Monroe, kept up a series of scouts and reconnoissances, by which he inflicted great damage upon the enemy, and kept them in a constant state of inquietude. On the 7th of January, Commander Parker, in command of the naval force on the York River, set out on an expedition up the Pamunkey, with three gun-boats and some transports, carrying two squadrons of cavalry and a company of infantry. The troops having landed at West Point on the 8th, under the cover of the gun-boats, took up an immediate line of march. "I proceeded," says Major Hall, their commander, "in the direction of Lanesville and Indiantown, reaching the former place at daylight, and in time to capture a wagon train, containing 'blockade goods' (*en route* for Richmond), consisting in part of block tin, gutta percha, paints, medicines, shellac, and ordnance stores, together with the agent in command of the train. Leaving a strong picket guard at Lanesville, I next proceeded to Indiantown, and found two wagons, loaded with meal, awaiting ferriage to White House, and destined for Richmond. After destroying the telegraph and seizing the mails, I crossed

the Pamunkey to White House, where I destroyed by fire the ferry-boat, two sloops loaded with grain, two barges, four pontoon boats, steamer Little Magruder, the storehouse, containing about 1,000 bushels of wheat, commissary stores, consisting of whiskey, soap, candles, salt, etc., etc. The torch was next applied to the railroad dépôt (also containing freight for Richmond), the tank, the rolling stock, signal station, sutlers' buildings and stores—remaining until the demolition was complete.

"The object of the reconnoissance being accomplished, I returned to West Point, arriving at five o'clock P.M., thence by steamer to Yorktown, arriving at midnight, having sustained no loss whatever during the expedition."

The enemy having, on the 9th of January, crossed the Blackwater, made an attack upon the right of the Union force garrisoning Suffolk. "General Pryor," declared the Confederates, "encountered Dodge's mounted riflemen five miles from Suffolk, with two companies of cavalry, and routed them, inflicting considerable loss. General Pryor remained in line of battle until Sunday morning, but the enemy would not leave their strongholds. Learning that 8,500 Yankees were at Carrsville, General Pryor pushed across to intercept them. They fled on our approach, escaping through Gates County."

Major-General Peck, however, the Union commander at Suffolk, gave this very different version of the affair:

"The enemy," he said, in his dispatch of January 10th, "crossed the Blackwater in considerable force, and attempted yesterday to drive in our right wing at Providence Church. Infantry, cavalry, and artillery were employed by the rebels; but they were repulsed by Major Wheelan's New York Mounted Rifles. At dusk the enemy's advance was charged upon and driven back upon his supports. At intervals through the night, shells were thrown from the rebel batteries."

General Pryor having again recrossed the Blackwater with an increased force, and menaced Suffolk, General Peck sent out General Corcoran to resist him. A battle ensued, the result of which, according to Pryor, was as follows:

"This morning, at four o'clock, the enemy, under Major-General Peck, attacked me," wrote Pryor in his report of January 30, at Kelly's Store, eight miles from Suffolk. After three hours' severe fighting, we repulsed them at all points and held the field. Their force is represented by prisoners to be between 10,000 and 15,000. My loss in killed and wounded will not exceed fifty—no prisoners. I regret that Colonel Poag is among the killed. We inflicted a heavy loss on the enemy."

According to the Union accounts, the enemy were driven from the field and "followed up until they took another position two miles beyond." The loss of the Unionists was computed at twenty-four killed and eighty wounded. The rebels, notwithstanding their reported discomfiture by Corcoran, succeeded in holding the bank of the Blackwater River, on the Suffolk side, where they

constructed intrenchments. On the 17th of March, an attempt was made by a Union detachment, under Colonel Spear, to carry these works. Several assaults were spiritedly made, but proved unsuccessful, with a loss on our side of seventeen wounded and missing.

The enemy continued to advance with increased forces. They finally reached the Nansemond and threatened to cross it and attack Suffolk. On this river they established strong batteries in order to cover the transportation of their troops, with the view, apparently, of getting into the rear of the town and cutting off its communication with Norfolk. With their works on the Nansemond, they were able to obstruct its navigation and interrupt the water communications with Suffolk. The Union gun-boats were frequently fired into and occasionally disabled. In the mean time, the Unionists were diligently fortifying Suffolk, and finally made ready to sally out and act on the offensive. On the 19th of April, General Getty, with the Eighty-ninth New York and Eighth Connecticut regiments, aided by the gun-boats, stormed one of the enemy's batteries and captured six guns and 200 prisoners. Several attempts of the enemy to cross the Nansemond having been defeated, principally by the fire of the Union gun-boats, and a call being made for the Confederate troops to concentrate, in consequence of the advance of General Hooker toward Richmond, the siege of Suffolk was raised.

As the enemy prepared to retreat, a reconnoissance, conducted by General Getty, was made, which led to a severe engagement. "The result of the affair," says a Union chronicler, "was, that our troops had driven the enemy about one mile and had captured his first line of rifle-pits. The full object of our reconnoissance was then attained."

May 3.

The enemy were followed to the Blackwater on their retreat, in the course of which several skirmishes occurred, with unimportant results.

The whole loss of the Unionists during the siege of Suffolk was computed at 44 killed and 202 wounded.

The retreat of the enemy was succeeded, on the 15th of May, by a Union expedition into the interior of South-eastern Virginia, for the purpose of destroying the Seaboard and Roanoke Railroad. This object was accomplished after a severe skirmish with some detached parties near Carrsville. Notwithstanding that Suffolk had held out so successfully against the repeated efforts of the enemy, it was finally thought advisable to withdraw the Union garrison to a more defensible line, which was not done, however, until a considerable time after the besiegers had retired.

General Dix now devoted his main operations toward obtaining occupation of the peninsula between the York and James rivers. On the 7th of May, a portion of the fourth army corps, under the command of General Keyes, landed at West Point. Having been conveyed by a fleet of gun-boats, the troops sailed

up the York River and disembarked without molestation. From West Point General Keyes sent out a reconnoitring party to White House, which destroyed a bridge and captured a score of prisoners. Again, a few days after (May 13), the gun-boat Morse, Lieutenant-Commanding Babcock, ascended the Mattapony River to Indiantown, twenty-five miles distant from West Point, destroying considerable grain and other property by the way.

On the 4th of June, General Keyes sent out a combined expedition of land and naval forces, consisting of 400 infantry, three gun-boats, and a transport. After some preliminary skirmishing with the enemy's scouts, the force penetrated to Ayletts, where an iron foundry, a mill, and a quantity of grain and other stores were destroyed. As the enemy were in strength a short distance in advance, the Unionists, after the successful raid, cautiously retired. General Keyes now concentrated his whole force at White House, and made a show of more imposing operations. He accordingly marched his troops, after some severe skirmishing, to a position four miles south of the White House. The enemy, by an attack upon the Union advance which forced it to fall back, having shown themselves to be in considerable strength, and General Keyes having accomplished his main object, which was to make a diversion in favor of the Army of the Potomac by threatening to advance to Richmond by the peninsula, made no further attempt to go forward. Meanwhile the enemy, under the command of General Wise, retired beyond the Chickahominy.

July 4.

On the 18th of July, Major-General Foster arrived at Fortress Monroe, and assumed the command as the successor of General Dix, who had been ordered to New York. In the course of the reconnoissances made by the new commander, he sailed up the James River with three armed vessels. When within six miles of Fort Darling, one of the gun-boats, the Commodore Barney, struck upon a torpedo. "The effect of the explosion," testifies an observer, "was terrific in appearance. * * * The vessel was lifted by the shock upward of ten feet out of water, and an immense jet of water was hurled from her bow fifty feet in the air at least, falling over and completely deluging her her and washing overboard thirty men." Two only, however, were drowned. The engines of the Commodore Barney were disabled by the shock, and it was found necessary to tow her down the river.

1862.

Western Virginia, during 1862 and for most of the succeeding year, continued to be a field of partisan warfare. The enemy's cavalry, under Jenkins and Imboden, made a succession of raids, and often succeeded in taking the Union garrisons by surprise, and carrying off large quantities of plunder. Buckhannon, Glenville, Weston, Spencer, Ripley, and Ravenswood were thus surprised and sacked, in August and September, 1862. "The raids of the rebel guerrilla A. G. Jenkins, in Western Virginia, with his 800 bushwhack-

ers," says a correspondent, "sum up pretty large: He defeated the Union force at Buckhannon on the 30th of August, entered the town, destroyed large quantities of government stores, broke up 5,000 stand of arms, and carried off a number of horses and Enfield rifles, besides allowing his men to take what they wanted from the private stores in the village. He then proceeded to Weston, where he also destroyed all the government supplies. At Glenfield the same operations were gone through with. The town of Spencer next surrendered to Jenkins, where he took 150 of our men prisoners, and captured and destroyed 100 guns. From thence he visited Ripley and Ravenswood, where like scenes were enacted, and where he captured Major B. H. Hill, a mustering officer, having in his possession 5,000 dollars government money."

A more regular force of the enemy, computed at 5,000 men, commanded by General Loring, entered Western Virginia in September, 1862, and getting into the rear of a Union encampment at Fayette, attacked it. A severe struggle ensued, and the Unionists, whose original number was 1,200, cut their way through to Gauley, with a loss of 100 killed and wounded. Another column of the enemy approached Gauley Bridge, on the Lewisburg road, and thus succeeded in cutting off the small Union force at Summerville. Gauley was in consequence evacuated by the Federal troops under Colonel Lightburn, who, being pursued, continued his retreat to the Ohio River, though making an occasional stand by the way and beating back his pursuers. Gauley Bridge was destroyed and Charleston shelled and burnt, together with some of the salt-works and government stores, by Colonel Lightburn, as he retired. A correspondent of the Cincinnati *Commercial*, of September 18, 1862, gives this *resumé* of the invasion of the valley of the Kanawha, and the consequent retreat of the Federal forces:

"A report," he says, "has been sent by the dispatches of the associated press to the effect that the Federal forces destroyed the salt-works near Charleston in their retreat from the Kanawha. This is a mistake. Only two out of about twenty of the works were destroyed, and they only partially. It is much to be regretted that there was a particle of machinery left unbroken, or a bushel of salt not consigned to the river. But our men are not to blame, as they were at the time closely pursued by 13,000 rebels, whose every energy was bent on cutting them off a short distance below Charleston. The salt-works are not, as is commonly supposed, in the town of Charleston, but are scattered along the road for a space of twelve miles, between that place and Camp Piatt, where our forces were encamped last winter.

"An immense quantity of salt has fallen into the hands of the rebels, with the necessary facilities for supplying the entire Confederacy, should they remain in undisputed possession of the Kanawha for a few months. The 'victory'

obtained over the Federal arms is entirely overshadowed by this godsend, and the name of General Loring will be heralded by the chivalry for his success in furnishing the material wherewith to preserve the South. The Legislature of Virginia was convened by Governor Letcher a short time since for the especial purpose of devising some means for procuring salt. It is not improbable that the rebel lawgivers saw in the removal of the army of General Cox from the Kanawha Valley their golden opportunity, and that they determined upon the course which has since proved successful. * * *

"The salt-works are owned by men who, even when within the Federal lines, avowed their sympathy and affiliation with the rebels, and under the circumstances which now surround them will be disposed to use every exertion in behalf of the Southern cause. They will, however, be compelled to seek out new 'help,' as the contrabands who have heretofore performed all the labor are at present located in Ohio, with the determination never again to visit 'the mother of Presidents.'

"Fifteen killed and seventy-five wounded is a fair estimate of the Federal loss at the battle of Fayette. The Thirty-fourth Ohio, Colonel Toland, were the principal sufferers in the contest, on our side. The rebels, after several unsuccessful attempts to take the breast-works by storm, sought shelter in the woods from the galling fire of the Thirty-seventh Ohio, Colonel Siber in command. Not less than 200 of the enemy had fallen, and their efforts had as yet been fruitless, when they took to a thicket near by. The Piatt Zouaves (there were only six companies of them on the ground) were ordered to dislodge the rebels, and boldly made the attempt. To do this it was necessary to leave the breast-works and expose themselves to the fire of an ambushed enemy seven times their number. It was here that the long mortality list of the brave regiment was made.

"The rebels were completely foiled and beaten back. The Zouaves returned to the intrenchments, where they lay, with the Thirty-seventh, expecting a night attack—but the enemy made none. * * *

"Colonel Lightburn, who, with his command, the Fourth Virginia Infantry, was at Gauley, hearing of the engagement at Fayette, sent two companies of his regiment to reinforce Colonel Siber. Before they arrived, however, Colonel Siber had determined to fall back to Gauley. The retreat was commenced about midnight, the detachment of the Fourth Virginia acting as skirmishers and guards for the wagon train. Gauley was reached in safety by seven o'clock P.M. on the 11th. Colonel Lightburn deemed this post untenable, fearing that the rebels would cut him off at Loop Creek. The Forty-fourth and Forty-seventh Ohio regiments, and a part of the Second Virginia Cavalry, had just arrived at Gauley from Camp Piatt, but even with this reinforcement, Colonel Lightburn feared he would not be able to cut his way through the rebel ranks,

which had also been greatly increased in numbers. The enemy did make the effort to cut off our retreat, but arrived at the desired point a few minutes after our rear-guard had left it. They then proceeded to Cotton Hill, where they hoped to accomplish their purpose, but failed again.

"Our forces burnt Gauley Bridge, a structure which our Government paid a heavy sum of money for, and retreated on both sides the Kanawha, closely pursued by the rebels, and skirmishing with them all the time. They reached Camp Piatt with the enemy hard upon them. Here was another untenable point, and nothing was now left for our men but a retreat to the Ohio River. On the road to Charleston our forces destroyed two salt-works and all the government stores they came across.

"Charleston reached, notice was given to the citizens that the town would be destroyed, and all non-combatants were advised to leave. Our forces first destroyed the government commissary and quartermaster's stores which they could not easily remove, and then fired the town in different places. The conflagration was not complete. Before the Federals had left, the Confederates arrived in the rear of the town and commenced shelling it also. Between the two fires, however, Charleston was not destroyed. The snake was scotched, not killed.

"There was considerable skirmishing and fighting in and around Charleston. Many of our men were shot at from the windows of houses, and a few were wounded in this way. We lost five men killed and ten or twelve wounded during the day. Added to our loss on the 10th, this makes a total of twenty killed and eighty-seven wounded. The Second Virginia Cavalry—a regiment which, by the way, has rendered very effective service since its organization—lost seven men taken prisoners on the night of the 12th. They were on picket duty near Charleston.

"The value of the property lost to the Government in the retreat from the valley, is estimated by the post commissaries and quartermasters in whose charge it was, at $500,000. This includes one small train of wagons which was cut off near Gauley, and all the commissary stores destroyed at Charleston.

"It is impossible, of course, to make an accurate estimate of the rebel loss at Fayette and Charleston, but it may safely be put down at four times that sustained by our forces. In their assaults upon the earth-works at Fayette, and their subsequent skirmishes, it is believed 100 of them were killed and 500 wounded. Save the possession of the salt-works, they certainly gained nothing by driving our men out of the Kanawha Valley. They got no army stores, for everything of that kind was destroyed in time to prevent it from falling into their hands; and the country they temporarily hold will not afford any facilities for foraging parties, as it has already been completely eaten out."

General Loring having been recalled, the force of the enemy operating in the

Kanawha Valley was placed under the command of General Echols. The Unionists, under Colonel Lightburn, having retreated to Point Pleasant, on the Ohio, fortified that place and awaited the arrival of General Cox with reinforcements. Brigadier-General Gillmore was subsequently assigned to the command of Western Virginia, but before assuming it, was appointed to a more important post. General Cox, in the mean time, arrived at Point Pleasant, and immediately advanced up the Kanawha Valley, forcing the enemy to retire before him, and finally to abandon the district. Their cavalry detachments, however, still continued to make incursions, which were by no means always successful. On the 10th of November, 1862, the alert General Kelly attacked Imboden's camp, eighteen miles south of Moorefield, Hardy County, "routed him completely," says the official report, "killing and wounding many and capturing his camp, fifty prisoners, a quantity of arms, and a large number of horses, cattle, hogs, wagons, etc. The rebels were entirely dispersed, and fled to the mountains."

A successful scout was made by Colonel Paxton, with the Second Virginia Cavalry (Union), in the neighborhood of Lewisburg. The troops left Camp Piatt, ten miles from Charleston, Va., on the 24th of November. "From that time," says a correspondent, "they marched 210 miles in 70 hours, passing over in the route four spurs of the Gauley Mountains — the Gauley, Cranberry, Cherry, and Cold Knob. Part of the march was through a pelting snowstorm.

"Colonel Paxton came upon the enemy in the vicinity of Frankfort, attacked him with vigor, and after a short fight defeated him, capturing two commissioned officers, 108 non-commissioned officers and privates, and 100 horses, between 200 and 300 stand of arms, burned his camp and all his equipage, all his stores, and four wagons. Colonel Paxton did not lose a man."

1863.

On the 29th of March, General Jenkins, with 700 of his guerrilla band, captured Point Pleasant. The Unionists, however, soon came to the rescue and drove away the enemy, who suffered a loss of twelve killed and fourteen prisoners, while the former had but one killed and one wounded.

The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, so often the object of the enemy's attack, was again visited in April by a guerrilla force, which damaged the large iron bridge one mile east of Fairmont, five bridges within thirty miles west of it, on the main line, and three bridges on the Parkersburg branch, within twenty miles of Grafton. The telegraph communications were destroyed at the same time.

Imboden thus boasted in a dispatch, dated two miles north of Beverly, April 24th, of one of his exploits:

"I attacked," he said, "the enemy in a strong position, on the heights in the rear of Beverly, to-day, defeated and drove him from the town after a stubborn resistance of three hours, and pursued him till dark on the Philippi road. I renew the pursuit in the morning.

He burned a considerable part of the town and destroyed his stores, which were very considerable—commissary's alone over $40,000.

"I captured five new army wagons, thirty-odd fine horses and mules, thirty-four new Enfield rifles, a number of good tents, a quantity of grain, a bogus militia major, and a number of prisoners—list not made up yet. I learn I will procure over 1,000 head of fine cattle in this and Barbour County, and large quantities of bacon.

"It has been raining for four days—roads a perfect mire.

"A few badly wounded on our side; none killed. Enemy's loss unknown, as he removed all before he retreated. The people are rejoicing at their deliverance from the oppressor."

The Union troops in the summer were enabled again to assume the ascendancy in Western Virginia, and to act in their turn on the offensive. A cavalry expedition, under Colonel Toland, of the Thirty-fourth Ohio Mounted Infantry, and Colonel Powell, of the Second Virginia Cavalry, having been sent out by General Scammon, from Charleston, Va., to cut the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, returned on the 23d of July. They had succeeded in capturing Wytheville after a severe fight, and brought off 120 prisoners, two pieces of artillery, and 700 stand of arms. Their own loss was about sixty-five killed and wounded, and that of the enemy seventy-five killed, with many wounded. As the citizens fired from their houses upon the Union troops, the town of Wytheville was totally destroyed.

Another Union triumph is thus reported by General Averill on the 30th of August, after an expedition through the counties of Hardy, Pendleton, Highland, Bath, Greenbrier, and Pocahontas:

"We drove General Jackson out of Pocahontas, and over the Warm Spring Mountain in a series of skirmishes, destroying the salpetre works, burnt Camp Northwest, and a large amount of arms, equipments, and stores.

"We fought a severe engagement with a superior force, under command of Major-General Sam Jones and Colonel Patten, at Rocky Gap, near the White Sulphur Springs. The battle lasted during two days. We drove the enemy from his first position, but want of ammunition and the arrival on the second day of three regiments to reinforce the enemy, from the direction whence the co-operation of General Scammon had been promised, decided me to withdraw. My command was withdrawn in good order, with the loss of only two men during the operation. Our loss in the battle is probably over 100 officers and men killed and wounded, among whom are Captain Paul and Baron Von Koenig, aid-de-camp, killed while leading an assault upon the enemy's right; and Major McNally, of the Second Virginia, and Captain Ewing, of the artillery, dangerously wounded. I have reason to believe the enemy's loss greater than our own. One Parrott gun burst the first day, and, becoming worthless, was abandoned.

"Great efforts up to noon to-day have been made by the combined forces of Imboden and Jackson to prevent our return, but without success. We have brought in over thirty prisoners, including a major and two or three lieutenants; also a large number of cattle, horses, etc."

Another success of Averill is reported by General Kelly, who writes from Clarksburg, November 8, 1863:

"General Averill attacked Jackson's forces at Mill Point, Pocahontas County, on the 5th instant, and drove him from his position with trifling loss. Jackson fell back to the summit of Droop Mountain, where he was reinforced by General Echols with Patten's brigade and one regiment from Jenkins' command. The position is naturally a strong one, and was strengthened by breast-works commanding the road. General Averill turned the enemy's left with his infantry, and attacked him in front with cavalry dismounted.

"The victory was decisive, and the enemy's retreat became a total rout, his forces throwing away their arms and scattering in every direction.

"The cavalry pursued till dark, capturing many prisoners and a large quantity of arms, ammunition, etc.

"The enemy's wounded have all fallen into our hands. Our loss in killed and wounded is about 100."

General Kelly added in a subsequent dispatch:

"General Duffie entered Lewisburg at half-past ten o'clock A.M. on the 7th of November, the enemy having passed through in retreat from Averill, who gave him a severe whipping at Droop Mountain on the 6th.

"Duffie captured the enemy's camp, tents, knapsacks, provisions, etc., one caisson, and upward of 100 head of cattle."

After the enemy had fled from Lewisburg, they received reinforcements, and turned back upon their pursuers.

Averill and Duffie had, in the mean time, joined their forces, and giving the enemy battle, again routed them.

On the 18th of November, General Kelly had the satisfaction to report, "There is not, at this time, an organized force of rebels within the bounds of the new State of West Virginia."

CHAPTER XVIII.

The President's Proclamation of a Draft.—The Draft commenced.—Distaste of the People.—The Draft quietly carried out in some parts of the Country.—Expressions of Dissatisfaction, but a general Resignation.—The First Day of the Draft in New York.—A Comical Prelude.—The Sunday after.—The Second Day of the Draft in New York.—The First Stone thrown.—The Provost Marshal's Office attacked, sacked, and burnt.—Advance of the Mob to attack the Arsenal.—Collision with the Soldiery.—Bloody Result.—Burning of Bull's Head Hotel and Colored Orphan Asylum.—Destruction of Railroad.—More Conflagrations.—Suspension of the Draft.—Another Enrolling Office and a Block of Buildings burnt.—Attack upon the *Tribune* Office.—New York without Troops.—Second Day of the Riot.—Increased Violence of the Mob.—Governor Seymour to the Rescue.—Proclamation.—Its Effect.—The Efforts of Civil and Military Authorities.—Guarding the Public Property.—New York in a State of Siege.—Continued Rage of the Mob.—Every man defending his Home.—Tragic Incidents.—Death of Colonel O'Brien.—Persecution of the Negroes.—The lust for Blood and Plunder.—Sacking of Brooks's Clothing Store.—A Night of Anxiety.—Fire! Fire!—Third Day of the Riot.—More Proclamations.—Archbishop Hughes' Address to his Flock.—Appropriation of $2,500,000 by the Aldermen of New York.—Continued Violence of the Mob.—Gloom of the City.—Fights between the Populace and Military.—Continued Persecution of the Negroes.—Fourth Day of the Riot.—More Cheerfulness.—Arrival of Militia Regiments.—Occasional Fights.—Archbishop Hughes convokes an Assemblage of his People.—The Effects of his Speech.—General Dix appointed to the command of New York.—30,000 Federal Soldiers in New York.—The Draft not officially suspended.—Mayor Opdyke Vetoes the $2,500,000 Ordinance.—Correspondence of Governor Seymour and President Lincoln.—The Draft resumed.

"WASHINGTON, *May* 8, 1863.

"BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

"A PROCLAMATION.

1863.

"WHEREAS, the Congress of the United States, at its last session, enacted a law entitled 'An act for enrolling and calling out the national forces, and for other purposes,' which was approved on the third day of March last; and

"Whereas, it is recited in the said act that there now exists in the United States an insurrection and rebellion against the authority thereof, and it is, under the Constitution of the United States, the duty of the Government to suppress insurrection and rebellion, to guarantee to each State a republican form of government, and to preserve the public tranquillity; and

"Whereas, for these high purposes a military force is indispensable, to raise and support which all persons ought willingly to contribute; and

"Whereas, no service can be more praiseworthy and honorable than that which is rendered for the maintenance of the Constitution and the Union, and the consequent preservation of free government; and

"Whereas, for the reasons thus recited, it was enacted by the said statute that all able-bodied male citizens of the United States, and persons of foreign birth who shall have declared on oath their intentions to become citizens under and in pursuance of the laws thereof, between the ages of twenty and forty-five years, with certain exceptions not necessary to be here mentioned, are

declared to constitute the national forces, and shall be liable to perform military duty in the service of the United States when called out by the President for that purpose ; and

"Whereas, it is claimed in behalf of persons of foreign birth within the ages specified in said act, who have heretofore declared, on oath, their intentions to become citizens under and in pursuance of the laws of the United States, and who have not exercised the right of suffrage or any other political franchise under the laws of the United States, or of any of the States thereof, are not absolutely concluded by their aforesaid declaration of intention from renouncing their purpose to become citizens, and that, on the contrary, such persons under treaties or the law of nations retain a right to renounce that purpose and to forego the privilege of citizenship and residence within the United States under the obligations imposed by the aforesaid act of Congress ;

"Now, therefore, to avoid all misapprehensions concerning the liability of persons concerned to perform the service required by such enactment, and to give it full effect, I do hereby order and proclaim that no plea of alienage will be received or allowed to exempt from the obligations imposed by the aforesaid act of Congress, any person of foreign birth who shall have declared on oath his intention to become a citizen of the United States under the laws thereof, and who shall be found within the United States at any time during the continuance of the present insurrection and rebellion, at or after the expiration of the period of sixty-five days from the date of this proclamation. Nor shall any such plea of alienage be allowed in favor of any such person who has, so as aforesaid, declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States, and shall have exercised at any time the right of suffrage or any other political franchise within the United States, under the laws thereof, or under the laws of any of the several States.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my seal, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the city of Washington this eighth day of May, in the year of our Lord 1863, and of the independence of the United States, the eighty-seventh. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"By the President,

"WM. H. SEWARD,

"Secretary of State."

In accordance with this proclamation, the draft was commenced in the Eastern and Middle States of the Union early in the month of July. This process for obtaining soldiers, however necessary, was known to be distasteful to American citizens, and more or less resistance to its execution was anticipated, but, greatly to the surprise of all, and much, perhaps, to the disappointment of some, the draft was begun and completed in a considerable portion of the country without exciting any violent opposition. There were, indeed, everywhere, from those liable to suffer from its effects, expressions of dissatisfaction, though a general resignation to its necessity.

Even in New York, on the first day of the draft, Saturday, July 11th, there was hardly any manifestation of public discontent. The drawing in the 29th Ward took place, under the guard of a strong police force, at the office of the provost marshal, No. 677 Third Avenue, beginning at nine o'clock in the morning and ending at four in the afternoon. A large crowd assembled in the neighborhood and exhibited great interest in the result, but no desire to interfere with the process.

"Everything then went on as quietly as possible during the entire day. The people seemed to take it in more of a jocular than a serious mood, as a smile flitted frequently across the countenances of several. When some familiar name was announced, there was an ejaculation of 'How are you, Brady?' or 'How are you, Jones?' Then there were jocular tokens of sympathy, such as 'Good-bye, Patrick,' or 'Good-bye, James,' when the drawn name happened to have either of these Christian prefixes to the same."

Such was the prelude, comical in its extremes of good-humor, which preceded the tragic week of civic anarchy. During the Sunday which succeeded the first day of the draft, there was evidently great agitation among the poorer inhabitants of the city, who, gathering about the streets in throngs, angrily denounced a compulsory system for obtaining soldiers, that seemed to bear most heavily upon the class to which they belonged.

On Monday morning, July 13th, the draft of the ninth district was resumed. At nine o'clock the doors of the provost marshal's office were thrown open, when a large crowd immediately thronged in. The drawing commenced at half-past ten o'clock. Some fifty or sixty names had been taken from the wheel and announced, when, on the announcement of Z. Shay, 633 W. Forty-second Street, a stone was dashed through the window. This was taken as the signal for a general attack by the populace on the outside, which had been gathering since the opening of the day, and now numbered several thousands.

"During the early part of the morning," reports a journalist,* "the people of the ninth district, consisting of a large number of respectable workmen and others, were seen to assemble at certain specified spots, and between eight and nine o'clock began moving along the various avenues west of Fifth Avenue, toward their appointed place of general meeting. A large number of workmen's wives, etc., began also to assemble along the various avenues, and, if anything, were more excited than the men, who were armed with sticks, stones, adzes, axes, saws, and some with even old swords. As the assembled people moved along, they stopped at the different workshops and factories, and a deputation entered the various buildings to inform their proprietors that they would not be answerable for the safety of their premises unless the same were closed and their men allowed to join them if they so desired. In most cases the

* N. Y. *Herald*.

request was complied with at once, and the assemblage moved on.

"They next arrived at their specified meeting place, on an open lot near the Park, and by their concerted action it was evident that there had been some degree of organization in their movements. Having arranged their plans to their satisfaction, they began to move down town again, by way of Fifth and Sixth avenues, until they reached the vicinity of Forty-sixth and Forty-seventh streets, along which they proceeded in an easterly direction.

"When they arrived at Fourth Avenue, along which the New Haven and Harlem railroad tracks run, one of the principals of the assembled people caught sight of the telegraph wires and poles. It was at once suggested that the authorities might telegraph to Albany for troops. Scarcely were the words uttered when the axes were laid at the feet of the telegraph poles, and down they came. That part of the wires that could not be thus destroyed was divided by means of men climbing the poles, and throwing slings, stones, etc., until the wires were severed and rendered completely useless. Another branch wire, leading from the railroad to Third Avenue, and that along Third Avenue, were similarly damaged, and then the crowd again moved on to the provost marshal's office."

On the first stone being thrown through the window, the mob on the outside rushed into the building. After having dashed the wheel into pieces, torn into shreds the draft list, and destroyed the furniture of the office, they emptied out a can of turpentine, and setting fire to it, the whole house was soon in flames. The fire extended to three adjoining buildings, as the mob, overpowering the police, would not allow the firemen to extinguish it, and exulted with loud shouts at the conflagration.

The crowd, still increasing in numbers and becoming more excited, now turned to go to the Arsenal, where, in the mean time, a detachment of regulars from Governor's Island had arrived and were prepared to defend the building. A small force, of only about forty soldiers, being a part of the provost guard, having been sent up from the Park to awe the rioters, came into collision with them in the Third Avenue, near Forty-second Street, and fired, killing and wounding several persons. This, instead of intimidating, aroused the fury of the people, who attacked the soldiers and forced them to fly. As they fled, they threw away their muskets, which were seized by their pursuers and used against them. One being overtaken was "beaten almost into jelly, and fainting from loss of blood and exhaustion, was thrown into an alleyway and left to take care of himself as best he might." Others were seized and mangled to death. In Forty-second Street, a policeman on duty having fired into the crowd and unfortunately killed a woman, was set upon with sticks and stones, and after being thus cruelly mauled, was shot in the back.

The rioters, in the course of their morning's havoc, burnt the Bull's Head Hotel in Forty-third Street and the Col-

ored Orphan Asylum in Fifth Avenue, and tore up a portion of the New Haven railroad track. In the afternoon they resumed their work of destruction, and after killing and wounding half a dozen of its defenders, destroyed a dépôt of fire-arms at the corner of Second Avenue and Twenty-first Street, and burned two private houses in Lexington Avenue in their rage at the escape of a policeman who had sought refuge in one of them.

The draft in the eighth district, including the 22d Ward, was, notwithstanding the disorder in other parts of the city, persisted in until twelve o'clock, when it was suspended. About four o'clock in the afternoon, the mob attacked the Enrolling Office, No. 1,190 Broadway, second door from the corner of Twenty-ninth Street, and after rifling it and the neighboring shops, burnt them to the ground.

In other parts of the city there were also riotous manifestations and some acts of violence. A crowd thronging about the Tribune Office broke the windows and tore down the doors. Demonstrations were also made against the residences of Mayor Opdyke and others.

The civic and military authorities seemed perplexed how to act. The usual proclamations and orders were issued by the Mayor and the commanders of the United States troops and militia, but nothing effective was done toward re-establishing order in the city and rescuing it from the ruthless sway of the mob. It is true that, in consequence of the call of the President for troops to resist the invasion of the enemy, New York had been deprived of most of its armed defenders; still, with unanimity of action and timely precaution, it would not have been difficult to organize the orderly citizens into efficient conservators of the peace.

On the second day, Tuesday, July 13th, the rioters, their audacity heightened by impunity, and their lust of blood and plunder increased by previous license, recommenced their work of rapine and murder. The Governor of the State came to the rescue of the helpless city with a proclamation.

"To THE PEOPLE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK: A riotous demonstration in your city, originating in opposition to the conscription of soldiers for the military service of the United States, has swelled into vast proportions, directing its fury against the property and lives of peaceful citizens. I know that many of those who have participated in these proceedings would not have allowed themselves to be carried to such extremes of violence and of wrong except under an apprehension of injustice; but such persons are reminded that the only opposition to the conscription which can be allowed is an appeal to the courts.

"The right of every citizen to make such an appeal will be maintained, and the decision of the court must be respected and obeyed by rulers and people alike. No other course is consistent with the maintenance of the laws, the peace and order of the city, and the safety of its inhabitants.

"Riotous proceedings must and shall be put down. The laws of the State of New York must be enforced, its peace and order maintained, and the lives and property of all its citizens protected at any and every hazard. The rights of every citizen will be properly guarded and defended by the Chief Magistrate of the State.

"I do therefore call upon all persons engaged in these riotous proceedings to retire to their homes and employments, declaring to them that unless they do so at once, I shall use all the power necessary to restore the peace and order of the city. I also call upon all well-disposed persons not enrolled for the preservation of order, to pursue their ordinary avocations.

"Let all citizens stand firmly by the constituted authorities, sustaining law and order in the city, and ready to answer any such demand as circumstances may render necessary for me to make upon their services, and they may rely upon a rigid enforcement of the laws of this State against all who violate them.

"HORATIO SEYMOUR, Governor.

"NEW YORK, *July* 14, 1863."

The rioters gave little heed to words however persuasively uttered, and in spite of the Governor's proclamation, continued to glut their instincts of rapine and cruelty. The State, civic, and military authorities (both Federal and State), the navy, Governor Seymour, Mayor Opdyke, the police commissioners, Generals Wool, Brown, and Sandford, co-operated in efforts to protect the city, but found that the forces at their command were barely sufficient to guard the public property. The custom-house, the sub-treasury buildings, and arsenals were filled with marines and sailors, the approaches and entrances were covered by cannon, and the halls lined with howitzers from the navy yard. The ship-yards, gas-works, and public institutions were guarded by the few militia left in the city, and gun-boats anchored in the East and North rivers with their broadsides menacing Wall and other streets, which were thought to be especially exposed to attack.

Notwithstanding these precautions, and the suspension of the draft, which was supposed to have provoked the popular violence, the mob, on the second day of the riot, continued to rage almost without check. The city, thus at the mercy of robbers and murderers, wore an air of gloom and despair. Business was arrested, the stores and shops were closed, and the promenades deserted. The well-dressed women, the fashionable loungers, and the dashing equipages were absent from the streets, and the occupant of every house barricaded his windows and doors, and armed himself with such weapons as he could procure.

Though the whole city was more or less the scene of violence, the most tragic incidents occurred in the Second and Third avenues and neighboring streets. "Early in the morning," wrote a reporter,* "there might be seen sev-

* N. Y. *Herald*.

eral hundreds of people congregated at each of the corners in the vicinity of Thirty-fourth Street and up to Forty-sixth. There seemed to be no great excitement pervading the masses of persons who were here assembled, but a settled and gloomy quiet hung over their every movement. All canvassed the exciting events which had transpired the day previous with a good deal of sober calmness, and no demonstration of any description took place which might be construed as an outbreak.

"Numbers were armed, but no attack upon person or locality seemed to be determined upon. Several of their friends addressed them, and they listened with comparative quiet. Father Clowrey, the Catholic priest of that district, spoke to them, and requested that they would go to their homes and keep quiet. This advice from the venerated clergyman seemed to be regarded with a good deal of interest, and the crowd, for a few moments, seemed to be deeply impressed with what was so feelingly said to them. There appeared to be a general disposition to keep quiet at this moment, and several turned into the adjacent streets, as if to wend their way homeward. Father Clowrey, however, soon went away, and the crowd commenced to clamor and use emphatic gesticulations once more. Propositions were made by several to proceed to different localities and break open premises. But these suggestions seemed to meet with opposition.

"Some one of the multitude remarked that the police and military were coming up the avenue, as on Monday, and, like a flash of electricity, the whole crowd were moved with the most tremendous excitement, and daring epithets were freely indulged in. 'Let them come on, and we will meet them like men,' were the outcries which were now raised. The crowd rushed into several houses, and took therefrom every article which might in any way be converted into a weapon. Women also armed themselves with whatever they could lay hold of, expressing themselves in the strongest language, both of encouragement to their friends and relatives and disdain for those who were coming up to disperse them.

"The crowd was at this time congregated between Thirty-fourth and Thirty-seventh streets, in the Second Avenue, and accessions to their ranks were flocking in from all directions. There was not a single laborer in that locality who did not leave his employment and join the mass, until it must certainly have numbered some 10,000 persons in all.

"The sight at this time was certainly of a nature to excite fear in the stoutest heart. There was not much clamor or noise of any description, but a settled and determined appearance was the peculiar characteristic of each individual. All seemed imbued with one idea, that of 'resistance,' and no matter what obstacle came in their path, they seemed ready to encounter it.

"At about ten o'clock in the morning a body of troops, about 400 in all, accompanied by a number of police, marched leisurely up Third Avenue.

The military were composed of Company H, of the Twelfth Regiment, under command of Captain Franklin; and about fifty of the Eleventh Regiment New York Volunteers, under the command of Colonel H. F. O'Brien. They brought with them two small field-pieces.

"There were also about 400 police on the march, led by Deputy Superintendent Carpenter and Sergeant Copeland. They were well armed, and carried their clubs in a firm grasp, as if determined to do their part of the work.

"On arriving at the corner of Thirty-fourth Street and Third Avenue, the entire force marched down the street into the avenue, the military passing up some few minutes before. There was no opposition whatever offered to the military as they filed past; but as soon as the police made their appearance, the fight commenced, and in earnest. A shower of bricks came down upon their heads from all directions, and a hand-to-hand encounter immediately followed. The police rushed into the various houses on the route, and, hurrying up stairs, used their clubs against any person, young or old, whom they met. In those encounters it is impossible here to state how many were killed and wounded; but there must certainly have been upward of ten or fifteen clubbed to death.

"This assault did a great deal to excite the people to the highest pitch, and they now fought and acted like men who did not care what they did, or what was the consequence of their acts. The police fought well, but in some cases they acted in a manner calculated to incite the people to increased violence. Several were clubbed to death in their own houses, and the stairs, rooms, and hall-ways covered with blood, while the furniture, glasses, etc., were broken to pieces. The police evidently got the best of it in this encounter, and succeeded to a great extent in putting down the disturbance, which was fast spreading from street to street.

"The police, as they came from the houses after inflicting summary punishment upon all who came in their way, formed again in the streets. Here they took up the line of march, and were proceeding to another vicinity, when a second attack took place; and now the real work commenced.

"There were two howitzers placed in position, supporting which were two companies of the Eleventh New York State Volunteers, under command of Colonel O'Brien, who was on horseback. The military were formed on Second Avenue, at the corner of Thirty-fourth Street, with the crowd on either side of them and a few in front, none expressing the slightest trepidation at the dangerous position in which they were placed. Bricks flew like hail-stones among the soldiers. Colonel O'Brien rode up and down in the centre, and then gave the command 'Fire!' to those who had charge of the howitzers. Some allege that these pieces were loaded with grape and canister; but however this may be, there were several seen to fall at this time. The two companies of infantry of the Eleventh Regiment,

which were under the immediate command of Colonel O'Brien, also opened a fire of Minie bullets and committed some hávoc among the crowd, which was firmly massed together at this point. Several fell upon the sidewalks and in the middle of the street, and were carried into various houses, where their wounds were attended to.

"The action of Colonel O'Brien, as described by several who were within hearing distance of him during the whole time, is thus described from the commencement of the conflict. He urged on the soldiers to fire into and attack the people in all manner of ways. How true this is cannot be determined; but the fate which he met with is probably one of the most horrible that the present generation ever witnessed.

"Colonel O'Brien, as has already been stated, was on horseback, and had the entire command of the military. It was by his orders that they fired, and also by his instrumentality, whether he were right or wrong in the matter, that the heart's blood of many a noble youth was stopped in its flowings.

"A most heart-rending occurrence took place during this fight. Colonel O'Brien held a revolver in his hand, and was riding up and down between either line of the crowd. He, as it is stated, fired his revolver into their midst, the ball killing a woman and child, which she held in her arms. After several rounds had been fired, the people began to disperse, and the police proceeded to another part of the city. Colonel O'Brien and his command, however, remained. The Colonel dismounted from his horse and walked into a drug store.

"Had he taken his departure at this time, there is little doubt that his life would have been saved. Colonel O'-Brien stayed in the drug store for some few minutes; it is thought that he went in to get some refreshments. The crowd were around the door at this time. There was scarcely a word spoken, but the lowering glances of 1,000 men looked down in vengeful spirit upon him as he stood in the door. He then drew his sword, and with the revolver in the other hand walked out on the sidewalk in the very centre of the crowd. He was immediately surrounded, and one of the men came behind, and striking him a heavy blow on the back of the head, staggered him. The crowd then immediately surrounded and beat him in a most shocking manner.

"His almost inanimate body was taken up in the strong arms of the crowd and hurried to the first lamp-post, where it was strung up by a rope. After a few minutes the body was taken down, he being still alive, and thrown, like so much rubbish, into the street.

"The body lay in the middle of the street, within a few yards of the corner of Thirty-fourth Street. Nature shudders at the appalling scenes which here took place. The body was mutilated in such a manner that it was utterly impossible to recognize it. The head was nearly one mass of gore, and the clothes saturated with blood. A crowd of some 300 persons surrounded the prostrate

figure. These men looked upon the terrible sight with the greatest coolness, and some even smiled at the gory object. Our reporter walked leisurely among the crowd which surrounded the body, and gazed upon the extended mass of flesh which was once the corpulent form of Colonel H. F. O'Brien. Notwithstanding the fearful process which the soldier had gone through, he was yet breathing. The eyes were closed, but there was a very apparent twitching of the eyelids, while the lips were now and again convulsed, as if in the most intense agony.

"After lying for about an hour in this position, several of the crowd took hold of the body by the legs and dragged it from one side of the street to the other. This operation was gone through with several times, when the crowd again left the body lying in its original position.

"Had Colonel O'Brien been a man of weak constitution, he would certainly have ceased to exist long before this time. He was, however, a man of great natural strength, and this fact probably kept him breathing longer than would any common person. The crowd remarked this, and watched his every slightest movement with the most intense anxiety. Now and then the head would be raised from the ground, while an application of a foot from one of the crowd would dash the already mangled mass again to the earth. This conduct was carried on for some time, and when our reporter left, the body was still lying in the street, the last spark of existence evidently having taken its flight.

"Probably the worst feature of the affray in this neighborhood was the death of the two or three unfortunate women who happened to be on the ground at the time. One woman's life was saved by the timely services of Dr. E. D. Connery, who extracted a ball from her person. This gentleman's valuable services were brought into requisition in other places where a number of parties had been wounded. These events, of course, inflamed the other women of that ward, and they turned out in large force to aid their relatives and friends when any opportunity should occur.

"At four o'clock everything was comparatively quiet where the real fighting had taken place. An immense crowd, however, still remained. They were not congregated in one solid mass, but were assembled in groups, a few yards apart, of about 200 each. There was no boisterous discussion. The people conversed in tones of studied ease, and did not make any remarks of a bloodthirsty nature. Every brow had its frown, every lip was compressed, some cheeks were blanched—not with fear, but with intense anger. There was not a word uttered counselling cessation, but a vigorous prosecution of the work in which they were engaged was urged. Each house of business was closed, and private dwellings had their doors and windows properly barred and locked. Darkness was rapidly stealing on, but the crowd still lingered."

The negroes of the city were the especial object of the fury of the mob. Their houses were sacked and burned, and they themselves hunted out, tracked, seized upon, and murdered. These poor creatures became so terror-stricken, that those who were able skulked out of the city, and those who were left hid away and did not venture to show themselves in the light of day.

It was clear, whatever may have been the original motive of the rioters, that it had now degenerated into a lust for blood and plunder. Houses and shops were broken into for no other purpose than to steal their valuable contents. Thus, a throng of men, women, and children sacked the clothing store in Catherine Street, of Brooks Brothers, who were not in any respect objects of political odium.

The second day of the riot closed with unabated gloom, and was followed by a night of wakeful anxiety, for the constant tolling of the fire-bells, telling of repeated house burnings, foreboded a general conflagration.

On the next day, the third of the riot, Wednesday, July 15th, the mob still held the city in its cruel sway. The suspension of the draft was officially announced. Governor Seymour proclaimed the city and county of New York to be in a state of insurrection. Mayor Opdyke hopefully declared that the riot had "been in a good measure subjected to the control of the public authorities," and invited the citizens to form voluntary associations to patrol and guard the districts in which they lived, against the "fragments of the mob prowling about for plunder," and to save "the military and police from the exhaustion of continued movements." He further declared, that "the various lines of omnibuses, railways, and telegraphs must be put in full operation immediately," and promised that "adequate military protection against their further interruption would be furnished on application to the military authorities of the State."

The Roman Catholic Archbishop Hughes addressed his flock, saying:

"In spite of Mr. Greeley's assault upon the Irish, in the present disturbed condition of the city, I will appeal not only to them, but to all persons who love God and revere the holy Catholic religion which they profess, to respect also the laws of man and the peace of society, to retire to their homes with as little delay as possible, and disconnect themselves from the seemingly deliberate intention to disturb the peace and social rights of the citizens of New York. If they are Catholics, or of such of them as are Catholics, I ask, for God's sake—for the sake of their holy religion—for my own sake, if they have any respect for the Episcopal authority—to dissolve their bad associations with reckless men, who have little regard either for Divine or human laws."

The aldermen of New York unanimously voted an ordinance by which $2,500,000 were appropriated to relieve those who might be drafted for compulsory service.

The city still wore the gloom of the

previous days. "General commerce," said a journalist, "appeared to stand still. Storekeepers in neighborhoods where a multitude of people sacked dwellings, anticipated further attacks. In the principal streets the shutters were kept up, and the proprietors kept their doors ajar, in order to suddenly close them in case of danger.

"There were few, if any, jewellers' marts open. The precious gems, gold, and trinkets were prudently deemed too costly a temptation to be exposed to apprehended seizure."

The riot still raged. Crowds of excited people gathered in the districts which had been the scenes of violence, and while in all they threatened to resume them, in some they actually did so with increased fury. The Arsenal in the Seventh Avenue, the constant object of the popular menace, had been placed in a state of military defence. Mountain howitzers, brass field-pieces, and picket-guards commanded the approaches, and a body of troops, under Major-General Sandford, encamped within the inclosure and occupied the neighboring streets. Close to the military line, a large crowd gathered from an early hour in the morning and threatened an attack.

"About eight o'clock the first engagement," reported a journalist,* "took place in this part of the city between the military and the people. News was received that a large crowd had congregated in the neighborhood of Eighth Avenue and Thirty-second Street. The crowd numbered between 4,000 and 5,000 men. They had been collected in that vicinity for some time, apparently in doubt where to move. A negro unfortunately made his appearance, when one of the men called him an opprobious name. The negro made a similar rejoinder, and after a few words the indiscreet colored man pulled out a pistol and shot the man. With one simultaneous yell the crowd rushed on him. He was lifted high in the air by fifty stalwart arms and then dashed forcibly on the pavement. Kicks were administered by all who could get near enough. Some men then took hold of him by the legs and battered his head several times on the pavement. Life was now nearly extinct and a rope called for. The desired article was in a moment produced, and the black man's body was soon after suspended from a neighboring lamp-post. The passions of the people were now fully aroused, and an assault was made on the neighboring houses to search for negroes. A scene of this kind soon degenerated into one of indiscriminate destruction. Word was passed along to fire the houses and burn the niggers out. At this time the military, consisting of a strong detachment of infantry and one twelve-pounder mountain howitzer, arrived on the ground, under command of Colonel Winslow. The people were too intent on the work of destruction to heed their arrival. The howitzer was unlimbered, and poured a deadly charge of canister into the crowd. Signs of resistance were evinced, and an evident determination to wrest the gun from the hands

* N. Y. *Herald.*

of the artillerists. The infantry received the order to fire, and again a shower of bullets thinned the crowd. No symptoms were evinced of their retiring, and the howitzer again thundered forth a deadly discharge of canister. The fire was by this time too hot for the crowd to withstand, and with shrieks and yells they commenced to scatter in all directions. During the whole time the military had been under a strong fire of stones, brickbats, pistol and gun shots, not only from the crowd in their front, but from the housetops. The crowd dispersing, orders were given to the soldiers to return. After cutting down the body of the negro the military commenced to fall slowly back. The crowd at once reassembled and closed up in their rear. Four separate times before the crowd would desist from the pursuit, was the order given to the infantry to fire. After considerable difficulty Colonel Winslow and his command returned to the Arsenal, after having successfully carried out the orders they had received. * * *

"Shortly before twelve o'clock, Colonel Magee was ordered to proceed to Thirty-fourth Street, near Sixth Avenue, to rescue eighteen colored men who were momentarily in danger of being assaulted by the people. The Colonel went off with four men, and succeeded in bringing the darkies to the Arsenal. Nobody hurt.

"During the morning the crowd on Seventh Avenue and Thirty-fourth Street increased in numbers and boldness. The pressure from the rear forced those in front to press too closely on the pickets, who were in momentary danger of being surrounded and deprived of their arms. Brickbats, stones, and occasionally pistol and gun shots were fired at the troops. When the advance was witnessed from the Arsenal, the howitzers were planted to sweep the avenue. A detachment of the One Hundred and Seventy-eighth New York Volunteers, under command of Captain Gandolfo, and Lieutenants Meding and Blackmire, were ordered out to charge on the people. On reaching the crowd a volley was fired over their heads, and a general stampede was the result.

"About one o'clock another disturbance took place in Thirty-third Street, between Sixth and Seventh avenues. A large crowd had assembled and commenced sacking some of the houses in that vicinity. Captain Doles, of General Hunter's staff, who had volunteered his services, was ordered to proceed to the scene of the disturbance with a detachment of the Twentieth New York Artillery, armed with rifles. The crowd dispersed on the appearance of the military, who then had orders to right-about-face and return to quarters. The people then commenced to hoot them. A shower of brickbats, stones, and other missiles were fired at them. In the mêlée a number of negroes rushed by to take refuge in one of the houses. This sight maddened the crowd, and a rush was made to intercept the darkies. Captain Doles ordered his men to fire a volley into them, which was done ; but the crowd still pressed on ; the soldiers

became enraged at their persistence, and, without waiting for orders, another volley was fired. This was an unfortunate occurrence, as one of the shots wounded a fireman who was at the time busily engaged in cleaning some hose.

"About two o'clock, information was received at the Arsenal that a large number of muskets were secreted in a store on Broadway, above Thirty-third Street. Colonel William Meyer was ordered to proceed to the spot, with a detachment of thirty-three men belonging to Hawkins' Zouaves, for the purpose of seizing the arms to prevent their falling into the hands of the people. Colonel Meyer conducted his command through Thirty-fifth Street, across Sixth Avenue, thence to Broadway and Thirty-second Street. The premises were entered, and, in spite of a large and constantly increasing crowd, the arms were brought out. An Irishman, passing at the time with his cart, was pressed into the service, and obliged, much against his will, to convey them to the Arsenal. The people followed the cart and its escort for some distance ; but no forcible demonstration took place. The party returned to the Arsenal after an absence of about forty minutes, and reported the successful conclusion of their mission.

"Many times during the day a scattering fire was heard from the pickets. The troops then sprang to arms, while the volunteer citizens were placed in position to support the artillery. The guns were wheeled round to command the threatened point, and everything seemed to indicate an immediate and desperate attack. In most instances, however, the demonstration was quelled by the discharge of a volley into the air, when the crowd, which in many instances was largely composed of women and children, instantly disappeared after firing a few stones at the soldiers.

"At five o'clock, Colonel Sherwood's battery of rifled six-pounders and a strong force of infantry, under command of Colonel Meyer, were ordered to the corner of Twenty-seventh Street and Seventh Avenue to quell a serious disturbance which had broken out at that point. On arriving there, they found the people busily engaged in rifling and gutting the stores and private houses. Flames were issuing from the windows, and the scene resembled closely many similar ones which our citizens during the last few days have been called to look on. Suspended from a lamp-post was the body of a black man who had been hung up a few minutes before. The firemen made their appearance on the ground at the same time as the military. The people who had been engaged in the work of destruction retired behind the firemen, thus placing a barrier of our brave firemen between themselves and the military. It was this circumstance only which prevented the discharge of the rifled field-pieces. From the housetops the usual salute of brickbats and stones was showered down on the military. Several citizens stepped up to Colonel Meyer and informed him that men were stationed on the housetops with rifles in their hands ready to fire on his men. The Colonel thereupon

ordered his men to keep a sharp look-out, and if any shots were fired from the housetops, to deliver a volley instantly. At this time Judge McCunn appeared on the scene, and entreated the Colonel 'to spare those innocent people.' The Judge informed the Colonel that he had, by authority from Governor Seymour, been using his influence to quell the disturbance. Colonel Meyer replied that he, as a military man, had but to obey orders, and if the people attempted to advance or fire on his men, he should certainly order it to be returned by a volley. The infantry and artillery then slowly retired, and had hardly reached the Arsenal ere the disturbance broke out with renewed violence, and word was brought to General Sandford that two more negroes were dangling in mid-air from the lamp-posts.

"The pickets brought in a large number of prisoners, dirty, ragged, and bloody in appearance, but sullen and determined in demeanor. * * *

"The colored folks in the 20th Ward suffered very severely. Numberless were the atrocities perpetrated on them. They were hunted from their houses by the score. When caught, they were hung up to lamp-posts or beaten, jumped on, kicked, and struck with iron bars and heavy wooden clubs. At one time there were between fifty and sixty of these people in the Arsenal. Many of them were horribly maimed and disfigured. No respect had been paid either to sex, age, or condition. One woman was burned out of her house who had only been confined on Tuesday. * * * Many affecting scenes took place between different members of the same family who had given each other up as lost, and met unexpectedly in the Arsenal. One poor fellow had been obliged to run for his life, and in about an hour his wife arrived in deep distress, but when she saw her 'old man' alive and all right, except a ghastly wound on the head, her joy was boundless, and could find no better vent for it than by flinging her arms around her husband's neck.

"Between seven and eight o'clock P.M.," says a newspaper reporter, "about 100 soldiers, dressed in citizens' clothes and accompanied by a portion of Hawkins' Zouaves, who were in uniform, with one field-piece, marched up the First Avenue. The crowd at the time were congregated in the street, corner Nineteenth Street, not doing anything very obnoxious. While the soldiers were orderly marching along, all at once the military were fired upon by some man of the crowd in the rear. The soldiers turned and killed the man who had fired. The soldiers were then fired upon by the crowd, and some fifteen were killed in return, together with the captain and lieutenant in charge and the colonel in command, who was seriously wounded. The soldiers then, being much exasperated, fired several rounds from the field-piece and several discharges of musketry."

The negroes continued to be the objects of the most cruel persecution. The quarters in which they had lived were devastated, and they themselves

tortured, hanged, and driven out of the city. Before the close of the day it was frequently remarked that not a negro was to be seen in the streets.

Thursday, July 16th, opened more cheerfully. Several of the militia regiments which had been absent on service had returned to the city, and its inhabitants felt more confident of security. The mob, though somewhat awed by the arrival of fresh troops, was still defiant and occasionally resisted the soldiers, who, however, succeeded, after several severe encounters in which many lives were lost, in establishing their ascendancy.

On Friday, the 17th of July, Mayor Opdyke proclaimed:

"The riotous assemblages have been dispersed. Business is running in its usual channels. The various lines of omnibuses, railway, and telegraph have resumed their ordinary operations. Few symptoms of disorder remain, except in a small district in the eastern part of the city, comprising a part of the 18th and 21st Wards. The police is everywhere alert. A sufficient military force is now here to suppress any illegal movement, however formidable."

Archbishop Hughes having on the previous day invited the "men of New York, who are now called, in many of the papers, rioters, to assemble in their whole strength" before his residence, found before him on the afternoon an immense assemblage, principally of Irish Catholics, and addressed them in a speech which seemed singularly adapted to his hearers, for they listened calmly and dispersed quietly and apparently in good temper.

The Federal Government, in the mean time, had prepared to vindicate its contemned authority. Major-General Dix was relieved of his command at Fortress Monroe and ordered to New York, as commander of the Department of the East in place of General Wool, and General Brown was superseded by General Canby in the command of the United States troops in the city and harbor. A large force was, at the same time, ordered to New York, and soon some 30,000 Federal soldiers occupied the city and neighborhood, when public halls were turned into barracks and parks into camping-grounds.

With its authority thus fortified, the Government disclaimed all responsibility for the suspension of the draft, and declared its determination to prosecute it.

The civic authorities, too, became less disposed to conciliate the violations of the law, and Mayor Opdyke vetoed the aldermanic ordinance. The supervisors of the State and county, however, made a compromise by voting a large sum to relieve the families of conscripts and to pay bounties to volunteers.

The President of the United States, after a disputatious correspondence with the Governor of New York, agreed to modify the quotas, but refused to postpone the draft until a decision might be obtained in regard to its legality.

The draft accordingly took place in New York during the month of August, without the least attempt to resist it.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Enemy's efforts to establish a Naval Force.—Aid from Abroad.—Running the Blockade.—Immense number of Blockade-Runners.—The Supplies thus obtained by the Confederate Government.—The Fingal.—Her History.—The Fingal purchased by the Confederate Government.—Turned into an Iron-clad, and called the Atlanta.—Fight between the Atlanta and Weehawken.—A short Fight, and a Union Victory.—Captain Rodgers' Report.—Downes' Report.—Admiral Lee's Report.—Admiral Dupont's Report.—The Secretary of the Navy's comments.—Ericsson's share of congratulations.—Capture of Steamer Boston.—Capture of the Vincennes, and sinking of Store-ship Relief.—Capture on the Rappahannock of the Reliance and Satellite.—Captures on the coast of Texas.—The continued Depredations of the Alabama and Florida.—A new Expedient.—Arming prizes.—The Exploits of the Tacony among the Fishermen.—Capture of a Revenue Cutter.—The men of Portland in pursuit.—Blowing up of the Caleb Cushing.—Capture of the Privateers.—Imprisonment.

1863.

THE enemy persistently strove to establish a naval force, and it may be conceded that the result, though small relatively to the great power on the water of the commercial people of the North, was large proportionately to their own limited resources. This was chiefly due to the indirect aid of a profoundly neutral foreign nation, without which the insurgents of the South could not have accomplished so much, though it was by their own energy that the means were thus obtained, and more or less successfully applied.

Notwithstanding the blockade of the Southern coast, sustained by hundreds of Northern cruisers, commercial adventurers, encouraged by the bounties of the Confederate Government, and stimulated by their own eagerness for gain, persisted in the hazardous trade with the Confederate ports in spite of frequent captures. The profit of a successful venture was so great, that the loss of two vessels was believed to be compensated by the good fortune of a third. The trade, thus commercially justified, prospered, and the number of vessels, principally small and swift-going steamers, built in Great Britain, became so great, that the arrivals and departures of blockade-runners at and from Nassau, an English colony, conveniently contiguous to the Southern coast, were announced with the regularity of a line of weekly packets.

The Confederate Government was thus not only supplied with frequent cargoes of munitions of war, but also with occasional vessels suitable for equipment as privateers and cruisers. In 1861, an iron steamer called the Fingal, built on the Clyde, near Glasgow, was purchased to run the blockade. She was accordingly loaded with a cargo consisting of 200 pieces of artillery, 8,500 Enfield rifles, 20,000 army pistols, 15,000 sabres, 100,000 blankets, 65,000 pairs of army shoes, 2,000,000 of percussion caps, 2 tons of powder, a large quantity of quinine, and other articles needed by the insurgents. Thus freight-

ed, she sailed for Bermuda or Nassau, and thence to Savannah, where, after eluding the United States cruisers, she entered the port on the 31st of July, 1862. The Fingal was now purchased by the Confederate Government, and turned into a vessel of war. Many months were occupied in cutting her down, roofing her like the Merrimac, covering her with iron armor, and providing her with a beak or ram. Though on several previous occasions the Fingal, now called the Atlanta, threatened to come out and try her strength with the Federal cruisers, as during the attack on Fort Pulaski, and again on the unsuccessful attempt of the Nashville to get to sea, she did not venture to offer fight until the 17th of June. Admiral Dupont, having previously suspected her approach, had sent two iron-clad gun-boats, the Weehawken, Captain John Rodgers, and the Nahant, Commander J. Downes, from Port Royal to Warsaw. These vessels being in readiness, attacked her as soon as she came within range of their guns.

Captain Rodgers, in his report of June 17th, 1863, says:

"This morning, at ten minutes past four, an iron-clad vessel was discovered coming down at the mouth of Wilmington River, also two other steamers, one a side-wheel and the other a propeller; beat to quarters and commenced clearing the ship for action. At twenty minutes past four shipped the cable and steamed slowly down toward the northeast end of Warsaw Island. At thirty minutes past four turned and stood up the sound, heading for the iron-clad, which at this time was discovered to have the rebel flag flying. The Nahant, having no pilot, followed in our wake. At five minutes of five the enemy, being about one and a half miles distant, fired a rifle shot, which passed across our stern and struck near the Nahant.

"At this time the enemy was lying across the channel, waiting our attack. At a quarter past five o'clock, being distant from him about 300 yards, we commenced firing. At half-past five o'clock the enemy hauled down his colors and hoisted the white flag, we having fired five shots. Steamed near the iron-clad and ordered a boat to be sent alongside.

"At a quarter to six o'clock Lieutenant Alexander came on board to surrender the rebel iron-clad Atlanta. He reported the vessel aground on the sand-spit that makes to the southeast from Cabbage Island. Shortly afterward, Captain W. A. Webb came on board and delivered up his sword. Sent a prize crew to take charge of the vessel, under the command of Lieutenant-Commander D. B. Harmony, of the Nahant. Sent also Lieutenant-Commander J. J. Cornwell, of this vessel, and Acting First Assistant Engineer J. G. Young, to take charge of the engine.

"On examination it was found that the enemy had been struck four times—first, on the inclined side by a fifteen-inch coned shot, which although fired at an angle of fifty degrees with her keel, broke in the armor and wood backing,

strewing the deck with splinters, prostrating about forty men by the concussion and wounding several by broken pieces of armor and splinters. One man has since died. The second shot (eleven-inch solid) struck the edge of the overhung knuckle, doing no damage, except breaking a plate or two. The third shot (a fifteen-inch coned) struck the top of the pilot-house, knocking it off, wounding two pilots and stunning the men at the wheel. The fourth shot, supposed to be eleven-inch, struck a port stopper in the centre, breaking it in two and shattering it very much, and driving many fragments in through the port.

"At twenty minutes past eight the engine of the Atlanta was secured by Engineer J. G. Young, and the vessel backed off into deep water, when she was brought to an anchor.

"The wounded, sixteen in number, were removed to the steamer Island City, which had been kindly brought over from Fort Pulaski by Colonel Barton, United States Army. The officers of the vessel were sent to the tug Olender, and a portion of the crew to the United States steamer Cimerone, for transportation to Port Royal.

"The Atlanta was found to have mounted two six-inch and two seven-inch rifles, the six-inch in broadside and the seven-inch working on a pivot either as broadside or bow and stern guns. There is a large supply of ammunition for these guns, and other stores, said to be of great value by some of the officers of the vessel.

"There were on board at the time of capture, as per muster roll, 21 officers and 124 men, including 28 marines. The captured rebel officers told me that they thought we should find the speed of the Atlanta reach ten knots. They believe her the strongest iron-clad in the Confederacy, and confidentially anticipated taking both the Nahant and Weehawken.

"The behavior of the officers and crew was admirable. Lieutenant-Commander J. J. Cornwell did his duty zealously and efficiently. Acting Master Benjamin W. Loring, whom I recommend for promotion for gallant behavior under the fire of Fort Darling, served the guns admirably, as the result shows. His energy and coolness were everything that could be wished. Executive officer Lieutenant-Commander J. J. Cornwell informs me that on the berth-deck the powder and shell divisions, under Acting Master C. C. Kingsbury, wore the aspect of exercise so completely, that no one would have thought the vessel was in action. The engine, under the direction of Acting Assistant Engineer James George Young, always in beautiful order, was well worked. Mr. Young has, I hope, by his participation in this action, won the promotion for which, on account of his skill and valuable services, I have already recommended him. In a word, every man in the vessel did his duty."

Commander Downes had no occasion to fire a gun during this spirited engagement, but thus reports the action of his consort, and the manœuvres of his own vessel, the Nahant:

"The Atlanta was first discovered at early dawn, about three miles distant, standing toward us, coming out from the Wilmington River and rapidly approaching. At first she was mistaken for our usual visitor, a steamer that had reconnoitred us daily at about this hour; but a few moments sufficed to show us the true character of the vessel, and we instantly commenced weighing anchor and clearing ship for action.

"The Weehawken, slipping her cable, passed us, standing out seaward. At about a quarter to five A.M. cleared ship for action, and in a few moments, our anchor being weighed, we followed in her wake. At this time the Atlanta fired the first shot, which passed close to our pilot-house. The Weehawken having at this time turned, was approaching the enemy, who continued, however, to direct his fire upon us, though without effect. At five A.M. the Weehawken closed with the enemy, and opened fire on him with accuracy, this vessel approaching at the time with the intention of running him aboard before delivering fire; but at the fourth fire of the Weehawken the enemy struck, and hoisted the white flag, the firing ceasing after one more shot from the Weehawken, this vessel not having the satisfaction of expending one shot in reply to the enemy's fire, which had been directed exclusively at her.

"Lieutenant-Commander Harmony proceeded on board the prize at half-past five A.M., taking possession and hoisting the American ensign.

"During the action, two of the enemy's armed steamers were in sight up the river, crowded with people, apparently observing the progress of events, who steamed up the river when the result was attained.

"The behavior of officers and men was, as usual, everything that could be desired. Acting Ensign Clarke, though quite sick, and under the doctor's charge, proceeded to his station at the first call, and remained there until the affair was decided."

The report of Admiral Lee gives some interesting details.

"The engagement," he says, "was exclusively between the Weehawken and Atlanta. The latter mounted four of the Brooke rifles—two of seven-inch on the bow and stern pivots, and two of six-inch on each end. She could fight two of the former and one of the latter on a side. Rodgers engaged the rebel at close quarters. The first fifteen-inch shot, fired by himself, took off the top of the Atlanta's pilot-house and wounded two of her three pilots. Another fifteen-inch shot struck half way up her roof, iron-plated, four inches thick, killing one and wounding seventeen men. Eleven shots were fired in all—five by the Weehawken and six by the Atlanta. The latter got aground and surrendered. The fight was short—the victory signal. The Weehawken sustained no injury of any sort.

"The Atlanta steers well, and made six knots against a head sea, going to Port Royal. She was completely provided with instruments and stores for a regular cruise. She had a ram, a saw,

and a torpedo on her bow. Ex-Lieutenant W. A. Webb commanded her. Her complement was 165 souls. The Atlanta is said to have come down confident of capturing the Monitors easily, and her consorts, filled with spectators, were prepared to tow them to Savannah. She will soon be ready for service under the flag of the Union."

Admiral Dupont, in his report, adds some facts, and pays a well-merited tribute to the gallantry of Captain Rodgers and his officers and crew.

"The Fingal, in a dense fog," wrote Dupont, "ran the blockade of Savannah a few days after the Port Royal forts were taken, in November, 1861. She has been closely watched ever since, and as in the case of the Nashville, the long and ceaseless vigilance of my officers has been rewarded. The Atlanta is now in Port Royal, under the American flag, having, unaided, steamed into this harbor from Warsaw.

"The department will notice in this event how well Captain Rodgers has sustained his distinguished reputation, and added to the list of the brilliant services which he has rendered to the country during the rebellion. * * *

"Commander Downes, with his usual gallantry, moved as rapidly as possible toward the enemy, reserving his fire until he could get into close action, but lost the opportunity, from the brief nature of the engagement, of using his battery.

"I have been told that the Confederate Government considered the Atlanta as the most efficient of their iron-clads.

"The officers and crew of the Atlanta, with the exception of the wounded and one of the surgeons, have been transferred to the United States steamer James Adger, to be conveyed to Fortress Monroe.

"I cannot close this dispatch without calling the attention of the department to the coolness and gallantry of Acting Master Benjamin W. Loring, especially recommended by Captain Rodgers. I trust that the department will consider his services as worthy of consideration."

The Secretary of the Navy deeming the victory won by Captain Rodgers worthy of especial comment, addressed to him applauding words.

Mr. Ericsson, the inventor of the Monitor, upon the model of which the victorious Weehawken had been constructed, received his share of the congratulations on the occasion in a complimentary dispatch from the Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

Some daring and successful attempts were made by detached parties of the enemy from the shore to capture Federal vessels on the Southern coasts. A number of men, formerly pilots, who had been for some time lurking in the marshes at the mouth of the Mississippi, started out on the 9th of June in an open boat and hailed the tug steamer Boston, towing the ship Jenny Lind, laden with ice for New Orleans. A rope being thrown to them, the Confederates boarded the Boston, and pointing their pistols, forced the captain to surrender. The Jenny Lind was now cut adrift, and the tug, in possession of its captors, sailed on a marauding cruise.

Meeting with the bark Leonore, from New York, with stores and a cargo, she was first rifled and then burned. Soon after the Texana, another loaded bark, being overtaken, met with the same fate. The captors now took the Boston into the port of Mobile.

Some time before, toward the end of May, a couple of the enemy's iron-clad boats, having come out of Mobile, captured the man-of-war Vincennes and sunk the store-ship Relief. Again, in the month of August, a party of the enemy captured, on the Rappahannock, the gun-boats Reliance and Satellite. An attempt was made by the Federalists to recapture them, but though they failed to regain possession of the vessels, they rendered them, by a severe cannonade, useless to their captors.

The Morning Light and the schooner Velocity were captured on the Texan coast by two Confederate steamers, commanded by a Captain Fowler, a New-Englander by birth, but long a resident of Galveston. The following narrative of his exploits is based on his own statement:

"Captain Dillingham, of the Morning Light, had expected an attack, and when he saw the steamers with steam up, he got under way, and attempted to get off shore; but it remained calm during the night, and he made no progress. For some reason the rebel steamers did not come out till ten o'clock on the following day, and about that time a light breeze sprang up. Captain Fowler ran directly for the Morning Light, and the other steamer attacked the Velocity.

"The Morning Light endeavored to obtain an offing, firing her broadsides, and then running till again ready. She fired first one broadside, and then the other, till the steamer approached so near that she could keep in her wake, thus firing, according to Captain Fowler's own account, upward of fifty rounds, and Captain Dillingham says over sixty rounds were fired.

"The rebel steamer had a fine rifle-gun, with which Fowler says he should have pelted the Morning Light at long range had Dillingham attempted to fight him at anchor; and he is confident he could have taken or disabled the ship in this manner. He also says, in his opinion, Captain Dillingham fought his ship as well as any one could have fought her.

"When his vessel shot up alongside of the Morning Light, his sharpshooters rushed upon the breast-works or cotton barricade, and the crew of the Morning Light all ran below. The flag was then hauled down, and Dillingham stood coolly upon his quarter-deck, expecting every moment to be riddled with rebel bullets; but Fowler shouted to his men not to fire, and tumbled those within his reach pell-mell down behind the breast-works—officers on top of the rest."

The British-built steamers Alabama and Florida, to which was added, it was suspected, a third—termed the Japan when in the Clyde, where she had her illegitimate birth, but afterward called the Virginia—continued their depredations upon Northern commerce in every sea, and though pursued by

the Federal cruisers, escaped capture. By the expedient of arming some of the fastest of their prizes and sending them abroad on the sea to rob and destroy like themselves, the original privateers obtained several effective auxiliaries. Thus Captain Maffit, of the Florida, captured the brig Clarence, armed her with a howitzer, supplied her with rifles, revolvers, and pistols, and placing her under the command of his lieutenant, Charles William Reed, and a crew of twenty-one officers and men, dispatched her on a roving commission.

The Clarence was off St. Roque when Reed assumed the command. His cruise and subsequent fate are thus reported by himself:

"Ran up north till June 6. When off Cape Hatteras burned the bark Whistling Wind, with coal for the United States Navy. On the 7th instant captured the schooner Alfred H. Partridge and boarded her; 9th, burned the brig Mary Alvina, loaded with commissary stores; 12th, latitude 37° north, longitude 75° 30′ west, captured the bark Tacony; finding her faster than the Clarence, transferred everything and burned the Clarence; christened the Tacony the bark Florida; same day captured the schooners M. A. Shindler and Kate Stuart; bonded the Kate Stuart for $7,000 and sent all the prisoners aboard—burned the M. A. Shindler. Same day captured and bonded the brig Arabella, with a neutral cargo; passed a gun-boat without being noticed. June 15, latitude 37° 42′, longitude 70° 30′, burned the brig Umpire. June 20, latitude 40° 50′, longitude 69° 64′, bonded the ship Isaac Webb, with 750 passengers—wild Irishmen. At 3 P.M. burned a fishing sloop, name unknown. June 21, latitude 41°, longitude 69° 10′, burned the ship Byzantium; enlisted three men from her belonging to New Orleans. Same day burned the bark Goodspeed. June 22, burned the fishing schooner Marengo; same day captured the schooner Florence; put all the prisoners aboard of her, including the crews of the schooners Elizabeth Ames, Rufus Choate, and Ripple, which were captured and burned the same day; 23d, burned the schooners Ada and Wanderer; 24th, latitude 43° 10′, longitude 67° 43′, captured the packet-ship Shatemuc, from Liverpool to Boston, with 350 passengers; was anxious to burn her, she being loaded with iron plates, etc.; tried to catch schooners to put the passengers aboard, but failed, and had to let her go, bonding her in $150,000; same day captured schooner Archer; chased the Statesman and put the Archer's crew aboard; hearing that Federal cruisers were after the Tacony, and fearing recognition, burned the Tacony, transferring everything to the Archer; thence came direct to Portland; picked up two fishermen for pilots, but they would not serve; took the positions from the coast survey charts; got in at sunset and anchored below; had no communication with the shore.

"Lieutenant Reed also says he waited till half-past twelve A.M., when the moon went down, then rowed directly to the cutter Caleb Cushing in two boats, with

muffled oars; boarded her with one boat on each side, seized her crew without resistance, and ironed them; captured Lieutenant Davenport as he came on deck, weighed anchor, being unable to slip the cable, and started at three A.M., going out by Hussey's Sound, towed by two boats ahead, and followed by the Archer, as fast as her limit would permit. Laid to outside waiting for the Archer. When the steamers attacked us we could only fire five round shots, and were obliged to fire stones and pieces of iron."

Great excitement was produced in the North when the havoc among the fishermen of Nantucket was discovered. It was believed at first that the Florida herself was the agent of all the mischief, and was about entering into some of our great commercial harbors. Active preparations for defence were made, and the navy-yards became busy with fitting out and sending forth every disposable cruiser. The people of New York and Boston held meetings and urged the Secretary of the Navy to extraordinary effort. The merchants of Boston offered a reward of $10,000 for the capture of the sea-rover, and dispatched, at their own expense, an armed vessel in search of her.

In the mean time, some of the citizens of Portland, in Maine, whose pride had been especially wounded by the capture of a government vessel in their own harbor, armed two trading steamers, the Forest City and Chesapeake, and went in pursuit of the Caleb Cushing. As they approached, several shots were exchanged, doing no damage to either vessel. The privateersmen discovering that they were about to be overtaken by the steamers, blew up the Caleb Cushing, and tried to escape in an open boat to a small vessel lying near, but were captured, and imprisoned in Fort Preble.

June 26.

CHAPTER XX.

Indignation in the United States in relation to the Alabama, Florida, and other vessels built in Great Britain.—Protests of the Federal Government against the practical breach of neutrality.—Action of the English People favorable to the Union cause.—Petitions of Emancipation Societies.—Debate in Parliament on the Alabama, etc.—Memorial presented by Mr. Cobden.—The remarkable Parliamentary Debate which followed.—Influences brought to bear upon the English Ministry.—Seizure of the Alexandra.—A Trial.—Verdict.—Motion for a new Trial.—Iron-clad Rams building in England and Scotland.—Protest of Emancipation Society.—Indifference and Inaction of Earl Russell.—Memorials and Answers.—Change of Tone of the British Ministry.—The Iron-clad Rams Monassir and Toussoun described.—Seizure of the Rams.—English Opinion.—Effect of the Seizure upon the Feeling in England and America.—Withdrawal of Mr. Mason from England.—Indiscretion of Mr. Adams.—English Pride wounded.—Irritation in England in regard to Seizure of suspected Blockade-Runners.—A more conciliatory Feeling on the part of the Ruling Classes in England.—Earl Russell's Change of Tone.—Visit of Mr. Beecher to Europe.—His Reception.

1863.

THE continued ravages on Northern commerce by the British-built steamers Alabama and Florida, and the construction of similar and more formidable vessels by English ship-builders for the service, as was believed, of the Confederates, excited great indignation in the United States. The Federal Government protested emphatically against this practical breach of the professed neutrality of Great Britain, and that portion of the British people friendly to the Northern cause joined heartily in denouncing it. The various Emancipation Societies of Great Britain were naturally friendly to the Northern people, as they believed that their success in the war would further the abolition of slavery. They accordingly used their powerful influence upon the popular sentiment in checking sympathy with a government of slave-owners, and in restraining the British ministry and people from every act in their favor.

These societies convened meetings throughout Great Britain, and prepared petitions against permitting ships to be built for the Confederate Government. The most remarkable of these was that of the Union and Emancipation Society of Manchester, which was presented to Parliament on the 25th of March, 1863, by Mr. Bright, that unwearied champion of the Northern cause.

A similar petition from the Emancipation Society of Liverpool was presented by Mr. Forster, another constant friend of the United States. This gentleman also opened the remarkable debate in Parliament upon the case of the Alabama. He rose, he said, "to ask whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government had been called to the danger to our friendly relations with the United States, resulting from the fitting out in our ports of ships of war for the service of the self-styled Confederate States, in contravention of the Foreign

Enlistment Act, and of the policy of neutrality adopted by this country. Some persons, most of whom were British subjects, were, in defiance of the Queen's proclamation and the statutes of the realm, breaking the law, and were engaged in acts which placed the country in danger of being involved in war." This proposition was ably sustained by a long argument based upon the principles of international law and by the citation of proofs, that the construction and departure of the Alabama had been in contravention of these principles.

The Solicitor-General answered, defending the conduct of the Government and disputing the law and proofs as alleged by Mr. Forster. Lord Palmerston, the British prime minister, gave the weight of his official authority to the views and declarations of the Solicitor-General, saying, "He has demonstrated that the Americans have no cause to complain. He has shown that the British Government have done, upon representations made to them by the American minister, everything which the law of the country enabled them to do. Although I can very easily understand that in the United States, where, owing to the great irritation and animosity produced by the civil war, men's minds have been led to forget in a great degree the obligations of war, they may not give that credit which is due to the arguments which we used—that he cannot go beyond what the law prescribes and authorizes; yet I think this House will see at least that the statement of my honorable and learned friend shows that we have done, with regard to the Foreign Enlistment Act, everything which the law enabled and authorized us to do. Gentlemen have argued as if seizing a vessel were equivalent to the condemnation of a vessel. It was said, 'Why did you not seize the Alabama? You were told that it was known or believed that she was engaged for warlike purposes on the part of the Confederate States.' Well, in the first place, you cannot seize a vessel under the Foreign Enlistment Act unless you have obtained evidence upon oath authorizing just suspicions. We did not obtain such evidence. The American minister said, 'I tell you this—I tell you that—I am sure of this—I am sure of that;' but when he was asked to produce the evidence upon oath, which was the only ground-work for proceeding, he says, 'No; the information was given to the American consul, and I cannot give you the evidence upon oath; but, nevertheless, you should act upon my assertions and suspicions, which I maintain are well founded.' What would happen if you seized a vessel unjustly and without good grounds? There is a process of law to come afterward—(Hear, hear)—and the Government would be condemned in heavy costs and damages. Are we going to undertake an illegal course which would lead to these consequences, simply to please the agent of a foreign government? We say that if there is any fault, that fault is on the part of those who called upon us to do an act, but

would not give us the ground-work upon which that act would have been justified. I myself have great doubts whether, if we had seized the Alabama in the condition in which she was, we should not have been exposed to considerable damages, because it was stated, and generally known, that she sailed from this country unarmed, apparently unfit for war, and that her armament, equipments, and crew were afterward given to her in a foreign port. Therefore the probability is, that whatever suspicions there may have been—and well-founded, as the result proves—of her intended destination, circumstances would not have justified a court of law in proceeding to take her from her owners and prevent her from quitting port."

Subsequently, on the 23d of July, Mr. Cobden, another British champion of the Northern cause, presented a memorial signed by "thirty of the most respectable ship-owners of Liverpool, respecting the evasion of the English Foreign Enlistment Act. On calling the attention of Parliament to this document, Mr. Cobden enumerated the various vessels which had been built and were building, as was supposed, for the Confederate service, and reminded the British Government that all the damage they had done or would do would be charged to it.

"Every vessel seized and burnt," he said, "was thus debited to the account of England, and a formal claim made for the amount. Her Majesty's Government had refused to acknowledge these claims, but some day, when the demand could be made most inconveniently for the Government, the result would probably be either humiliation or war."

Mr. Cobden closed with this emphatic expression of confidence in the success of the Unionists:

"He did not expect," he said, to live to see two independent nations within the United States. A great deal had been said in that House on a contrary assumption, but whatever the issue of this dreadful war might be, let this country keep clear of it. He desired nothing more than that we should be silent and sorrowful until this great war was over."

The British ministry, partly influenced by the opinion of the immense body of English operatives and small tradesmen who, under the guidance of their leaders, Bright, Cobden, Forster, and others, had become friendly to the Northern cause, and partly by the fear of a war with the United States, became convinced, in order to secure popularity at home and escape hostility from abroad, of the necessity of action. The Government accordingly seized the Alexandra, a vessel building in Liverpool, suspected to be a gun-boat for the Confederate Government. A trial ensued, which resulted in a verdict for the defendants, Messrs. Fawcett, Preston & Co., who were the builders. The decision was based upon the want of testimony to prove that the Alexandra was being equipped for warlike purposes, and upon the fact that the Foreign Enlistment Act contained no provision

April 6.

which prevented the building in England of ships which might afterward be employed in carrying on hostilities under a foreign flag. The Attorney-General having tendered a bill of exceptions, the Alexandra was still held by the British Government, until the motion for a new trial should be decided.

It had been for a long time rumored that iron-clad rams were being built in England and Scotland for the service of the Confederate Government. The attention of the British ministry had been called to the circumstance, especially by the Union and Emancipation Society of Manchester, in repeated memorials. These, at first, were little heeded. In fact, Earl Russell seemed disposed to regard them with contemptuous indifference, and to treat their authors as busy-bodies. To a memorial of the Society, of the 3d of March, protesting against the building and fitting out, in Great Britain, of armed vessels for the Government of the so-styled Confederate States, and calling upon Parliament and Her Majesty's Government to put an effectual stop to such proceedings. Lord John Russell answered through his secretary. "I am, in reply," wrote the latter, "to request that you will call the attention of the Executive of the Society to the provisions of the Act, 59 George III., Cap. 69. It will be observed in that Act, that evidence on oath is required to enable proceedings to be taken against persons charged with contravening it."

Notwithstanding the rebuke implied in this *ultra* official communication, the Emancipation Society returned again to the charge. His lordship, though still showing an indisposition to yield, manifested a diminished power of resistance and a more courteous regard to the suggestions of his unwelcome advisers. On the 13th of August he thus personally answered a second memorial of the Society:

"GENTLEMEN—I have received your letter, calling attention to a subject of very grave and pressing importance—viz., the fitting out or equipping two powerful iron-plated steam rams, which I am informed are intended to commit hostilities against the Government and people of the United States.

"My attention has long been directed to these subjects. Both the Treasury and Home Departments have, at my request, made most anxious inquiries upon the subject of these steam rams. You are aware that, by the Foreign Enlistment Act, a ship is liable to be detained, and the owners are subject to a penalty, when the ship is armed or equipped for purposes of war, and the owners intend to use her against some state or community in friendship with Her Majesty.

"It is necessary to prove both the equipment and the intention. It is necessary for conviction in a public court, in justice, to have the evidence of a credible witness.

"I was in hope, when I began to read your memorial, that you would propose to furnish me with evidence to prove that the steam rams in question were intended to carry on hostilities against

the Government and people of the United States; but you have made no proposal of the sort, and only tell me that you are informed that so and so, and it is believed that so and so.

"You must be aware, however, that, according to British law, prosecutions cannot be set on foot upon the ground of violation of the Foreign Enlistment Act without the affidavits of credible witnesses, as in other cases of misdemeanor and crimes. Such, likewise, is the law in use. Yours, etc. RUSSELL."

The Union and Emancipation Society rejoined with a third communication.

"The memorial of the Executive Committee of the Union and Emancipation Society humbly showeth:

"That in the month of March last your memorialists brought the subject of ship-building for the so-called Confederate States of America under the notice of your lordship. That your memorialists feel called upon, as loyal British subjects, having regard to the honor and best interests of their country, again to implore your lordship's earnest attention to a matter of the most grave and pressing importance—the building of vessels of war in British dock-yards intended to prey upon the peaceful commerce of a friendly nation, with whose citizens and government we desire to remain on terms of amity and good-will. That your memorialists hailed with hopeful satisfaction the steps taken by Her Majesty's ministers, in the case of the Alexandra, to put a stop to these dangerous proceedings, believing that such action would deter the offending parties and others from their reckless course, at least while the case was pending final decision. That your memorialists have been informed that on Saturday last, the 29th of August, a powerful iron-clad steam ram was launched from the building yard of Messrs. Laird, of Birkenhead; that a companion war vessel of similar construction was launched by the same firm a few weeks since, and that both vessels are now fitting out in the graving-docks, and are nearly ready for sea. That the circumstances under which these vessels have been built and launched, together with the open declaration of Mr. Laird on the subject of ship-building for the so-called Confederate States of America, have created a strong conviction in the public mind that such vessels are intended for the use of the said Confederacy. Another iron-plated war vessel, your memorialists are informed, is being completed in the Clyde, destined for the same illegal service and purpose. In view of the proceedings already taken by Her Majesty's Government to vindicate our national good faith, and the power of British law to suppress these illegal and dangerous practices, your memorialists cannot doubt but that your lordship will take immediately the necessary steps to detain these iron-clad steam vessels, until full investigations have been made respecting their destination. Your memorialists venture to say, that should these iron-clad war ships be allowed to go to sea, and should they eventually be employed either to break the Federal blockade or prey upon

American commerce, the peace now happily existing between this country and the United States will be seriously jeopardized. Your memorialists are also convinced that if the course which the builders of these ships are pursuing can be continued with impunity, a most dangerous precedent will be established, which may be hereafter used against the commerce of this country should we ever be involved in a foreign war. May it therefore please your lordship to order a prompt investigation into the matters referred to, and bring the law to bear with vigor to prevent all such hostile acts against a friendly power. And your memorialists will ever pray.

"Signed on behalf, and by order of the executive,

"THOS. BAYLEY POTTER, President."

To this memorial the secretary of Lord John Russell answered as follows:

"FOREIGN OFFICE, *September* 14, 1863.

"SIR—I am directed by Earl Russell to state to you, in reply to your memorial of the 1st inst., that Her Majesty's Government have long had their attention turned to the question of building and fitting vessels of war for the so-called Confederate States, and the subject will continue to receive their anxious consideration. I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant, E. HAMMOND.

"T. B. POTTER, Esq., 51 Piccadilly, Manchester."

The two vessels specified in the memorial were called the Monassir and the Toussoun, Turkish names, by which it was designed to confirm the impression that they were intended, as was studiously promulgated by their builders, for the navy of the Sultan. When launched, both bore the English flag astern and the French flag amidships.

The character of these vessels having been well established, and the fear lest if they should be allowed to reach their suspected destination, Great Britain might be involved in war with the United States, made an impression on public opinion favorable to their seizure. The British ministry, always sensitive to popular influences, now yielded to the general sentiment, and seized the two steam rams in the ship-yard of the Messrs. Laird Brothers, at Birkenhead, near Liverpool.

Oct. 9.

The seizure of the steam rams at Liverpool served to allay the angry feeling on the part of the North, and proportionately to diminish the friendly disposition of the South toward Great Britain. The withdrawal of the Confederate agent, Mr. Mason, which immediately followed, was attributed mainly to this circumstance, though it was partly due to the continued resistance of the British Government to his solicitations, and the manifestation by Parliament, in the withdrawal of Mr. Roebuck's motion for recognition, of its opposition to such a measure.

Mr. Mason signified his determination to depart, by this letter to Earl Russell:

"SEYMOUR STREET, PORTMAN SQUARE,
LONDON, *September* 21, 1863.

"The Right Honorable EARL RUSSELL, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs:

"MY LORD—In a dispatch from the

Secretary of State of the Confederate States of America, dated the 4th day of August last, and now just received, I am instructed to consider the mission which brought me to England as at an end, and I am directed to withdraw at once from this country.

"The reasons for terminating this mission are set forth in an extract from the dispatch which I have the honor to communicate herewith.

"The President believes that 'the Government of Her Majesty has determined to decline the overtures made through you for establishing by treaty friendly relations between the two governments, and entertains no intention of receiving you as the accredited minister of this government near the British court.

"'Under these circumstances, your continued residence in London is neither conducive to the interests nor consistent with the dignity of this government, and the President therefore requests that you consider your mission at an end, and that you withdraw, with your secretary, from London.'

"Having made known to your lordship on my arrival here the character and purposes of the mission intrusted to me by my government, I have deemed it due to courtesy thus to make known to the Government of Her Majesty its termination, and that I shall, as directed, at once withdraw from England.

"I have the honor to be your lordship's very obedient servant,

"J. M. Mason."

At the same time that Mr. Mason withdrew from England, the British consuls were ordered away from the Confederate States.

An indiscretion of Mr. Adams, our minister to the court of London, who thoughtlessly gave, on application of a British ship-owner, a safe-conduct to his vessels trading to Matamoras, in Mexico, greatly wounded English pride.

"I must say," declared Earl Russell in Parliament, "that was a very extraordinary and, in my opinion, a most unwarrantable act, and I cannot conceive that it can be proper for a person holding a diplomatic position in this country to issue such a permit to a vessel; that is, making a distinction between vessels departing from the ports of this country, and giving a security to one vessel as distinguished from another. (Cheers.) It is not possible, as it appears to me, that he can bestow that favor on one vessel without making an invidious and perhaps dangerous distinction as against other vessels. There can be no doubt that the conduct of Mr. Adams is entirely unwarrantable, but I should not think of complaining to Mr. Adams. I shall bring that conduct before the consideration of the United States Government. (Hear, hear.) It is for them to say in what manner such an act should be visited."

The act of Mr. Adams threatened, for a moment, a rupture of diplomatic relations, but our minister having emphatically declared that he had no intention of officially assuming any authority which did not belong to him, he was reinstated in his former friendly position at the British court.

The seizures by the United States cruisers of various vessels suspected of an intention to break the blockade, as, for example, the arrest by Admiral Wilkes of the Pitchoff, was also the cause of irritation in England and of much diplomatic contention, but the subsequent decisions in the Admiralty courts of the United States compelled by their obvious justice the acquiescence of British opinion.

Notwithstanding the disposition of the ruling classes in England to take an unfavorable view of the motives and prospects of the North, they became strengthened in the conviction that it would be the safer policy to avoid every provocation to hostility with a power which had proved itself so capable of carrying on war. They, accordingly, showed a more conciliatory feeling, and less inclination to tamper with their neutral obligations.

Though indiscretions were committed by writers and orators, both in America and Great Britain, there seemed to be a determination on the part of the more prudent, to avoid for the future everything calculated to excite unfriendly feeling between the two countries. Earl Russell, in a speech in Scotland, took occasion to deprecate the oratorical and newspaper incitements to hostility prevalent in America, and evinced by his conciliatory words a change in his own practice.

The visit of Mr. Beecher, and his addresses, served to confirm the tendency in Great Britain toward a juster appreciation of the cause and power of the North. Though he met with little courtesy from the ruling classes, and with occasional opposition from a few out of his multitude of hearers, he was compensated by a warm welcome from the great mass of the English people, whose sympathy with the North was so evident that it became manifest no British Government would venture to disregard it.

CHAPTER XXI.

Increasing bias in favor of the South on the part of Louis Napoleon.—His Conquest of Mexico and Monarchical Policy.—Their Effect upon the American Question.—Reception of Mr. Slidell by Louis Napoleon.—The Emperor's Interview with Mr. Roebuck and Mr. Lindsay.—The Subject before Parliament.—Conquest of the Capital of Mexico.—A Remarkable Pamphlet by M. Chevalier.—A Confederate Loan negotiated.—The nature of the Loan.—Its Credit in the Market.—The Confederate Cruisers in French Ports.—Their Character discussed by the French Journals.—Arrests and Government Decisions in favor of the Florida, Alabama, etc.—The fervor of French sympathy cooled.—European Complications.—The French Government withdraws its Authorization for the Construction of Rams.—The French Rams described.—Imperial Speech.—The "Yellow Book" on the American War.

WHILE Great Britain was manifesting a more sincere disposition to preserve a genuine neutrality, the Emperor of France gave indications of an increasing bias in favor of the insurgents of the South. The success of his arms in Mexico, and the development of his monarchical policy in regard to the occupation and government of that country, awakened the suspicion that Louis Napoleon was desirous of permanently dividing the United States, in order to secure his Mexican conquests. These, he naturally feared, might be endangered when the great Western republic, on the settlement of its domestic difficulties, should find occasion to insist upon its traditional policy in regard to the interference of foreign nations with the governments of the American continent. Louis Napoleon, conscious that the United States, once restored to its integrity, would oppose his design of establishing a European dynasty upon the ruins of the Mexican republic, seemed eager to secure the independence of the South and the alliance of the new nation. He might thus not only weaken the power which he had most reason to dread, but establish a friendly people as a barrier between it and his Mexican possessions.

1863.

The reception of Mr. Slidell, the Confederate agent in France, by the Emperor, immediately after the capture of the city of Puebla by the French army, and his repeated interviews with him, becoming more frequent with the progress of Mexican conquest, confirmed the suspicion of negotiations or intrigue between the insurgents and the Government of France.

Louis Napoleon, though his propositions of joint mediation had been resolutely rejected by England, was singularly pertinacious in his attempts to interfere in the American war. Mr. Roebuck, in his notable speech in the British Parliament introducing the motion, "that a public petition be presented to Her Majesty, praying that she will be graciously pleased to enter into negotiations with the great powers of Europe, for the purpose of obtaining

June 30.

their co-operation in the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States of America," made a statement in regard to the Emperor of the French confirmatory of the fixedness of his idea of interference.

"He was told," said Mr. Roebuck, "that the Emperor had changed his mind, but all he could say, and he pledged his word for it, that the Emperor had authorized him to say, in the House of Commons, that he had instructed Baron Gros to propose negotiations to the English Government. The Emperor also complained that his Confederate commission to the English Government, with respect to a mediation last autumn, had been shown to Mr. Seward, but stated that he desired to act with England in all things, and especially with respect to America. The Emperor also said that he feared for the state of his manufacturing districts next winter."

Mr. Lindsay, like Mr. Roebuck, an inveterate opponent of the Northern cause, and his companion, on the occasion of the visit to the Emperor, gave a more detailed narrative of what occurred.

"I heard a rumor," said Mr. Lindsay, "ten days or so before the motion was to come on, that the Emperor of the French had changed his mind on this question. How that rumor originated I know not, but it was very general. I did not, however, pay any attention to it. My honorable friend also heard it, and dropped me a note asking me to ascertain, if I could, what truth there was in it, because, as he said, it was very important that he should know, lest when he brought forward his motion some member of the Government should rise and ask, 'What is the good of this motion, when one of the chief powers is not prepared to join in a recognition of the South? My honorable friend added, that he would like very well to see the Emperor and learn the fact from himself. (A laugh.) I wrote on the subject to a friend in Paris, expecting, not that my letter would reach the Emperor, but only that my friend would make inquiries and inform me of the result. The letter did not get to His Majesty. I received an answer stating that I might give an unqualified contradiction to the rumor. The Emperor said, 'I have not changed my mind as to the desirability of recognizing the South, and if Mr. Lindsay and Mr. Roebuck come to Paris, I shall be very glad to see them.' I handed that note to my honorable and learned friend, telling him that he could read it if the rumor were referred to in the House. My honorable and learned friend, however, thought that the note would not be sufficient. 'I should like,' he said, 'to ascertain the fact for myself—the House will believe me.' (A laugh, and 'Hear, hear.') That was upon the 19th of June—a Saturday. I replied that, in my opinion, the note would be enough, and the House would believe that it had come from an authoritative source; but the honorable and learned gentleman still persisted in his desire to go to Paris. I had no wish to intrude my-

self upon the Emperor, but, as my honorable and learned friend was anxious to learn his intentions from His Majesty himself, and as I shared the anxiety to see this motion carried, I accompanied my honorable friend, at great inconvenience, to Paris. An audience was at once granted to us; but I presume the House does not for a moment suppose that I would make public any conversation which the Emperor of the French has been pleased to hold with me, either at that interview or any other, without his permission. (Hear, hear.) During that conversation, which lasted a considerable time, my honorable and learned friend pointed out to the Emperor the importance of having it clearly understood that if it should be the pleasure of Her Majesty to prepare to negotiate with him, he would be prepared to enter into that negotiation, and my honorable and learned friend asked that he might be permitted to make a statement to that effect. His Majesty replied, 'Take any means you think proper to let it be known that I am prepared to negotiate, and that there is no truth in the rumor prevalent in England.' All the Emperor meant was, that if the House of Commons should pray Her Majesty to address him on the subject of recognition of the Southern States, he would be only too happy to enter into negotiations with that object, believing, as he did, that if the great powers of Europe thought it advisable to recognize the Southern Confederacy, the moral effect would be such as to stay the terrible carnage now going on in America. That is the substance of what took place."

The French army having, in the mean time, crowned its Mexican triumphs with the capture of the capital, the desire of the Emperor to interfere in the civil war of the United States became, it was believed, more importunate. This belief was confirmed by the publication of a remarkable pamphlet by M. Chevalier, the famous publicist. The opinions of the author were supposed to be the sentiments of the Emperor himself, who had frequently before chosen a similar medium for casting the shadows of his policy. "France," wrote M. Chevalier, "must oppose the absorption of Southern America by Northern America; she must, in like, oppose the degradation of the Latin race on the other side of the ocean; she must establish the integrity and security of our West Indian colonies. It is the interests which compel France to sympathize with the Confederate States which have led our banners up to the walls of Mexico.

June 5.

"The recognition of the Southern States will be the consequence of our intervention—or, rather, our intervention has prepared, facilitated, and made possible a diplomatic act which will consecrate the final separation and secession of those States from the American Union."

Again he wrote, "The South proposes to reconstitute its national system with an eye to its own interests. Now, since these interests conform to those of

France; since the cause of the South is not only just, but logical, France does not hesitate to declare her sympathies, and her first act of sympathy naturally must be the recognition of the Confederate States."

The negotiation of a loan by the Confederate Government of 75,000,000 francs, or 15,000,000 dollars, with a French banker, served to confirm the impression that Louis Napoleon was disposed to support the Southern cause. Messrs. Erlanger, of Paris and Frankfort, were the first to introduce the loan to the financial market, but Mr. J. H. Schroder, in London and Amsterdam, and Messrs. Fraser and Trenholm, in Liverpool, acted jointly with the French bankers. The security to the holder of each bond was cotton, to be delivered to him at some Southern port at 5½*d.* per lb., free of other expense, at his option, either immediately or within six months after the ratification of peace. The price of the bonds at their issue was ninety, with dividends payable in sterling. A sinking fund was established for redemption at par in twenty years.

Mar. 19.

The loan became quite the "rage in financial circles" at London and Paris, where the bids, amounting to over 10,000,000 of pounds sterling, greatly exceeded the amount offered. On the first day the premium reached 5½ per cent., but the loan soon after, in consequence of the success of the Northern arms at Vicksburg and elsewhere, declined to 25 or 30 per cent. discount.

The Confederate cruiser Florida, having sought refuge at Brest, offered the occasion for testing the question whether this marauder of the seas was entitled to the consideration of a national vessel.

The *Journal des Debats*, of Paris, a warm advocate of the Northern cause, did not hesitate to brand the Florida as an outlaw.

"The rights of belligerents," wrote the editor on September 3, "have doubtless been granted to the Southern States, but evidently on condition that they comply with international rights. Now, if it be possible to maintain in the strictest sense of the word that the Southern States have the right to arm privateers, since they did not subscribe to the treaty of Paris, it is impossible to admit that the privateers armed by the South, and which are placed on a footing by a too generous tolerance—its effects are now apparent—with ships of war, can validly transform themselves into maritime tribunals, and become their own judges of the legality of their prizes. They have no right, as they do, to stop vessels at sea, strip them of their cargo, whether it belongs to the Federal States or to neutrals, and to set the ship on fire, while a captain of a naval power, in the uniform of his country, in addition to other guarantees of integrity and impartiality, would be obliged to carry his prize before a court of justice. This is evidently intolerable. It is in vain for Southerners to allege that their ports are blockaded, and that they have no maritime tribunals. That is their business, not ours. Let them attack the Federal men-of-war and force them to raise the blockade—it is their right; but

to seize upon the property of others without legal power, such an act, in every language, is called a theft."

An application having been made by the owners of a portion of cargo on board of one of the vessels seized and destroyed by her, for authorization to arrest the Florida in any French roadstead, it was granted by the Tribunal of Commerce of Marseilles. The Government, however, having officially stated* that the Florida was entitled to all the privileges belonging to neutrals, the courts rendered a decision based upon this declaration, liberating the Florida. The Alabama subsequently took refuge in Cherbourg, when she was arrested on a similar charge, and released like the Florida by a decision in her favor.

The Florida and Alabama were accordingly allowed all the privileges accorded to the national men-of-war of friendly powers.

In the mean time, while the Florida was repairing and making ready for another raid upon the seas, the U. S. cruiser Kearsarge, arrived at Brest, and strove to prevent her departure. The French admiral now interposed with the declaration that the Kearsarge would not be allowed to leave the port until twenty-four hours after the Florida, which seemed to secure the safety of the latter vessel, in case of an effort to escape.

Sept. 16.

* This was the statement of the official *Moniteur:*

"The steamship Florida, now at Brest to repair damages, is not a privateer, as was at first believed. She forms part of the military marine of the Confederate States; her officers are provided with regular commissions, and she has all the qualities *(caractères)* of an ordinary ship of war."

Notwithstanding the manifestation, by various acts, of the Imperial Government of France, of a disposition to favor the insurgents of the South, circumstances occurred which apparently served to cool the fervor of French sympathy. The success of the Northern arms, the more positive neutrality of the British Government, the complication of European affairs, in consequence of the Polish insurrection, threatening a general war, and perhaps the indication of friendliness between Russia and the United States, were doubtless powerful inducements with Louis Napoleon to pause in his suspected design of recognizing Southern independence and forming an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the new nation.

Following the example of the British ministry, the French Government withdrew its authorization for the construction of several vessels of war which were building in the ship-yards of France for the Confederate Government.

The Imperial speech, at the opening of the French Legislative Chambers, by its slight allusion to the war in the United States, indicated, at least, a politic reticence of expression, if not a positive disinclination to action, in regard to it.

Nov. 5.

"Assuredly the prosperity of our country," said Louis Napoleon, "would advance still more rapidly if political anxieties did not disturb it; but in the life of nations unforeseen and inevitable events occur which must be boldly and fearlessly faced and met without shrink-

ing. Of this number is the war in America, the compulsory occupation of Mexico and of Cochin China, the insurrection of Poland. The distant expeditions which have been the subject of so much criticism have not been the result of any premeditated plan; they have been brought about by the force of circumstances; and yet they are not to be regretted. How, in fact, could we develop our foreign commerce if, on the one hand, we were to relinquish all influence in America? and if, on the other, in presence of the vast territory occupied by the Spaniards and the Dutch, France was to remain alone without possessions in the seas of Asia? We have conquered a position in Cochin China which, without subjecting us to the difficulties of the local government, will allow us to turn to account the immense resources of those countries, and to civilize them by commerce. In Mexico, after an unexpected resistance, which the courage of our soldiers and of our sailors overcame, we have seen the population welcome us as liberators. Our efforts will not have been fruitless, and we shall be largely rewarded for our sacrifices, when the destinies of that country, which will owe its regeneration to us, shall have been handed over to a Prince whose enlightenment and high qualities render him worthy of so noble a mission. Let us, then, put faith in our expeditions beyond sea. Commenced to avenge our honor, they will terminate in the triumph of our interests; and if prejudiced minds will not see the good promise of the seed sown for the future, let us not tarnish the glory achieved, so to say, at the two extremities of the world—at Pekin and in Mexico."

In the official statement of the situation of the Empire, composed of the reports of the various ministerial departments, and forming what is known as the "Yellow Book," there was a freer expression of opinion in regard to our civil war.

Nov. 10.

"The sad previsions suggested by the exasperation of the struggle carried on during three years in the United States, have been but too much realized. Blood has continued to flow, while the respective situations of the belligerents do not allow us to anticipate a period to this terrible crisis. In presence of such an accumulation of ruins, and such a sacrifice of life in a struggle hitherto fruitless, we have felt profound regret that the propositions which we made at London and at St. Petersburg, to unite in promoting an armistice, were not accepted. Compelled to renounce that project by a double refusal, we have, however, declared that our desire to contribute to the re-establishment of peace in any form would not be the less lively and sincere. We have given proof of this by suggesting the idea of substituting for the project of an amicable intervention of the maritime powers, the expedient of direct messages between the Government of the United States and the Confederates of the South. This new attempt has not been more fortunate than the preceding.

"From that time we have nothing left

but to follow out the line of conduct adopted ever since the beginning of this war by the Government of the Emperor. This we have striven to do with scrupulous care under all circumstances. We have remained neutral and well-disposed; although it has often been difficult for us to reconcile this part with our duties toward our fellow-countrymen. Independently of the sufferings which, in our departments, are the consequence of the American crisis, hostilities on the territory of the Union itself have occasioned considerable detriment and loss to French residents. They have often had occasion to make just complaint of the abusive proceedings of the civil and military authorities. Our countrymen must understand that their interests, like those of other foreigners, cannot claim an exceptional security in the midst of the tumult of arms, and that in such cases all ordinary guarantees necessarily lose something of their efficacy. Moreover, a state of war imposes inevitable fetters on the commerce of neutrals. If the progress of liberal doctrines tends to relax them, it cannot wholly suppress them.

"The Cabinet of Washington has been able to satisfy itself that we have made, in our reclamations, a large allowance for these difficulties. But the Government of the Emperor cannot disguise its pain at seeing so many aggrieved interests, well-deserving of its care, making a vain appeal for protection."

CHAPTER XXII.

The Union Army in Occupation of Middle Tennessee.—Subsequent Movements.—Advance of General Rosecrans.—Rosecrans' Report.—Battle of Chickamauga.—The Army of the Cumberland rescued by General Thomas.—Thomas' Report of his Manœuvres.—Exultation of the Enemy.—A fruitless Victory.—Rosecrans at Chattanooga.—The strength of his Position.—His Communications obstructed.—Activity of the Enemy's Cavalry.—Capture of McMinnville.—Operations of Wheeler and Forrest.—Wheeler routed at Shelbyville by Crook.—Crook's Report.—Efforts of the Federal Government to hold Chattanooga.—Grant appointed to the command of the "Military Division of the Mississippi."—Rosecrans relieved of his Command.—Thomas appointed his Successor.

1863.

THE operations of the "Army of the Cumberland" were traced in a previous chapter to the occupation of Middle Tennessee. General Rosecrans, in an explicit report, narrates his subsequent movements, closing in the battle of Chickamauga. He says:

"The rebel army, after its expulsion from Middle Tennessee, crossed the Cumberland Mountains by way of the Tantallon and University roads, then moved down Battle Creek, and crossed the Tennessee River on bridges, it is said, near the mouth of Battle Creek, and at Kelly's Ferry, and on the railroad bridge at Bridgeport. They destroyed a part of the latter, after having passed over it, and retired to

Chattanooga and Tyner Station, leaving guards along the river. On their arrival at Chattanooga, they commenced immediately to throw up some defensive field-works at that place, and also at each of the crossings of the Tennessee as far up as Blythe's Ferry.

"Our troops having pursued the rebels as far as supplies and the state of the roads rendered it practicable, took position from McMinnville to Winchester, with advances at Pelham and Stevenson. The latter soon after moved to Bridgeport in time to save from total destruction a saw-mill there, but not to prevent the destruction of the railroad bridge.

"After the expulsion of Bragg's forces from Middle Tennessee, the next objective point of this army was Chattanooga. It commands the southern entrance into East Tennessee, the most valuable, if not the chief source of supplies of coal for the manufactories and machine-shops of the Southern States, and is one of the great gateways through the mountains to the champaign counties of Georgia and Alabama.

"For the better understanding of the campaign, I submit a brief outline of the topography of the country from the barrens of the northwestern base of the Cumberland range to Chattanooga and its vicinity.

"The Cumberland range is a lofty mass of rocks separating the waters which flow into the Cumberland from those which flow into the Tennessee, and extending from beyond the Kentucky line, in a southwesterly direction, nearly to Athens, Alabama. Its northwestern slopes are steep and rocky, and scalloped into coves, in which are the heads of numerous streams that water Middle Tennessee. Its top is undulating or rough, covered with timber, soil comparatively barren, and in dry seasons scantily supplied with water. Its southeastern slope, above Chattanooga, for many miles, is precipitous, rough, and difficult all the way up to Kingston. The valley between the foot of this slope and the river seldom exceeds four or five miles in width, and, with the exception of a narrow border along the banks, is undulating or hilly.

"The Sequatchie Valley is along the river of that name, and is a cañon, or deep cut, splitting the Cumberland range parallel to its length. It is only three or four miles in breadth and fifty in length. The sides of this valley are even more precipitous than the great eastern and western slopes of the Cumberland, which have just been described. To reach Chattanooga from McMinnville, or north of the Tennessee, it is necessary to turn the head of this valley by Pikeville and pass down the valley of the Tennessee, or to cross it by Dunlap or Thurman.

"That part of the Cumberland range between Sequatchie and the Tennessee, called Walden's Ridge, abuts on the Tennessee, in high rocky bluffs, having no practicable space sufficient for a good wagon-road along the river. The Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad crosses that branch of the Cumberland range, west of the Sequatchie, through a low

gap, by a tunnel, two miles east of Cowan, down the gorge of Big Crow Creek to Stevenson, at the foot of the mountain, on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, three miles from the Tennessee and ten from Bridgeport.

"Between Stevenson and Chattanooga, on the south of the Tennessee, are two ranges of mountains, the Tennessee River separating them from the Cumberland. Its channel, a great chasm cut through the mountain masses, which in those places abut directly on the river. These two ranges are separated by a narrow valley, through which runs Lookout Creek.

"The Sand Mountain is next the Tennessee, and its northern extremity is called Raccoon Mountain. Its sides are precipitous, and its top barren oak ridges, nearly destitute of water. There are but few, and these very difficult, wagon-roads by which to ascend and descend the slopes of this mountain.

"East of Lookout Valley is Lookout Mountain, a vast palisade of rocks rising 2,400 feet above the level of the sea, in abrupt, rocky cliffs, from a steep wooded base. Its eastern sides are no less precipitous. Its top varies from one to six or seven miles in breadth, is heavily timbered, sparsely settled, and poorly watered. It terminates abruptly upon the Tennessee, two miles below Chattanooga, and the only practical wagon-roads across it are over the nose of the mountain at this point, one at Johnson's Crook, twenty-six miles distant, and one at Winston's Gap, forty-two miles distant from Chattanooga.

"Between the eastern base of this range and the line of the Chattanooga and Atlanta or Georgia State Railroad are a series of narrow valleys, separated by smaller ranges of hills or low mountains, over which there are quite a number of practicable wagon-roads running eastward toward the railroad.

"The first of these ranges is Missionary Ridge, separating the waters of Chickamauga from Chattanooga Creek.

"A higher range with fewer gaps, on the southeast side of the Chickamauga, is Pigeon Mountain, branching from Lookout, near Dougherty's Gap, some forty miles south from Chattanooga. It extends in a northerly direction, bearing eastward, until it is lost in the general level of the country near the line of the Chattanooga and Lafayette road.

"East of these two ranges and of the Chickamauga, starting from Ottowah and passing by Ringgold to the west of Dalton, is Taylor's Ridge, a rough, rocky range, traversable by wagon-roads only through gaps generally several miles apart.

"Missionary Ridge passes about three miles east of Chattanooga, ending near the Tennessee at the mouth of the Chickamauga. Taylor's Ridge separates the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad from the Chattanooga and Atlanta Railroad.

"The junction of these roads is at Dalton, in a valley east of Taylor's Ridge and west of the rough mountain region, in which are the sources of the Coosa River. This valley, only about nine or ten miles wide, is the natural southern

gateway into East Tennessee, while the other valleys just mentioned terminate northwardly on the Tennessee to the west of it, and extend in a southwesterly direction toward the line of the Coosa, the general direction of which, from the crossing of the Atlanta road to Rome and thence to Gadsden, is southwest.

"From the position of our army at McMinnville, Tullahoma, Decherd, and Winchester, to reach Chattanooga, crossing the Tennessee above it, it was necessary either to pass north of the Sequatchie Valley by Pikeville or Kingston, or to cross the main Cumberland and the Sequatchie Valley by Dunlap or Thurman and Walden's Ridge, by the routes passing through these places, a distance from sixty-five to seventy miles, over a country destitute of forage, poorly supplied with water, by narrow and difficult wagon-roads.

"The main Cumberland range could also have been passed, on an inferior road, by Pelham and Tracy City to Thurman.

"The most southerly route on which to move troops and transportation to the Tennessee, above Chattanooga, was by Cowan, University, Battle Creek, and Jasper, or by Tantallon, Anderson, Stevenson, Bridgeport, and the mouth of Battle Creek, to same point, and thence by Thurman, or Dunlap, and Poe's Tavern, across Walden Ridge. The University road, though difficult, was the best of these two, that by Cowan, Tantallon, and Stevenson being very rough between Cowan and Anderson, and much longer.

"There were also three roads across the mountains to the Tennessee River below Stevenson, the best, but much the longest, by Fayetteville and Athens, a distance of seventy miles.

"The next, a very rough wagon-road from Winchester, by Salem, to Larkinsville, and an exceedingly rough road by the way of Mount Top, one branch leading thence to Bellefont and the other to Stevenson.

"On these latter routes little or no forage was to be found, except at the extremities of the lines, and they were also scarce of water. The one by Athens has both forage and water in abundance.

"It is evident from this description of the topography, that to reach Chattanooga, or penetrate the country south of it, on the railroad, by crossing the Tennessee below Chattanooga, was a difficult task. It was necessary to cross the Cumberland Mountains with subsistence, ammunition, at least a limited supply of forage, and a bridge train; to cross Sand or Raccoon Mountains into Lookout Valley, then Lookout Mountain, and finally the lesser ranges, Missionary Ridge, if we went directly to Chattanooga; or Missionary Ridge, Pigeon Mountain, and Taylor's Ridge, if we struck the railroad at Dalton, or south of it. The valley of the Tennessee River, though several miles in breadth between the bases of the mountains, below Bridgeport is not a broad alluvial farming country, but full of barren oak ridges, sparsely settled, and but a small part of it under cultivation.

"The first step was to repair the

Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, to bring forward to Tullahoma, McMinnville, Decherd, and Winchester needful forage and subsistence, which it was impossible to transport from Murfreesboro' to those points over the horrible roads which we encountered on our advance to Tullahoma. The next was to extend the repairs of the main stem to Stevenson and Bridgeport, and the Tracy City branch, so that we could place supplies in dépôt at those points, from which to draw after we had crossed the mountains.

"Through the zeal and energy of Colonel Innis and his regiment of Michigan Engineers, the main road was open to the Elk River Bridge by the 13th of July, and Elk River Bridge and the main stem to Bridgeport by the 25th, and the branch to Tracy City by the 13th of August.

"As soon as the main stem was finished to Stevenson, Sheridan's division was advanced, two brigades to Bridgeport and one to Stevenson, and commissary and quartermaster stores pushed forward to the latter place, with all practicable speed. These supplies began to be accumulated at this point in sufficient quantities by the 8th of August, and corps commanders were that day directed to supply their troops, as soon as possible, with rations and forage sufficient for a general movement.

"The Tracy City branch, built for bringing coal down the mountains, has such high grades and sharp curves as to require a peculiar engine. The only one we had answering the purpose having been broken on its way from Nashville, was not repaired until about the 12th of August. It was deemed best, therefore, to delay the movements of the troops until that road was completely available for transporting stores to Tracy City.

"The movement over the Cumberland Mountains began on the morning of the 16th of August, as follows:

"General Crittenden's corps in three columns, General Wood from Hillsboro' by Pelham to Thurman, in Sequatchie Valley.

"General Palmer from Manchester, by the most practicable route to Dunlap.

"General Van Cleve with two brigades from McMinnville, the third being left in garrison there, by the most practicable route to Pikeville, the head of Sequatchie Valley.

"Colonel Minty's cavalry to move, on the left, by Sparta, to drive back Debrel's cavalry toward Kingston, where the enemy's mounted troops, under Forrest, were concentrated, and then, covering the left of Van Cleve's column, to proceed to Pikeville.

"The fourteenth army corps, Major-General George H. Thomas, commanding, moved as follows:

"General Reynolds from University, by way of Battle Creek, to take post, concealed, near its mouth.

"General Brannan to follow him.

"General Negley to go by Tantallon and halt on Crow Creek, between Anderson and Stevenson.

"General Baird to follow him, and camp near Anderson.

"The twentieth corps, Major-General A. McD. McCook commanding, moved as follows:

"General Johnson by Salem and Larkins' Ford to Bellefont.

"General Davis by Mount Top and Crow Creek to near Stevenson.

"The three brigades of cavalry by Fayetteville and Athens, to cover the line of the Tennessee from Whitesbury up.

"On his arrival in Sequatchie Valley, General Crittenden was to send a brigade of infantry to reconnoitre the Tennessee near Harrison's Landing, and take post at Poe's Cross Roads. Minty was to reconnoitre from Washington down, and take post at Smith's Cross Roads, and Wilder's brigade of mounted infantry was to reconnoitre from Harrison's Landing to Chattanooga, and be supported by a brigade of infantry which General Crittenden was to send from Thurman to the foot of the eastern slope of Walden's Ridge, in front of Chattanooga.

"These movements were completed by the evening of the 20th of August. Hazen's brigade made the reconnoissance on Harrison's Landing, and reported the enemy throwing up works there, and took post at Poe's Cross Roads on the 21st. Wagner with his brigade supported Wilder in his reconnoissance on Chattanooga, which they surprised and shelled from across the river, creating no little agitation.

"Thus the army passed the first great barrier between it and the objective point, and arrived opposite the enemy on the banks of the Tennessee.

"The crossing of the river required that the best points should be chosen, and means provided for the crossing. The river was reconnoitred, the pontoons and trains ordered forward as rapidly as possible, hidden from view in rear of Stevenson, and prepared for use. By the time they were ready, the places of crossing had been selected, and dispositions made to begin the operation.

"It was very desirable to conceal to the last moment the points of crossing, but as the mountains on the south side of the Tennessee River rise in precipitous rocky bluffs to the height of 800 or 1,000 feet, completely overlooking the whole valley and its coves, this was next to impossible.

"Not having pontoons for two bridges across the river, General Sheridan began tressel-work for parts of one at Bridgeport, while General Reynolds' division seizing Shellmont, captured some boats, and from these and material picked up, prepared the means of crossing at that point, and General Brannan prepared rafts for crossing his troops at the mouth of Battle Creek.

"The laying of the pontoon-bridge at Caperton's Ferry was very handsomely done by the troops of General Davis, under the direction of General McCook, who crossed his advance in pontoons at daylight, driving the enemy's cavalry from the opposite side. The bridge was ready for crossing by eleven o'clock A.M. the same day, but in plain view from the rebel signal stations opposite Bridgeport.

"The bridge at Bridgeport was finish-

ed on the 29th of August, but an accident occurred which delayed its final completion till September 2.

"The movement across the river was commenced on the 29th, and completed on the 4th of September, leaving the regular brigade in charge of the railroad and dépôt at Stevenson until relieved by Major-General Granger, who was directed, as soon as practicable, to relieve it and take charge of the rear.

"General Thomas' corps was to cross as follows: One division at Caperton's, and one at Bridgeport, Reynolds' at Shellmont in boats, and one division at Battle Creek, on rafts. All were to use the bridge at Bridgeport for such portions of their trains as they might find necessary, and to concentrate near Trenton, and send an advance to seize Frick or Cooper's and Stevens' gaps, on Lookout Mountain, the only practicable routes leading down the mountains into the valley, called McLemore's Cove, which lies at its eastern base, and stretches northeastwardly toward Chattanooga.

"General McCook's corps was to cross; two divisions at Caperton's Ferry move to Valley Head and seize Winston's Gap, while Sheridan was to cross at Bridgeport as soon as the bridge was laid, and join the rest of his corps, near Winston's, by way of Trenton.

"General Crittenden's corps was ordered down the Sequatchie, leaving the two advanced brigades, under Hazen and Wagner, with Minty's cavalry and Wilder's mounted infantry, to watch and annoy the enemy. It was to cross the river, following Thomas' corps, at all three crossings, and to take post on the Murphy's Hollow road, push an advance brigade to reconnoitre the enemy at the foot of Lookout, and take post at Wauhatchie, communicating from his main body with Thomas, on the right, up the Trenton Valley, and threatening Chattanooga by the pass over the point of Lookout.

"The cavalry, crossed at Caperton's and a ford near Island Creek, were to unite in Lookout Valley, take post at Rawlingsville, and reconnoitre boldly toward Rome and Alpine.

"These movements were completed by McCook's and Crittenden's corps on the 6th, and by Thomas' corps on the 8th of September. The cavalry for some reason was not pushed with the vigor nor to the extent which orders and the necessities of the campaign required. Its continual movement since that period, and the absence of Major-General Stanley, the chief of cavalry, have prevented a report which may throw some light on the subject.

"The first barrier south of the Tennessee being crossed, the enemy was found firmly holding the point of Lookout Mountain with infantry and artillery, while our force on the north side of the river reported the movement of the rebel forces from East Tennessee and their concentration at Chattanooga. To dislodge him from that place, it was necessary to carry Lookout Mountain, or so to move as to compel him to quit his position by endangering his line of

communication. The latter plan was chosen.

"The cavalry was ordered to advance on our extreme right to Summerville, in Broomtown Valley, and General McCook was ordered to support the movement by a division of infantry thrown forward to the vicinity of Alpine, which was executed on the 8th and 9th of September.

"General Thomas was ordered to cross his corps by Frick's or Cooper's and Stevens' gaps, and occupy the head of McLemore's Cove.

"General Crittenden was ordered to reconnoitre the front of Lookout Mountain, sending a brigade upon an almost impracticable path, called the Nickajack Trace, to Summertown, a hamlet on the summit of the mountain overlooking Chattanooga, and holding the main body of his corps, either to support these reconnoissances, to prevent a sortie of the enemy over the nose of Lookout, or to enter Chattanooga in case the enemy should evacuate it or make but feeble resistance. Simultaneously with this movement, the cavalry was ordered to push, by way of Alpine and Broomtown Valley, and strike the enemy's railroad communication between Rosaca Bridge and Dalton.

"These movements were promptly begun on the 8th and 9th of September. The reconnoissance of General Crittenden on the 9th developed the fact that the enemy had evacuated Chattanooga the day and night previous, and his advance took peaceable possession at one o'clock P.M.

"His whole corps, with its trains, passed around the point of Lookout Mountain on the 10th, and encamped for the night at Rossville, five miles south of Chattanooga.

"During these operations, General Thomas pushed his corps over the mountains at the designated points, each division consuming two days in the passage.

"The weight of evidence, gathered from all sources, was, that Bragg was moving on Rome, and that his movement commenced on the 6th of September. General Crittenden was, therefore, directed to hold Chattanooga with one brigade, calling all the forces on the north side of the Tennessee across, and to follow the enemy's retreat vigorously, anticipating that the main body had retired by Ringgold and Dalton.

"Additional information, obtained during the afternoon and evening of the 10th of September, rendered it certain that his main body had retired by the Lafayette road, but uncertain whether he had gone far, General Crittenden was ordered at one o'clock A.M. on the 11th to proceed to the front and report, directing his command to advance only as far as Ringgold, and ordered a reconnoissance to Gordon's Mill. His report and further evidence satisfied me that the main body of the rebel army was in the vicinity of Lafayette.

"General Crittenden was therefore ordered to move his corps, with all possible dispatch, from Ringgold to Gordon's Mill, and communicate with General Thomas, who had by that time

reached the eastern foot of Lookout Mountain. General Crittenden occupied Ringgold during the 11th, pushing Wilder's mounted infantry as far as Tunnel Hill, skirmishing heavily with the enemy's cavalry. Hazen joined him near Ringgold on the 11th, and the whole corps moved rapidly and successfully across to Gordon's Mill on the 12th. Wilder, following and covering the movement, had a severe fight with the enemy at Letts' tan-yard.

"During the same day, the Fourth U. S. Cavalry was ordered to move up the Dry Valley road, to discover if the enemy was in the proximity of that road on Crittenden's right, and open communication with Thomas' command, which, passing over the mountain, was debouching from Stevens' and Cooper's gaps, and moving on Lafayette through Dry Gap of the Pigeon Mountain.

"On the 10th, Negley's division advanced to within a mile of Dug Gap, which he found heavily obstructed, and Baird's division came up to his support, on the morning of the 11th; Negley became satisfied that the enemy was advancing upon him in heavy force, and perceiving that if he accepted battle in that position, he would probably be cut off, he fell back after a sharp skirmish, in which General Baird's division participated, skilfully covering and securing their trains to a strong position in front of Stevens' Gap. On the 12th, Reynolds and Brannan, under orders to move promptly, closed up to the support of these two advanced divisions.

"During the same day, General McCook had reached the vicinity of Alpine, and, with infantry and cavalry, had reconnoitred the Broomtown Valley to Summerville, and ascertained that the enemy had not retreated on Rome, but was concentrating at Lafayette.

"Thus it was ascertained that the enemy was concentrating all his forces, both infantry and cavalry, behind the Pigeon Mountain, in the vicinity of Lafayette, while the corps of this army were at Gordon's Mill, Bailey's Cross Roads at the foot of Stevens' Gap, and at Alpine, a distance of forty miles from flank to flank, by the nearest practicable roads, and fifty-seven miles by the route subsequently taken by the twentieth army corps. It has already been ascertained that the main body of Johnston's army had joined Bragg, and an accumulation of evidence showed that the troops from Virginia had reached Atlanta on the 1st of the month, and that reinforcements were expected soon to arrive from that quarter. It was therefore a matter of life and death to effect the concentration of the army.

"General McCook had already been directed to support General Thomas, but was now ordered to send two brigades to hold Dougherty's Gap, and to join General Thomas with the remainder of his command with the utmost celerity, directing his march over the road on the top of the mountain. He had, with great prudence, already moved his trains back to the rear of Little River, on the mountain, but unfortunately, being ignorant of the mountain road, moved down the mountain at Winston's Gap, down

Lookout Valley to Cooper's Gap, up the mountain and down again, closing up with General Thomas on the 17th, and having posted Davis at Brooks', in front of Dug Gap, Johnson at Pond Spring, in front of Catlett's Gap, and Sheridan at the foot of Stevens' Gap.

"As soon as General McCook's corps arrived, General Thomas moved down the Chickamauga toward Gordon's Mill. Meanwhile, to bring General Crittenden within reach of General Thomas, and beyond the danger of separation, he was withdrawn from Gordon's Mill on the 14th, and ordered to take post on the southern spur of Missionary Ridge, his right communicating with General Thomas, where he remained until General McCook had effected a junction with General Thomas.

"Minty with his cavalry reconnoitred the enemy on the 15th, and reported him in force at Dalton, Ringgold, Letts, and Rock Springs Church. The head of General McCook's column being reported near the same day, General Crittenden was ordered to return to his old position at Gordon's Mill, his line resting along the Chickamauga *via* Crawfish Springs.

"Thus, on the evening of the 17th, the troops were substantially within supporting distance. Orders were given at once to move the whole line northeastwardly down the Chickamauga, with a view to covering the Lafayette road toward Chattanooga, and facing the most practicable route to the enemy's front.

"The position of our troops and the narrowness of the roads retarded our movements. During the day, while they were in progress, our cavalry under Colonel Minty was attacked on the left, in the vicinity of Reed's Bridge, and Wilder's mounted infantry were attacked by infantry, and driven into the Lafayette road.

"It became apparent that the enemy was massing heavily on our left, crossing Reed's and Alexander's bridges in force, while he had threatened Gordon's Mill.

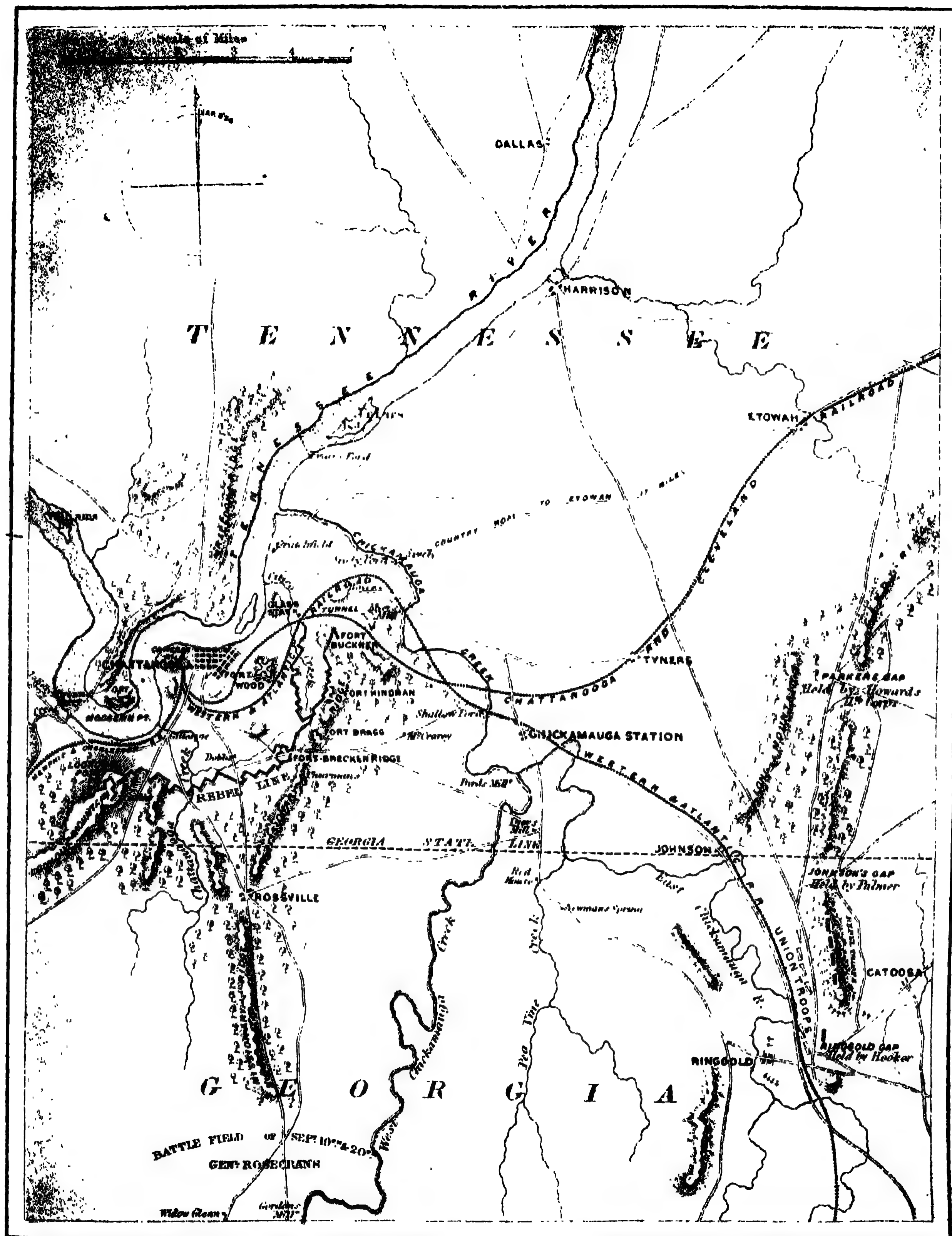
"Orders were therefore promptly given to General Thomas to relieve General Crittenden's corps, posting one division near Crawfish Spring, and to move with the remainder of his corps, by the Widow Glenn's house, to the Rossville and Lafayette roads, his left extending obliquely across it near Kelly's House.

"General Crittenden was ordered to proceed with Van Cleve's and Palmer's divisions, to drive the enemy from the Rossville road, and form on the left of General Wood, then at Gordon's Mill.

"General McCook's corps was to close up on General Thomas, occupy the position at Crawfish Springs, and protect General Crittenden's right while holding his corps mainly in reserve.

"The main cavalry force was ordered to close in on General McCook's right, watch the crossing of the Chickamauga, and act under his orders.

"The movement for the concentration of the corps more compactly toward Crawfish Springs was begun on the morning of the 18th, under orders to conduct it very secretly, and was exe-



Eng.^d by ...

A Topographical Map of the ground on which the battles of Chickamauga and Ringgold were fought for the possession of the great Railroad triangle of Tennessee and Georgia

Charles Sholl.
Top.l Engineer.

cuted so slowly that McCook's corps only reached Pond Spring at dark and bivouacked, resting on their arms during the night. Crittenden's corps reached its position on the Rossville road near midnight.

"Evidence accumulated during the day of the 18th that the enemy was moving to our left. Minty's cavalry and Wilder's mounted brigade encountered the enemy's cavalry at Reed's and Alexander's bridges, and toward evening were driven into the Rossville road. At the same time the enemy had been demonstrating for three miles up the Chickamauga. Heavy clouds of dust had been observed three or four miles beyond the Chickamauga, sweeping to the northeast.

"In view of these facts, the necessity became apparent that General Thomas must use all possible dispatch in moving his corps to the position assigned it. He was therefore directed to proceed with all dispatch, and General McCook to close up to Crawfish Springs as soon as Thomas' column was out of the way. Thomas pushed forward uninterruptedly during the night, and at daylight the head of his column had reached Kelly's House, on the Lafayette road, where Baird's division was posted. Brannan followed, and was posted on Baird's left, covering the roads leading to Reed's and Alexander's bridges.

"At this point Colonel McCook, of General Granger's command, who had made a reconnoissance to the Chickamauga the evening before, and had burned Reed's Bridge, met General Thomas and reported that an isolated brigade of the enemy was this side of the Chickamauga, and the bridge being destroyed, a rapid movement in that direction might result in the capture of the force thus isolated.

"General Thomas ordered Brannan with two brigades to reconnoitre in that direction and attack any small force he should meet. The advance brigade, supported by the rest of the division, soon encountered a strong body of the enemy, attacked it vigorously, and drove it back more than half a mile, where a very strong column of the enemy was found, with the evident intention of turning our left and gaining possession of the Lafayette road between us and Chattanooga.

"This vigorous movement disconcerted the plans of the enemy to move on our left, and opened the battle of the 19th of September.

"The leading brigade became engaged about ten A.M., on the 19th, on our extreme left, and extending to the right, where the enemy combined to move in heavy masses. Apprehending this movement, I had ordered General McCook to send Johnson's division to Thomas' assistance. He arrived opportunely.

"General Crittenden, with great good sense, had already dispatched Palmer's, reporting the fact to me, and received my approval. The enemy returned our attack, and was driving back Baird's right in disorder, when Johnson struck the attacking column in flank, and drove it back more than half a mile,

until his own right was overlapped and in imminent danger of being turned, when Palmer, coming in on Johnson's right, threw his division against the enemy and drove back his advance columns.

"Palmer's right was soon overlapped, when Van Cleve's division came to his support, but was beaten back, when Reynolds' division came in, and was in turn overpowered. Davis' division came into the fight then most opportunely, and drove the enemy, who soon, however, developed a superior force against his line, and pressed him so heavily that he was giving ground, when Wood's division came and turned the tide of battle the other way.

"About three P.M. General McCook was ordered to send Sheridan's division to support our line near Wood and Davis, directing Lytle's brigade to hold Gordon's Mill, our extreme right. Sheridan also arrived opportunely to save Wood from disaster, and the rebel tide was thoroughly stayed in that quarter.

"Meanwhile, the roar of musketry in our centre grew louder, and evidently approached headquarters at Widow Glenn's house until musket-balls came near and shells burst about it. Our centre was being driven.

"Orders were sent to Gen. Negley to move his division from Crawfish Springs and above, where he had been holding the line of the Chickamauga to Widow Glenn's, to be held in reserve to give succor wherever it might be required, at half-past four P.M. He reported with his division, and as the indications that our centre was being driven became clearer, he was dispatched in that direction, and soon found the enemy had dislodged Van Cleve from the line, and was forming there even while Thomas was driving his right. Orders were promptly given Negley to attack him, which he soon did, and drove him steadily until night closed the combat.

"General Brannan, having repulsed the enemy on our extreme left, was sent by General Thomas to support the centre, and at night took a position on the right of Reynolds.

"Colonel Wilder's brigade of mounted infantry occupied during the day a position on the Lafayette road, one mile north of Gordon's Mill, where he had taken position on the afternoon previous, when, contesting the ground, step by step, he had been driven by the enemy's advance from Alexander's Bridge.

"Minty's cavalry had been ordered from the same position about noon of the 19th to report to Major-General Granger at Rossville, which he did at daylight on the 20th, and was posted near Mission Mills to hold in check the enemy's cavalry on their right from the direction of Ringgold and Greysville.

"The reserve corps covered the approaches from the Chickamauga toward Rossville and the extension of our left.

"The roar of battle hushed in the darkness of night, and our troops, weary with a night of marching and a day of fighting, rested on their arms, having everywhere maintained their positions, developed the enemy, and gained thor-

ough command of the Rossville and Dry Valley roads to Chattanooga, the great objects of the battle of the 19th of September.

"The battle had secured us these objects. Our flanks covered the Dry Valley and Rossville roads, while our cavalry covered the Missionary Ridge and the valley of Chattanooga Creek, into which latter place our spare trains had been sent on Friday the 18th.

"We also had indubitable evidence of the presence of Longstreet's corps and Johnston's forces, by the capture of prisoners from each.

"And the fact that at the close of the day we had present but two brigades which had not been opportunely and squarely in action, opposed to superior numbers of the enemy, assured us that we were greatly outnumbered, and that the battle the next day must be for the safety of the army and the possession of Chattanooga.

"During the evening of the 19th the corps commanders were assembled at headquarters at Widow Glenn's house, the reports of the positions and condition of their command heard, and orders given for the disposition of the troops for the following day.

"Thomas' corps, with the troops which had reinforced him, was to maintain substantially his present line, with Brannan in reserve.

"McCook, maintaining his picket line till it was driven in, was to close on Thomas, his right refused, and covering the position at Widow Glenn's house, and Crittenden to have two divisions in reserve near the junction of McCook's and Thomas' lines, to be able to succor either.

"Plans having been explained, written orders given to each, and read in the presence of all, the wearied corps commanders returned about midnight to their commands.

"No firing took place during the night. The troops had assumed position when day dawned. The sky was red and sultry. The atmosphere and all the woods enveloped in fog and smoke. As soon as it was sufficiently light, I proceeded, accompanied by General Garfield and some aids, to inspect the lines.

"I found General McCook's right too far upon the crest, and General Davis in reserve on a wooded hillside west of and parallel to the Dry Valley road. I mentioned these defects to the General, desiring Davis' division to be brought down at once, moved more to the left, and placed in close column by division doubled in the centre in a sheltered position.

"I found General Crittenden's two divisions massed at the foot of the same hill, in the valley, and called his attention to it, desiring them to be moved farther to the left.

"General Thomas' troops were in the position indicated, except Palmer's line was to be closed more compactly.

"Satisfied that the enemy's first attempt would be on our left, orders were dispatched to General Negley to join General Thomas, and to General McCook to relieve Negley. Returning to the right, I found Negley had not moved,

nor were McCook's troops coming in to relieve him. Negley was preparing to withdraw his two brigades from the line. He was ordered to send his reserve brigade immediately and follow it with the others, only when relieved on the line of battle. General Crittenden, whose troops were nearest, was ordered to fill General Negley's place at once, and General McCook was notified of this order growing out of the necessity of promptly sending Negley to Thomas.

"Proceeding to the extreme right, I felt the disadvantages of its position, mentioned them to General McCook, and when I left him, enjoined on him that it was an indispensable necessity that we should keep closed to the left, and that we must do so at all hazards.

"On my return to the position of General Negley, I found to my astonishment that General Crittenden had not relieved him, Wood's division having reached the position of Negley's reserve. Peremptory orders were given to repair this, and Wood's troops moved into position, but this delay subsequently proved of serious consequence. The battle began on the extreme left at half-past eight A.M., and it was half-past nine o'clock when Negley was relieved.

"An aid arriving from General Thomas, requesting that Negley's remaining brigades be sent forward as speedily as possible to succor the left, General Crittenden was ordered to move Van Cleve with all possible dispatch to a position in the rear of Wood, who closed in on Brannan's right. General McCook was ordered to move up to close in on Wood, and fill an opening in the line.

"On my return from an examination of the ground in the rear of our left centre, I found to my surprise that General Van Cleve was posted in line of battle on a high ridge, much too far to the rear to give immediate support to the main line of battle, and General Davis in line of battle in rear of the ridge occupied by General Negley's reserve in the morning. General Crittenden was ordered to move Van Cleve at once down the hill to a better position, and General Davis was also ordered to close up the support of the line near Wood's right.

"The battle, in the mean while, roared with increasing fury and approached from the left to the centre. Two aids arrived successively within a few minutes from General Thomas, asking for reinforcements. The first was directed to say that General Negley had already gone and should be nearly at hand at that time, and that Brannan's reserve brigade was available. The other was directed to say that General Van Cleve would at once be sent to his assistance, which was accordingly done.

"A message from General Thomas soon followed, that he was heavily pressed, Captain Kellogg, A. D. C., the bearer, informing me at the same time that General Brannan was out of line, and General Reynolds' right was exposed. Orders were dispatched to General Wood to close upon Reynolds, and word was sent to General Thomas that he should be supported, even if it took

away the whole corps of Crittenden and McCook.

"General Davis was ordered to close on General Wood, and General McCook was advised of the state of affairs, and ordered to close his whole command to the left with all dispatch.

"General Wood, overlooking the direction to 'close up' on General Reynolds, supposed he was to support him, by withdrawing from the line and passing to the rear of General Brannan, who, it appears, was not out of line, but was in echelon and slightly in rear of Reynolds right. By this unfortunate mistake a gap was opened in the line of battle, of which the enemy took instant advantage. and striking Davis in flank and rear, as well as in front, threw his whole division in confusion.

"The same attack shattered the right brigade of Wood before it had cleared the space. The right of Brannan was thrown back, and two of his batteries, then in movement to a new position, were taken in flank and thrown back through two brigades of Van Cleve, then on the march to the left, throwing his division into confusion, from which it never recovered until it reached Rossville.

"While the enemy poured in through this breach, a long line, stretching beyond Sheridan's right, was advancing. Lerbold's brigade shared in the rout of Davis. Sheridan's other two brigades in movement toward the left, under orders to support Thomas, made a gallant charge against the enemy's advancing column but were thrown into disorder by the enemy's line advancing on their flank, and were likewise compelled to fall back, rallying on the Dry Valley road, and repulsing the enemy, but they were again compelled to yield to superior numbers, and retired westward of the Dry Valley, and by a circuitous route reached Rossville, from which they advanced by the Lafayette road to support our left.

"Thus Davis' two brigades, one of Van Cleve's, and Sheridan's entire division were driven from the field, and the remainder, consisting of the divisions of Baird, Johnson, Palmer, Reynolds, Brannan, and Wood, two of Negley's brigades, and one of Van Cleve's, were left to sustain the conflict against the whole power of the rebel army, which, desisting from pursuit on the right, concentrated their whole effort to destroy them.

"At the moment of the repulse of Davis' division, I was standing in rear of his right, waiting the completion of the closing of McCook's corps to the left. Seeing confusion among Van Cleve's troops, and the distance Davis' men were falling back, and the tide of battle surging toward us, the urgency for Sheridan's troops to intervene became imminent, and I hastened in person to the extreme right to direct Sheridan's movement on the flank of the advancing rebels. It was too late. The crowd of returning troops rolled back, and the enemy advanced. Giving the troops directions to rally behind the ridge west of the Dry Valley road, I passed down it, accompanied by General Garfield.

Major McMichael, and Major Bond, of my staff, and a few of the escort, under a shower of grape, canister, and musketry, for 200 or 300 yards, and attempted to rejoin General Thomas and the troops sent to his support, by passing to the rear of the broken portion of our line, but found the routed troops far toward the left, and hearing the enemy's advancing musketry and cheers, I became doubtful whether the left had held its ground, and started for Rossville. On consultation and further reflection, however, I determined to send General Garfield there, while I went to Chattanooga, to give orders for the security of the pontoon bridges at Battle Creek and Bridgeport, and to make preliminary disposition either to forward ammunition and supplies, should we hold our ground, or to withdraw the troops into good position.

"General Garfield dispatched me from Rossville that the left and centre still held its ground. General Granger had gone to its support. General Sheridan had rallied his division, and was advancing toward the same point, and General Davis was going up the Dry Valley road to our right. General Garfield proceeded to the front, remained there until the close of the fight, and dispatched me the triumphant defence our troops there made against the assaults of the enemy.

"The fight on the left, after two P.M., was that of the army. Never, in the history of this war at least, have troops fought with greater energy and determination. Bayonet charges, often heard of, but seldom seen, were repeatedly made by brigades and regiments, in several of our divisions.

"After the yielding and severance of the divisions of the right, the enemy bent all efforts to break the solid portion of our line. Under the pressure of the rebel onset, the flanks of the line were gradually retired until they occupied strong advantageous ground, giving to the whole a flattened crescent shape.

"From one to half-past three o'clock the unequal contest was sustained throughout our line. Then the enemy, in overpowering numbers, flowed around our right, held by General Brannan, and occupied a low gap in the ridge of our defensive position, which commanded our rear. The moment was critical. Twenty minutes more and our right would have been turned, our position taken in reverse, and probably the army routed.

"Fortunately Major-General Granger, whose troops had been posted to cover our left and rear, with the instinct of a true soldier and a general, hearing the roar of battle on our left, and being beyond the reach of orders from the general commanding, determined to move to its assistance. He advanced, and soon encountered the enemy's skirmishers, whom he disregarded, well knowing that, at that stage of the conflict, the battle was not there. Posting Colonel Daniel McCook's brigade to take care of anything in the vicinity and beyond the left of our line, he moved the remainder to the scene of action, reporting to General Thomas, who directed him to our suffering right.

"Arrived in sight, General Granger discovered at once the peril and the point of danger—the gap, and quick as thought he directed his advance brigade upon the enemy. General Steadman, taking a regimental color, led the column. Swift was the charge and terrible the conflict, but the enemy was broken. A thousand of our brave men, killed and wounded, paid for its possession; but we held the gap.

"Two divisions of Longstreet's corps confronted the position. Determined to take it, they successively came to the assault. A battery of six guns, placed in the gorge, poured death and slaughter into them. They charged to within a few yards of the pieces, but our grape and canister, and the leaden hail of our musketry, delivered in sparing but terrible volleys from cartridges taken, in many instances, from the boxes of their fallen companions, was too much even for Longstreet's men. About sunset they made their last charge, when our men being out of ammunition rushed on them with bayonet, and they gave way to return no more.

"The fury of the conflict was nearly as great on the fronts of Brannan and Wood, being less furious toward the left. But a column of the enemy had made its way to near our left and to the right of Colonel McCook's position. Apprised of this, General Thomas directed Reynolds to move his division from its position, and, pointing out the rebels, told him to go in there.

"To save time, the troops of Reynolds were faced by the rear rank, and moved with the bayonet at a double-quick, and with a shout walked over the rebels, capturing some 500. This closed the battle of the 20th. At nightfall the enemy had been repulsed along the whole line, and sunk into quietude, without attempting to renew the combat.

"General Thomas, considering the excessive labor of the troops, the scarcity of ammunition, food, and water, and having orders from the general commanding to use his discretion, determined to retire on Rossville, where they arrived in good order, took post before morning, receiving supplies from Chattanooga, and offering the enemy battle during all the next day, and repulsing his reconnoissance. On the night of the 21st we withdrew from Rossville, took firm possession of the objective point of our campaign—Chattanooga—and prepared to hold it.

"The operations of the cavalry during the battles on the 19th were very important. General Mitchell with three brigades covered our right flank along the line of the Chickamauga, above Crawfish Springs, against the combined efforts of the great body of the rebel cavalry, whose attempts to cross the stream they several times repulsed.

"Wilder fought dismounted near the centre, intervening two or three times with mountain howitzers and Spencer rifles very opportunely.

"On the 20th, Minty covered our left and rear at Missionary Mills, and later in the day on the Ringgold road.

"General Mitchell with his three

brigades covered our extreme right, and with Wilder, after its repulse, extended over Missionary Ridge, held the whole country to the base of Lookout Mountain, and all our trains, artillery, caissons, and spare wagons, sent there for greater safety, retiring from the field. He was joined by Post's brigade of Davis' division, which had not closed on the army, and was not in action.

"On the 21st the cavalry still covered our right as securely as before, fighting and holding at bay very superior numbers. The number of cavalry combats during the whole campaign have been numerous, and the successes as numerous, but the army could not have dispensed with those of the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first.

"Our artillery fired fewer shots than at Stone River, but with even greater effect. I cannot but congratulate the country on the rapid improvement evinced in this arm of the service. Our loss of pieces is, in part, attributed to the rough wooded ground in which we fought, and the want of experience in posting artillery, and partly to the unequal nature of the contest, our infantry being heavily outnumbered.

"We expended 2,650,000 rounds of musket-cartridges, 7,325 round of cannon ammunition. We lost 36 pieces of artillery, 20 caissons, 8,450 stand of small-arms, 5,834 infantry accoutrements, being 12,675 rounds less of artillery, and 650,000 rounds more of musketry than at Stone River.

"We took 2,003 prisoners. Of the missing, some 600 have escaped and come in, and probably 700 or 800 are among the killed and wounded. Of our wounded, about 2,500 fell into the hands of the enemy, swelling the balance of prisoners against us to about 5,500.

"It is proper to observe that the battle of Chickamauga was absolutely necessary to secure our concentration and cover Chattanooga. It was fought in a country covered with woods and undergrowth, and wholly unknown to us. Every division came into action opportunely, and fought squarely on the 19th. We were largely outnumbered, yet we foiled the enemy's flank movement on our left, and secured our own position on the road to Chattanooga. The battle of the 20th was fought with all the troops we had, and but for the extension and delay in closing in our right, we should probably have driven the enemy, whom we really beat on the field. I am fully satisfied that the enemy's loss largely exceeds ours."

Though the enemy boasted that they had taken "7,000 prisoners, 40 pieces of artillery, 15,000 stand of small-arms, 30 stand of colors, and driven their opponents back to their fortifications on the river," they soon discovered that their victory was fruitless. The battle they confessed to have been "the most extensive and desperate struggle of the Western campaign," but so far indecisive that "it was evident," they said, "that we must have another before Rosecrans is driven across the river." General Rosecrans, in the mean time, having retired within the intrenchments of Chattanooga, declared, "I cannot be

dislodged from my present position." Though protected against direct assault by the natural strength of the place and its fortifications, the communications with his base were so commanded by the enemy, who held Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, and so exposed to the raids of their cavalry, which could readily gain his rear, that the Union general became anxious for the sustenance of his troops.

The various attempts of the enemy to disturb the Unionists within the intrenchments of Chattanooga, by an artillery fire from the commanding position of Lookout Mountain, proved of little avail. Their efforts, however, to obstruct the navigation of the river and the land communications were so effectual, that the Union army could only obtain, and with the greatest difficulty, sufficient means to supply it with half rations.

The enemy's generals, Wheeler and Forrest, with a cavalry force, were especially enterprising. Getting into the rear of Rosecrans' army they captured McMinnville, an important dépôt, pounced upon and destroyed some heavily laden wagon trains, and cut off for awhile all regular communications with Nashville.

"The expected blow at our communications was struck by Wheeler and Forrest, with 2,500 picked men, on Friday morning last," wrote a correspondent, October 7, 1863. "Preliminary matters were, doubtless, arranged immediately after their appearance in front of Chattanooga, as soon as Bragg brought himself to believe that he had only half whipped Rosecrans, if, indeed, he could claim so much. A cavalry force, estimated at 5,000 men, crossed the Tennessee River on Tuesday night, October 1, at a ford near Decatur, and advanced to Washington, about sixty miles northeast from Chattanooga, where they encountered Brigadier-General Crook's command, inferior to them in numbers, and drove them down the river toward Chattanooga. Then, moving with speed across Walden's Ridge to Pikesville, the rebel column, it is believed, was divided, one portion going north toward McMinnville, the other down Sequatchie Valley to Anderson's, where they reached the road over which our supplies from the rear are hauled. Friday morning, the column under Wheeler and Forrest in person, intercepted a train of 400 wagons and commenced the work of destruction. The scene of the rascally exploit was at the farm of one Anderson, situated on the Government road from Bridgeport to Chattanooga, in the valley of Sequatchie River, midway between the two towns. Anderson, although a consummate rebel rascal (as is believed), has a very pretty and fertile farm, in a very romantic spot. High mountains overshadow his valley farm, and before the war he must have been a happy husbandman. He could be approached from the north only with ease—that is, down the valley along the foot of Walden's Ridge. Toward Chattanooga (twenty-two miles distant) the road dived into the woods at the foot of Walden's Ridge, a short distance from

Anderson's house, and wound its tortuous way two miles up the side of the mountain—a laborious and often perilous route—inasmuch as there are frightful precipices and dark ravines on either hand. In the captured train were wagons which had been lying at Anderson's two days, awaiting their proper turn in the grand struggle for the summit of the ridge. Thirty-five teams, recent arrivals in the valley, had gone eight miles up the Sequatchie for room and forage, and these bore the first brunt of the rebel attack at sunrise. They were an easy prey, yet several mule drivers managed to escape on their saddle mules and bring the tidings of the rebel advance to the camp at Anderson's. Hurried preparations were made to resist an attack, and couriers were sent back toward Jasper for assistance. At seven o'clock the rebel line of battle appeared from the north, stretching nearly across the valley, and with the usual juvenile screech a furious charge was made. Detachments of infantry, in all not more than 600 or 700 men, serving as train guard, could make no effectual resistance to a force of 2,500 mounted demons gloating over the prospect of plunder and wild with fierce delight in murder and robbery. A stampede commenced. Excited and terrified teamsters drove frantically for the passage of the mountain, where, presently, there was an inextricable 'snarl' of wagons, mules, and yelling rebels. Many of the muleteers were fortunate enough to cut out a saddle mule at this juncture and escape by forsaking the beaten path altogether. Others were ruthlessly shot in their saddles. The first seventy-five wagons in the train were loaded with ammunition, and nearly all of them had gained the mountain road. They were fired by the rebels commencing at the head of the train, and the rifling of the commissary, sutler, forage, and baggage wagons was carried on amid the din of exploding shells and small ammunition. The wagons were made a complete wreck, although a small portion of their contents will be saved. The led mules of the teams were cut loose from the wagons as fast as possible by the rebels and driven off with their hampers, but the wheel animals were either shot or suffered to struggle before the burning wagons, till death ended their torture by the flames. I have been over the ground since the outrage, and have seen the carcasses of more than 600 of these dumb beasts roasted alive or riddled with bullets. The sickening stench of burnt mules pervades the whole atmosphere of that valley.

"There were many wagon-loads of sutler goods in the train, the spoil of which afforded the marauders particular delight. Canned fruits, tobacco, cheese, cigars, and thousands of little 'knick-knacks' which would have realized the 'little one per cent.' went rapidly at less than cost. Rebel troopers rode away with their horses festooned with boots, pickled oysters in cans, suspenders, shirts, and so on, to the end of a good assortment. Not a few encased themselves in three or four distinct strata of

clothing throughout, to economize transportation. Commissary whisky enough to stupefy the entire force was carried away in rebel canteens, and aided some of the captives to escape from their guards that night.

"The torch was carried down the line of wagons till 230 were consumed, a distance of three miles toward Bridgeport, when the rebels, fearing the advance of Union cavalry, beat a retreat up the valley."

A Union force of mounted men, under General Crook, went in pursuit of Wheeler, and overtaking him at Shelbyville, to which he had set fire, attacked and routed him. Crook gave this account of his operations in his report of October 10th:

"I have the honor," he says, "to inform you that I have had three fights with the enemy since I left the Sequatchie Valley, whipping him very badly each time. The last battle ended at Farmington, Tenn., where I fought Wheeler's entire command with only two brigades. I cut his force in two, scattering a large portion of it, capturing 4 pieces of artillery, 1,000 stand of cavalry arms, and 240 prisoners, besides the wounded.

"As I pushed on after the enemy immediately, I have not been able to ascertain the number of their killed and wounded; but it was very heavy. They were scattered over a distance of fifteen miles from this, and their retreat was a perfect rout, their men deserting and straggling over the country. I pursued them with great vigor; but their horses being better than mine, I was only able to come up with a couple of regiments at Sugar Creek, left to detain me. I made a charge on them, capturing some fifty of them, and scattering the remainder in the mountains. When within eight miles of the river I struck the gallop; but when I reached the river, I found they had all crossed at a ford some three miles above Samp's Ferry, where they commenced to cross twelve abreast.

"I never saw troops more demoralized than they were. I am satisfied their loss in this raid was not less than 2,000. No fears need be entertained of their making another raid soon."

While the Army of the Cumberland was striving to hold Chattanooga, with the enemy confronting it and making desperate efforts by cavalry raids in its rear to cut off its communications and prevent it from being supplied or reinforced, great efforts were being made to secure its safety. The Government acted with promptitude. Large reinforcements were ordered to hasten to Chattanooga; and to give unity to military operations in the West, the Departments of the Ohio, of the Cumberland, and of the Tennessee were combined into the "Military Division of the Mississippi," and placed under the command of General Grant, the conqueror of Vicksburg. Rosecrans was, at the same time, relieved, and General Thomas, who had arrested the ruin threatened at Chickamauga, was appointed his successor in the command of the Army of the Cumberland.

Oct. 16.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Army of the Cumberland in its Intrenchments at Chattanooga.—Inquietude in regard to its Communications.—Relief at hand.—Marches of Hooker and Sherman.—The Army of the Cumberland reinforced.—New Communications opened.—Hooker's Movement and Engagement with the Enemy described.—Enemy's Version.—The Enemy confess themselves worsted.—General Grant prepared to advance.—General Bragg detaches a Force under Longstreet against Knoxville.—The Movements of Burnside.—Grant attacks Bragg.—Bragg beaten and driven from his Position.—Disappointment of the Army vented upon their General.—Clamor against Bragg.—Bragg removed.—Johnston appointed his Successor.

At the moment General Rosecrans was relieved, and General Thomas assigned to the command, the Army of the Cumberland was, though securely intrenched within the works and fastnesses of Chattanooga, by no means free from inquietude in regard to its communications.

1863.

"Our position," says a campaigner,* "was just about the town of Chattanooga, which is situated in the bend of a river. Both our flanks rested upon its banks—our right at Chattanooga Creek, near the base of Lookout Mountain, our left at Citico Creek. Our picket lines followed these two creeks for a distance, and then across the low ground between, which lies also between the foot of Missionary Ridge and the higher grounds about Chattanooga, upon which our works were constructed. These works were connected with each other by a strong line of rifle-pits, commenced on the night the troops arrived here from Chickamauga, and afterward strengthened. Behind this line, and around the town, the greater portion of the Army of the Cumberland was bivouacked—not encamped, for very little camp equipage was to be had. This small area comprised all that we held south of the Tennessee River. The north side we held entire, with troops stationed to guard the fords above. Our base was at Stevenson and Bridgeport, and supplied from dépôts at Louisville and Nashville by a single line of badly-worn railroad. The south side of the river, from Lookout Mountain to Bridgeport, was held by the enemy, and the river road on the north side was rendered impassable by rebel sharpshooters stationed on the opposite bank, thus forcing us to bring all supplies over a distance of fifty or sixty miles, taking the road from Bridgeport up the Sequatchie Valley, over the mountains, into the 'Anderson' road, thence to Chattanooga, crossing the Tennessee by means of pontoon bridges, constructed here from such materials as the forests and this dilapidated town could afford.

"Rains had rendered the valleys a bottomless mass of mud, and the mountain roads so many mountain torrents.

* N. Y. *World*.

The line of supply was well marked by the remains of wagons, mules, horses, etc., for the entire distance. Add to this that Wheeler, by his 'raid,' destroyed several hundred wagons loaded with supplies, and also cut our single line of railroad."

Relief, however, was at hand. General Hooker having been placed in command of the eleventh and a portion of the twelfth corps, detached from the Army of the Potomac, was hastening from the east, and General Sherman, with a large force, from the west, to reestablish the communications of the Army of the Cumberland and increase its strength. Notwithstanding the efforts of the enemy to obstruct their march, both Hooker and Sherman succeeded in reaching the point proposed, and their services were immediately put into requisition by General Grant, who, on arriving at Chattanooga, determined at once to open a river and a shorter land communication with his base. To accomplish this, "a plan," says the writer before quoted, "was proposed by the chief engineer of the army, as follows: The boats for a new bridge over the river here were nearly completed. He proposed to fill these boats with armed men, the other bridge equipage to be sent by land; float them down in the night past Lookout to a point known as Brown's Ferry, and effect a landing. Then it was proposed to occupy, on the enemy's side of the river, two hills, which would form a complete *tête-de-pont*. Then recross the boats, and with them ferry over more troops to occupy, and then throw over the bridge. Hooker was to move at the same time up the valley, crossing the river at Bridgeport, and unite with the forces landed from here, thus opening the river, the road to Kelly's Ferry, and the direct road to Bridgeport, as well as giving us the river road on the north side of the river around its bend. Generals Grant, Thomas, Smith, and Brannan went to the point proposed about the 23d of October, and the move was determined upon and executed on the night of the 26th of October.

"Everything proved remarkably successful. The surprise was complete; the landing effected; the hills gained with but a slight skirmish with the pickets which were at the point of landing, and a very feeble one from a brigade of infantry and regiment of cavalry stationed in the valley beyond the hills forming the *tête-de-pont*. The majority of this force made the best of its way to Lookout Mountain; but a portion was captured. The bridge, 900 feet long, was thrown in about five hours, and communication established with the south from the north side of the river. The distance between this bridge and the one at Chattanooga was one and a half miles by land, while the distance by water was about eight. Hooker moved up the next day and joined with the eleventh corps. A portion of the twelfth corps was left at Wauhatchie. Longstreet and Bragg, from the top of Lookout Mountain, looked down discomforted on all this, and resolved to attack Hooker, thus

hoping to frustrate the end to be gained, which was our holding of the two first-named roads. An attack ensued the following night, which resulted in the complete thwarting of the enemy's design and the forcing him to take up that side of Lookout Creek next the mountain; Hooker remained on this ground until the battle of Mission Ridge, thus covering the line of communication.

"This movement saved the army from starvation. For although our troops could repel any direct assault, they might well have hesitated to make a flank movement—and so leave Chattanooga—from military considerations, aside from the fact that this point could not be given up for any reason without yielding all of Tennessee and Kentucky, and falling back to the line of the Ohio River, which of course could not be thought of. In fact, Chattanooga must be held at all hazards.

"Supplies now began to come through. A steamboat had been built at Bridgeport; another, captured here, had been repaired, and was capable of carrying 200,000 rations. It ran the blockade of Lookout Mountain (the point of which between Chattanooga and Lookout creeks, the enemy still held by pickets and infantry force, while their batteries on top commanded some distance each way), arriving safely at Brown's Ferry. It was passed through the pontoon bridge ground until the battle of Missionary Ridge, thus covering the line of communications, and in connection with the other boat ran regularly to Kelly's Ferry from Bridgeport, thus giving us about ten miles of wagon transportation over good roads instead of sixty over the worst of roads. An interior line of defence sufficient to hold this place with a small force was now constructed, and, meanwhile, plans were matured for the accomplishing of the main object of the campaign here, which was the clearing of East Tennessee."

General Grant, having securely re-established his communications, and plentifully supplied and largely reinforced his troops, determined upon an advance. General Bragg, in the mean time, apparently confiding in the strength of his position, or not fully appreciating the enterprise and resources of his antagonist, ventured to weaken his army by detaching a force of 20,000 men or more under Longstreet, on an expedition against Knoxville, then held by General Burnside. The movements of Burnside were so directed as to draw Longstreet as far away as possible, and to involve him in the delays of a siege. The forces of the enemy were thus so widely separated, that the possibility of conveniently reuniting them was prevented. Grant now advanced to attack Bragg, weakened in numbers but strong in position.

"The enemy in our front," wrote the correspondent* already quoted, "held 'Missionary Ridge,' the Chattanooga Valley, and Lookout Mountain, his left resting on the latter, his right on the ridge near the tunnel on the Knoxville and Chattanooga Railroad, while his pickets occupied the south bank of the Tennessee River for miles above us.

* N. Y. *World*.

His supplies came over the railroad from Atlanta and Dalton. His heaviest force was in the valley (Chattanooga) between Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, and on that slope of Lookout Mountain, thus placing it very nearly on his centre. The ridge itself was heavily posted with artillery.

"In this condition of things, the plan of attack was as follows: A division of Sherman's troops was to be sent to Trenton, threatening the enemy's left flank. Under cover of this movement, Sherman's main body was to march up by Hooker's lines, crossing the Brown's Ferry bridge mostly at night, thence into a concealed camp on the north side of the river, opposite South Chickamauga Creek. One division was directed to encamp on the North Chickamauga; about 120 pontoons were to be taken, under cover of hills and woods, and launched into the North Chickamauga; these were to be filled with men, to be floated out into the Tennessee and down it until opposite the South Chickamauga (about three miles below); to effect a landing on that bank, throw up works; cross the remainder of the command in the same boats, or a portion of them; to bridge the Tennessee and South Chickamauga; and then cross the artillery and move at once to seize a foot-hold on the ridge, taking up a line facing the enemy's right flank near the tunnel. Howard's corps, of Hooker's command, was to cross into the town by the two bridges, and fill the gap between Sherman's proposed position and the main body of Thomas' army. Hooker, with the remainder of his force and the division sent to Trenton, which should return, was to carry the point of Lookout, and then threaten the enemy's left, which would thus be thrown back, being forced to evacuate the mountain and take position on the ridge, and then our troops being on both flanks, and upon one flank threatening the enemy's communications, to advance the whole line, or turn the other flank, as the chances might dictate. Then to follow as far as possible with a part of our force, while Sherman destroyed the railroad from Cleveland to Dalton, and then pushed on to relieve Knoxville, and capture, disperse, or drive off Longstreet from before it. Such were the main points of the plan proposed, matured, and rounded into definite form by General Grant and his coadjutors.

"General Smith, chief engineer, took personal charge of the preliminaries necessary for the move on our left flank. The pontoons were put in the Chickamauga; the men encamped; the bridge trains ready to debouch at the proper point; and so completely was everything arranged, that no confusion whatever occurred. Artillery was posted on our side of the river to cross-fire in front of the point of landing, and force the same, if necessary.

"On Monday, November 24, an armed reconnoissance was made by General Thomas on his left, which developed the enemy's lines and gave to us a line of battle in advance of our picket lines, at the same time allowing the eleventh corps (Howard's) to come into the posi-

tion assigned it. At midnight the men entered the pontoons, floated down, and effected a landing. At daylight the pontoniers were at work, and at noon the Tennessee River was bridged by a pontoon bridge 1,400 feet long, and the rest of Sherman's troops crossed and his artillery was over. He then pushed out to the ridge and took up his position, and Howard communicated with him, his force having marched there. Hooker's forces formed a line of battle running up and down the side of the mountain and swept around the point, and at night the same day (the 24th) held what he had gained, and communicated with Thomas' right. That night the enemy evacuated Lookout Mountain top and fell back from his front to the ridge. Thus, on Tuesday night, Bragg was threatened on both flanks, and with heavy line of battle in his front. It was difficult for him to determine what our move would be. His railroad must be held at all hazards from Sherman. The amount of Hooker's force he could distinctly see. He reinforced his right very heavily, leaving enough to hold his left and front, as he supposed. On the 25th, Wednesday, Sherman commenced to move. Two hills were taken. From the third he was several times repulsed, and he moved around more force, as if to get in rear of Bragg's line, and the latter then commenced massing against him. The critical moment had now arrived. Hooker moved his columns along the Rossville road toward Bragg's left, and this drew still more force from the latter's centre.

"General Grant now ordered General Thomas to advance and take the rifle-pits at the base of the mountain. The Army of the Cumberland, remembering Chickamauga, and impatient by reason of remaining spectators of the operations of Generals Sherman and Hooker for two days, went forward with a will; drove the enemy in disorder from his lower works; and went on, heedless of the heavy artillery and musketry hurled against them from the crest of the ridge. Half way up they seemed to falter, but it was only for breath. Without returning a shot they kept on, crowned the ridge, captured thirty-five out of the forty-four pieces of artillery on the hill, turned some of them against the masses in Sherman's front, and the routed line fell back, while the rest of Bragg's army, including Bragg and Hardee, fled, routed and broken, toward Ringgold. Thousands of prisoners and small-arms and quantities of munitions of war fell into our hands. Hooker took up the pursuit, and that night Missionary Ridge blazed resplendent with our own camp fires. The next day Hooker pushed the enemy to Ringgold, where he made a show of stubborn resistance, but was forced to retire. Sherman and Howard pushed for the above-mentioned railroad, which they smashed completely. Thus Bragg was badly whipped, and also cut off from Longstreet. We captured in all about 60 pieces of artillery and 10,000 prisoners, etc., etc. Bragg lost heavily by deserters, who, coming from Kentucky and Tennessee originally, were tired of the war, and not wishing to be sent



back as exchanged prisoners of war, kept away from our lines and got home as best they could.

"* * * The Army of the Cumberland fell back to its old camp, maintaining, of course, sufficient force in front to keep Bragg's crippled army from returning. We could not follow him, because we had been so long at the starving point, that animals enough could not be found in the department to haul our artillery, to say nothing of supplies."

The Confederates were greatly vexed by their defeat, and vented their rage upon the unfortunate general who commanded their army.

"Despondency and gloom," wrote the editor of the Richmond *Enquirer*, November 27, "are fast settling down upon the people, who see their cause sacrificed by incompetent officers, without even the hope of any change. The President, we know, esteems General Bragg, and reposes confidence in his military capacity; but, unfortunately, the people do not; and unless they can see some prospect of a speedy change, they may despair of the cause, and the mountain region of East Tennessee, Western North Carolina, Northern Georgia, and Northern Alabama submit to the despotism that incompetency has brought upon them. For the sake of encouraging popular hope, reanimating the popular heart, and keeping alive the fire of patriotism, we again implore the President to yield to the well-ascertained public desire, now demonstrated by another disaster, to be properly founded, and dismiss incompetency from all commands.

"General Bragg knows and feels the complaints that are public against him, and this fact causes him to be over-cautious—the responsibility oppresses his military capacity, and no man, weighed down as he is, can have that command of all his faculties so necessary in the trying ordeal of battle. We feel for him the greatest sympathy, we know him to be patriotic, and earnestly struggling to do his best; but circumstances, which perhaps he could not control, have operated to impair his usefulness. Why further compromise the cause and endanger the Gulf States by retaining him in command? By consulting the public wish, now almost an open outcry, the President will start the struggle for liberty with new impetus, and every man, as one relieved from an oppressive burden, will start fresh and buoyant in the contest that is yet before us."

Jefferson Davis was forced at last by public clamor to sacrifice his favorite officer to the popular cry for a victim. General Bragg was accordingly relieved of the command of the "Army of the Tennessee," and General Joe Johnston appointed his successor.

CHAPTER XXIV.

General Burnside in Kentucky preparing to advance into Tennessee.—He marches.—The Disposition of his Force.—He reaches Tennessee.—The Concentration of his Troops.—Advance to Cumberland Gap.—The Enemy summoned to surrender, but refuse.—Arrival of Burnside.—A second Summons.—The Enemy yield.—The Enemy vexed at their Commander.—Explanation of his Conduct.—A Small Disaster at Tilford.—Burnside establishes his Headquarters at Knoxville.—Attack upon Wolford near Philadelphia.—Wolford loses his Battery.—Wolford is reinforced, and turns upon the Enemy.—Wolford recovers his Battery. The appearance of Longstreet in East Tennessee.—Longstreet captures two Union Outposts.—Advance of Enemy's Cavalry under Wheeler.—Capture of Maysville.—The Union Forces driven into Knoxville.—Advance of main body of the Enemy.—Pursuit of Burnside.—Burnside checks the Enemy at Campbell Station. Burnside retires to Knoxville.—Siege of Knoxville.—General Grant detaches General Sherman to the relief of Burnside.—The siege of Knoxville raised.—Retreat of Longstreet.—Pursuit.—Foster succeeds Burnside.—National Thanksgiving.—Longstreet turns upon his Pursuers.

GENERAL BURNSIDE was in Kentucky, as described in a previous chapter, making preparations for a march into East Tennessee, in order to co-operate with Rosecrans in wresting that State from the enemy. On the 16th of August he left Camp Nelson, on the Kentucky River, with a large force divided into three columns. One commanded by himself marched *via* Loudon; a second, consisting of the twenty-third army corps, under Major-General Hartsuff, *via* Somerset; and a third, under General Julius White, *via* Jamestown.

1863.

On the 20th of August, Burnside, marching by the way of Danville and Stanford, reached Crab Orchard. On the 22d he marched to Mount Vernon, a distance of twenty miles, on the following day to Loudon, twenty-five miles, and on the 24th arrived at Williamsburg, thirty miles farther south. On the 26th he was joined by General Hartsuff at Chetwood, twenty-eight miles from Williamsburg.

"The enemy being reported near, General Burnside directed a cavalry regiment to reconnoitre toward Jackboro'. It met a superior rebel force and routed it, capturing forty-five prisoners. From Chetwood the march was continued across New River up the Cumberland Mountains to Montgomery, situated forty-two miles distant, on the summit of the range, where the column arrived on the 30th. Here it was met by General White's command. Colonel Burt having been sent forward with a cavalry brigade, reported that General Pegram, with 2,000 cavalry, held a very strong position at the gap near Emory Iron Works, leading into Clinch River valley. Additional troops were sent forward, with the expectation of a battle on the morning of the 31st; but with daylight it was discovered that the enemy had fled.

"With the possession of this gap, the road to Knoxville was open. Having reached Emory River, seventeen miles

from Montgomery, General Burnside ordered Colonel Foster, with a mounted brigade, to make a forced march over a direct road to Knoxville, while he advanced with the main force to Kingston, six miles farther. Being anxious to save the most extensive and important bridge over the Tennessee, at Loudon, twenty miles from Kingston, General Burnside directed General Shackelford, with his cavalry brigade, to push on to it as rapidly as possible. Upon arriving within three miles of the bridge, a regiment was deployed as skirmishers, and quickly drove the enemy beyond their rifle-pits covering the approaches to the bridge. They retreated hastily across it, closing the gate behind them. The entire structure being prepared with turpentine and shavings for immediate destruction, it was wrapped in flames in a few seconds. General Shackelford, finding it impossible to save it, moved off toward Knoxville, after driving the enemy from the opposite bank with shells and musketry.

"Colonel Foster reached Knoxville on the 1st of September, and General Burnside left Kingston on the 2d, and entered Knoxville on the 3d. Both received perfect ovations upon their entrance. The town was decorated with flags hidden for more than two years, and cheering people lined the streets. A large meeting was held on a subsequent day, and addressed by General Burnside and several leading citizens. The latter congratulated themselves in the most enthusiastic terms upon their deliverance from rebel oppression.

"On the day after Colonel Foster's arrival, a procession of women, whose husbands and relatives were mostly in the Union service, came in from the country. It was nearly a mile long. All along the route of our troops the same unmistakable evidence of almost universal loyalty on the part of the population became manifest. Young men seemed to be mostly absent, but old ones and women by the hundred received our troops with flags and refreshments on the roads.

"A great number of men who had lived in hiding-places for months came forth and joined their deliverers. Very valuable machine shops and foundries belonging to the rebel government were found in Knoxville. Also 2,000,000 pounds of salt, a large quantity of wheat (the fruits of the tithe tax), and many thousand hogs. Three locomotives and a number of cars were likewise captured. General Burnside took for his headquarters the residence of the fugitive rebel leader."*

Before leaving Kentucky, Burnside had ordered Colonel De Courcey, with a brigade of infantry, to march upon Cumberland Gap, by the direct route through Loudon and Barboursville. Having learned, while at Knoxville, that the enemy were in force at the Gap, Burnside dispatched, on the 5th of September, General Shackelford with his brigade to seize all the avenues of escape to the south. On the 7th, he himself followed with a force of infantry and cavalry, and making a forced march

* N. Y. *Herald*.

of sixty miles, arrived within four miles of the Gap on the 9th of September. De Courcey and Shackelford, who had preceded him, had already demanded of General Frazier, the rebel commander, a surrender, but were refused. Burnside, on his arrival, renewing the demand, he was answered, that it would be granted on the condition that his officers and men should be parolled. Burnside insisting, however, upon an unconditional surrender, General Frazier at last yielded.

"A force composed of two regiments of infantry and two regiments of cavalry," said General Burnside in his dispatch, Cumberland Gap, September 9th, "I brought to this place in person, to reinforce General Shackelford, who was here with two regiments of cavalry, Colonel De Courcey being on the Kentucky side with a brigade which I started in that direction before leaving Kentucky. The infantry brigade marched from Knoxville to this place—sixty miles—in fifty-two hours. The garrison here, consisting of over 2,000 men and fourteen pieces of artillery, made an unconditional surrender at three P.M. today without a fight."

The enemy, humiliated by the easy capture of Cumberland Gap, strove to extenuate the disgrace of the troops by insinuations of treason against the general in command.

A disaster to a small detachment was thus far the only exception to the general success of Burnside's campaign. Lieutenant-Colonel Hayes, with 300 men of the One Hundredth Ohio Regiment, was attacked, about the middle of September, at Tilford, by a superior force, under General Jackson, and after a spirited resistance for two hours, was obliged to surrender.

General Burnside, establishing his headquarters at Knoxville, sent out detachments from his army against the enemy still lingering in East Tennessee.

"On the 8th instant," wrote the General in a dispatch dated Knoxville, Tenn., October 17, 1863, "the enemy held down as far as Blue Springs, and a cavalry brigade of ours held Bull's Gap, supported by a small body of infantry at Morristown.

"I accordingly dispatched a brigade of cavalry around by Rodgersville to intercept the enemy's retreat, and with a considerable body of infantry and artillery moved to Bull's Gap.

"On Saturday, the 10th instant, I advanced a cavalry brigade to Blue Springs, where they found the enemy strongly posted and offering a stubborn resistance.

"Skirmishing continued until about five o'clock in the morning, when I sent in a division of infantry, who charged and cleared the woods, gallantly driving the enemy in confusion until dark.

"During the night the enemy retreated precipitately, leaving their dead on the field, and most of their wounded in our hands.

"We pursued in the morning with infantry and cavalry. The intercepting force met them at Henderson's; but, owing to some misunderstanding, withdrew, and allowed them to pass with only a slight check.

"The pursuit was continued until evening, when I withdrew most of my infantry and returned to this place.

"General Shackelford, with his cavalry and a brigade of infantry, continued the pursuit, the enemy making a stand at every important position ; but he has driven them completely from the State, captured the fort at Zollicoffer, and burned the long railroad bridge at that place and five other bridges, and destroyed three locomotives and about thirty-five cars.

"His advance is now ten miles beyond Bristol.

"Our loss at Blue Springs and in the pursuit was about 100 killed and wounded.

"The enemy's loss was considerably greater.

"About 150 prisoners were taken."

The enemy having turned upon Colonel Wolford, near Philadelphia, Tenn., inflicted a loss upon him of 100 men, and captured his battery of mountain howitzers, with a portion of his wagon train. On the next day, Wolford, being reinforced, renewed the fight and recovered his wagon train, but lost 300 men in the encounter. The enemy met with about the same loss.

Oct. 21.

While Burnside was extending his conquests in the northeastern part of Tennessee, a large force of the enemy, estimated at 30,000, under Longstreet, appeared on the ground to dispute with him the possession of that portion of the State. Two of the Union outposts near Rodgersville, about sixty miles from Knoxville, were surrounded, on the 6th of November, by the enemy's cavalry, under Wheeler, and 500 men, four pieces of artillery, and thirty-six wagons captured.

After this success, Wheeler advanced, and on the 15th of November captured at Maysville 300 men, and drove the rest of the Union force into Knoxville. General Saunders sallied out with his cavalry brigade to give the enemy battle, but finding them too strong, retired to a position three miles from Knoxville, which, however, he was obliged to abandon. The rebels now attacked Rocksville, and forced the Union outposts at that place also to take refuge in Knoxville.

In the mean time, the main body of the enemy, under Longstreet, Cheatham, and Pegram, advanced by the way of Loudon and Lenoir, causing Burnside to fall back, which he did in good order, vigorously resisting the pressure of his pursuers. On the 15th of November there was a series of brisk skirmishes, and on the 16th, the enemy were kept for the whole day in check at Campbell Station. The loss of our troops was about 250 ; that of the enemy not less, probably more. Toward evening of the 16th of November, Burnside retreated to Knoxville, and early on the next morning (November 17th), formed his line of battle around the city. The enemy making their appearance at noon on the Lenoir road, heavy skirmishing immediately began. Both antagonists held their ground firmly, and next morning renewed the fighting, in the course of which the Union General Saunders fell

mortally wounded. For the two successive days, the 19th and 20th, the struggle was continued, but with greater severity, as the artillery on both sides was brought into service.

The enemy had gained considerable advantage, but General Burnside, secure in the strength of the position and expecting reinforcements, had no fears of being driven from Knoxville.

While Longstreet was laying siege to Knoxville, General Grant, gaining his victory over Bragg, was enabled to dispatch General Sherman with a large force to its relief. The latter, with his own corps, reinforced by the eleventh and a part of the fourth, pushed on for Knoxville. His original plan was to pass through Cleveland and Athens to Kingston, but finding that Longstreet had anticipated this movement, General Sherman marched to Loudon. The eleventh corps crossed the Little Tennessee River at Davis' Ford, on a bridge of captured wagons, and the fourth, together with Sherman's own corps, passed over at Morganstown on a trestle bridge, built of materials at hand. The eleventh corps marched in a single day to Louisville, a distance of thirty-one miles. The rest of the troops proceeded to Maysville and its neighborhood, on the south side of the Holston River. The advance cavalry of Sherman hurried forward to Knoxville, where it arrived during the night of the 3d of December.

Longstreet, finding himself flanked, **Dec. 4.** abandoned the siege of Knoxville, and retreated toward Rutledge. Before the arrival of Sherman, however, he had made a desperate night assault upon Knoxville, but was repulsed with heavy loss.

"Between eleven and twelve o'clock at night," wrote one who was present,* "a general attack was made upon our whole line, from our position on the extreme left, south of the river, to the right of our front, north of the railroad. The moon was shining brightly at the time, and betrayed the rebels in strong line of battle. Heavy skirmishing ensued, lasting until near daylight, and resulting in the falling back of our pickets. Our batteries opened upon the rebels, and a desultory cannonade was kept up throughout the night, the fire of our guns being directed by the flashes of their rifles and the line of their bivouac fires in the rear. That the long looked for attack was coming was evident, but from what particular point was a matter of doubt. The general advance upon our skirmish line, though intended to disconcert our plans of defence and distract attention, had the effect of putting every man at his post, eagerly watching for the point from which the enemy would come in force.

"The long, anxious watch, rendered doubly severe by the crisp, frosty atmosphere, came to a termination with daylight and the appearance of the foe. As night lifted her curtain from the landscape, and in the dull dawn of the morning, they were seen advancing in three lines of battle in a direction oblique to the Loudon road and toward Fort Sanders. Quickly to his place

* N. Y. *Herald.*

sprang every man in the work, and in less time than it requires to tell it, our artillery had opened upon them with shell and canister. At the same time a battery which the rebels had constructed upon a high hill across the river was suddenly unmasked, and opened a flanking fire upon the rifle-pits and upon the fort, which, however, was amply protected by dense wings of earth and bales of cotton. A few of their shells burst in the cotton and set it on fire, but beyond the wounding of one or two men, did no further damage. Their batteries in front and on the other flank of the fort also took part in the cannonade, but with the same ineffectuality. The battle —for it could now be called so—became deafening. The roar of the artillery on all sides, the bursting of shells and the rattle of musketry were grandly commingled. Despite the storm of canister which howled around them, on came the rebel host, with brigade front, slowly pouring over the railroad cut, and anon quickening in motion as the ground presented less obstruction, until at last, emerging from the nearest timber, they broke into the charge.

"Across the open space which intervened between the timber and the fort, and which was crossed with logs and the stumps of felled trees, they now came at impetuous speed. The first check was given when the foremost of the column stumbled over a line of telegraph wires, which had been stretched through the low brush and coiled from stump to stump out of ordinary view. As they halted here momentarily, one falling over another, until the cause of the obstruction was discovered, our batteries in the fort had full play, and Benjamin, Buckley, and Roemer poured in their rounds thick and fast, while the infantry of Ferrero kept up a galling fire with musketry. The embrasures of the fort and the whole line of the parapet blazed at once with the discharges. Still the rebels pressed on, their battle-flags of red with cross of blue floating defiantly above their heads, over the serried line of bayonets. Rallying over the temporary obstruction, leaping the stumps and logs, and pushing through the brush, they were within pistol-shot of the fort. Our men, during the last few minutes, had received orders to reserve their fire until each could single out his target at close range, while Benjamin treble-shotted his guns and Buckley loaded with his terrible canister.

"And now together all launched forth. The effect was terrific. Broken in their line, a few of the more desperate of the rebels sprang into the ditch, clambered up the glacis, and almost side by side with the flag of the Union planted the banner of treason. But, confused, panic-stricken, the rear of the column gave way and retreated down the hill; others, again, afraid to advance or retire in the face of what was certain death, and appalled by the heaps of slain which strewed the field, threw down their arms and surrendered. The most desperate—and a gallant band they were—remained fast by their officers, who valiantly kept the lead to the very

fort itself, and following them as they jumped into the ditch, attempted to scale the glacis, each to receive his death-wound as his head appeared above the parapet. A captain, in words which would sound oddly at so thrilling a moment, and in language more forcible than polite, demanded the surrender of the garrison as he pushed his body through one of the embrasures and faced the very muzzle of the cannon. His answer was the discharge of the piece, when, rent limb from limb, his mangled corpse, or what was left of it, was hurled outward into the air. His comrades, still lurking around the corners of the trench, essaying by every means to get within the work, were now subjected to the fire of hand-grenades, which Lieutenant Benjamin extemporized by cutting short his fuses, which he lit, when he tossed the shells over the edge of the parapet. Baffled at every point, and finding themselves unsupported by the rest of the charging column, they surrendered, and were hauled within the fort, though not until the trench was piled with the dead and dying.

"As the main body gave way and fell back, the carnage among them was fearful. Their disordered line—if indeed line it could be called, where every man seemed to act upon the motto, '*sauve qui peut*,' and slunk behind each stump and log, as volley after volley rolled from the infantry, and gun after gun belched out from the fort—at length disappeared within the timber, while a wild huzza went up from our victorious boys. A few straggling shots around the angle of the fort and in the trenches mingled with the heart-rending moans of the wounded and dying, and the fight was over. The grand assault had been made and repulsed; the storming party which had advanced so lately in all the pride and confidence of veterans had met an enemy their equal at least, and was now a scattered mob in the woods beyond. In short, Knoxville was still ours.

"And now, how sudden the transformation of man from fiend to angel! The agonizing cries of the wounded and dying called out the better feelings of humanity, and on the very spot where an hour before the combatants were struggling in deadly strife, they now commingled in the offices of charity. The wounded in the trenches were first relieved by Captain Swinscoe and Lieutenant Benjamin, who went to their immediate assistance with canteens of water and liquor. The trench presented a ghastly sight, with the mangled bodies and pools of blood, while the field beyond was strewn with the same terrible objects. Colonels Bowen and Babcock, of General Potter's staff, soon after made their appearance with a formal flag of truce, and passed out upon the Kingston or Loudon road, until halted by the enemy's skirmish line. They were met, after a brief delay, by Colonel Serrell, of General Longstreet's staff, when a cessation of hostilities was agreed upon, to last until five P.M., to permit the return of the dead who were lying along our lines, and the exchange of the wounded.

"The ambulances from both sides now met on the neutral ground, and the dead were carried back to the rebel line, where they were buried by their late comrades. The officers commingled, from generals down to lieutenants, and so also did the soldiers, until their officers ordered them back to their respective places. Nearly a hundred of the rebel wounded had been carried into the city and cared for at the hospital of the ninth corps. By direction of Dr. Wilder, our ambulances, with some of those of the rebels driven by Union soldiers, went back into the city, obtained such of the wounded as were not fit to be held as prisoners of war, and delivered them on the dividing line, when our ambulances—drivers being exchanged in turn—went within the rebel line and obtained our wounded. So much delay ensued in doing all this, that the truce was extended beyond seven o'clock, the opposing officers still remaining together, chatting in the most agreeable manner upon every topic which suggested itself. Finally, the last wounded Union soldier was obtained, the last ambulance returned within our works, the officers of the contending armies who had mutually found and greeted many old friends and classmates, shook hands with the utmost cordiality and parted. In a few minutes the firing of the pickets indicated the resumption of hostilities. It may be well to mention here that the wounded returned to us were not injured in the fighting of to-day. The rebel wounded manifested the greatest unwillingness to go back, preferring as they did the comfortable wards of our hospitals to the cold and shelterless woods. When the flag advanced in the morning, thirty rebels threw down their arms in their rifle-pits and ran within our lines, where they surrendered themselves prisoners.

"The force which assaulted the fort consisted of three brigades of McLaw's division—that of General Wofford, consisting of the Sixteenth, Eighteenth, and Twenty-fourth Georgia regiments, and Cobb's and Phillips' Georgia Legions; that of General Humphrey, consisting of the Thirteenth, Seventeenth, Twenty-first, Twenty-second, and Twenty-third Missisippi regiments, and a brigade composed of portions of Generals Anderson and Bryant's brigades, embracing among others the Palmetto State Guard, the Fifteenth South Carolina, and Fifty-first, Fifty-third, and Fifty-ninth Georgia regiments. Among their killed was a Colonel Thomas, and among the prisoners we have taken are a lieutenant-colonel, five captains, and seven lieutenants, exclusive of four wounded officers who have been returned according to the temporary cartel. That this force confidently expected to take the city, we have the best of proof. The rebel wounded state that General Longstreet issued an address to the troops last night, boasting that they would all take dinner in Knoxville to-day. Their repulse, when it was so unlooked for, is therefore all the more disastrous and demoralizing. Our own confidence in the strength of our works for the defence of the city has been, if possible, increased, especially as the immense force

which attacked the fort was driven off by a few regiments in addition to the artillery. The veteran Seventy-ninth Highlanders held the post of honor and danger here as they have on many another occasion, and were supported by their not less valorous comrades of the old Second Michigan, Twenty-ninth Massachusetts, and the One Hundredth Pennsylvania 'roundheads.' The flag of the Seventy-ninth, lately sent them from New York, was perforated with six bullets.

"During the truce, our ambulances delivered from within our lines ninety-eight dead bodies and about as many wounded. The rebels buried a number of dead in addition, making in all not less than 125 in killed alone. Now, allowing the unusually small ratio of three or four wounded to one killed, and we shall deduce a low estimate of their total killed and wounded by placing the figure at 600. We have over 200 prisoners besides, so that the enemy's loss in the battle of Fort Sanders, making every allowance, is at least 800. Many do not hesitate to put it as high as 1,000. The rebel officers admitted a loss of at least 400 or 500.

"Our men, screened by the parapet of the fort and the edges of the rifle-pits, lost less than twenty in killed and wounded.

"The result of the battle may be summed up as follows: The enemy attacked and were repulsed with a loss of 800 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, besides three stand of colors and 500 stand of arms. Our loss is eighteen.

"While the main battle was in progress at Fort Sanders, our line, farther to the right, under Colonels Hartrauft, Siegfried, and Schall, successfully charged and drove the rebels from the position which they captured from us last night; and before the battle terminated, our skirmishers at this point had resumed their old places.

"At the same time, and while our skirmishers on the line of defence across the river were being relieved, the enemy made an attack, and in the confusion of the moment drove our men from the exterior to the interior line of rifle-pits. Here, however, they were rallied by General Shackelford, and after a brief fight in turn drove the rebels out and occupied their original position, with a loss of about forty in killed and wounded. The rebel battery on the hill opened upon them, its fire being now diverted from the fort, where the assaulting column was advancing. But Roemer opened with his guns, and a brief artillery duel ensued, continuing until the truce suspended operations."

On the coming up of the rest of Sherman's troops, and the discovery that the enemy had retreated, a pursuit was made by Burnside, in which he was seconded by the cavalry division, under General Foster, who had been hitherto held in check, at Tazewell, by the cavalry of Longstreet, during the siege of Knoxville. The enemy having had a start of thirty-six hours, were enabled to escape their pursuers. Sherman accordingly returned to Chattanooga, but General Foster, who had

Nov. 29.

been appointed the successor of General Burnside, continued to conduct the operations against Longstreet.

Dec. 11.

Such was the "high national consequence" of the success of our arms, that the President recommended, by proclamation, all loyal people, "in view of the withdrawal of the insurgent force from East Tennessee, under circumstances rendering it probable that the Union forces cannot hereafter be dislodged from that important position," to render thanksgiving for this great advancement of the national cause. The enemy, at the same time, grieved emphatically at what they termed the "failure of Longstreet," who, however, still lingered within the borders of Tennessee, and, watchful of every chance, found an occasion for inflicting a severe loss upon his over-eager pursuers.

"Bushrod Johnson's division," as reported by the enemy, "attacked a Federal force of mounted infantry, about 4,000 strong, at Bean Station, on Monday, December 14th, and gradually drove them back, after a stubborn resistance and with heavy loss, in the direction of Knoxville. The pursuit was continued throughout Tuesday and Wednesday, during which time we captured a train of seventy wagons, laden with stores and clothing, and many prisoners. Our loss in killed and wounded will amount to about 300."

A correspondent of the New York *Herald*, writing from the scene of the conflict, narrates the affair in detail.

"It may be well," he says, "to go back in the history of the past week and review facts which have contributed to the origin of the fight. On Friday last, December 11, General Parke, who is in command of the column which pursued Longstreet, was called back to Knoxville to attend the meeting of Generals Burnside and Foster, previous to the departure of the former. During his absence the column was halted, with the main body resting at this point and the cavalry nine miles in advance, at Bean Station. General Shackelford skirmished with the enemy on the various roads leading from the station during this delay; and the enemy, ascertaining through their spies, or other means, that he was far in advance of the infantry, conceived the plan of capturing him as well as the wagon trains *en route* from Cumberland Gap, the road to which he had uncovered by his occupation of Bean Station.

"It was soon after two o'clock in the afternoon of Monday, December 14th, when our pickets upon the Rodgersville road were driven in. Information was at once sent to General Shackelford, who immediately disposed his cavalry corps in line of battle on the farther side of the Cumberland Gap and Morristown road. The men were dismounted, and fought as infantry would. The horses were sent to the rear, out of the range of bullets and under cover from artillery. Colvin's battery was brought into position on a knoll in rear of the troops, and three howitzers located on a spur of the mountain to the left of our line. The battle-field was the valley

between the Clinch range of mountains and the ridge of hills called the Richland Knobs—the valley north of and next to the main valley of East Tennessee.

"The First Kentucky, Wolford's regiment, performed the duty of skirmishers, and fell back steadily before the large force of the enemy, which was discovered to consist altogether of infantry.

"It was near four o'clock when the fighting became general. The rebels poured on in a stubborn stream, driving everything before them, and receiving their first check only when the howitzers of the Fourteenth Illinois opened upon their right flank. A cedar thicket on a knoll to the right of the road was occupied by the Eleventh Kentucky, much to the annoyance of the enemy, who finally drove them from it by flanking their position on both sides. The old hotel, a brick building at the junction of the road, was the extreme left of Wolford's line. The Twenty-seventh Kentucky, of Pennibaker's brigade, filled the windows, and poured a galling cross-fire upon the rebels as they assailed the hill of cedars, and as they advanced to our main line upon the right. Colonel Bond, with his brigade, had been in front. The rebels compelled him to fall back, and he took up position anew on the right of Colonel Adams, whose brigade was next to that of Colonel Pennibaker. In this position the rebels continued the attack, and pressed the whole of Wolford's division back from the road.

"The impetuosity of the rebel advance, together with the confusion into which our line was thrown, threatened a disaster to the whole column. Colonel Pennibaker seized the opportunity. Rallying the Eleventh Kentucky and Forty-fifth Ohio as they were falling back to get their horses, he formed them in line on foot, and pointing to the rebels shouted, 'Now, boys, go for 'em.' Away they went, met, checked, and held the rebels until Wolford was enabled to form his division on the hill west of the Morristown road and right of the main road. The advantage gained by this manœuvre enabled Wolford to obtain and hold a most desirable position.

"The brunt of the fight was, however, borne by Colonel Foster's division, which was in line to the left of the road. A heavy force of the enemy pushed down what is known as the Poor Valley road upon his flank, and compelled his gradual but steady retirement from hill to hill and from line to line. On front and flank he was assailed at once, and in vain the gallant brigades of Graham and Garrard endeavored to stem the torrent. The enemy brought into play two splendidly served batteries, the shots from which struck with terrible accuracy wherever directed. The fighting continued until nightfall, when the enemy had driven us about half a mile. Many of our dead and some of our wounded fell into their hands.

"In connection with the movement of the infantry in front, a large body of rebel cavalry had moved down from Morristown, by way of Chick's Cross Roads, with the intention of crossing the Holston River at Tirley's Ford, and thence,

by a side road, attack General Shackelford in the rear and cut off his retreat. This part of the programme, however, was interfered with by General Ferrero, of the ninth corps, who detached a brigade and sent it to the ford. The rebels, when they came up, discovered the obstacle, somewhat to their surprise, and endeavored to revenge themselves by vigorously shelling the camp of the brigade, which they did until after nightfall, wounding a few, among them Captain Barden, of the Second Michigan.

"Generals Parke and Potter happened to be on a visit to General Shackelford when the rebels opened the attack. Colonels Bowen and Babcock, of the latter general's staff, had narrow escapes, the horses of both being wounded by a shell. The entire loss will probably not exceed 150.

"When the rebels finally got possession of the station they detached a force, which immediately moved up the road to Cumberland Gap, and on a plateau of Clinch Mountain captured a wagon train that had gone into camp for the night. The train was loaded with coffee and sugar for the soldiers and stores for the officers, and in all numbered twenty-two wagons. The prize must have been a very gratifying one to the rebels. A detachment of Colonel Biddle's cavalry, about thirty in number, also fell into their hands. The One Hundred and Sixteenth Indiana was encamped on the roadside, near the top of the mountain. Their retreat having been cut off by a force which came down through Clinch Valley, they made their escape by travelling along the crest of the mountain—a rather perilous journey—until they reached the vicinity of Rutledge, when they descended."

CHAPTER XXV.

Consequences of the Capture of Vicksburg and Port Hudson.—Mississippi and Louisiana no longer tenable by the Enemy's Armies.—Their detached Cavalry on the Mississippi.—The Navigation of the Great River obstructed.—Operations of Guerrilla Bands.—Union Expeditions.—Their Success.—Operations of the Marine Brigade.—General Banks sends an Expedition to Texas.—General Franklin in command—Object of the Expedition.—The Force.—Voyage.—Unsuccessful Attempt to land.—Failure of the Expedition.—Reports of Naval Officers.—Return to New Orleans.—Continued Operations of the Guerrilla Bands.—Daring Exploits.—The Enemy still lingering in Western Louisiana.—Advance of the Union Forces against them.—Battle of Grand Coteau.—Good progress of the Unionists in Western Louisiana.—Banks organizes another Expedition against Texas.—Its Object.—Force.—Voyage.—Successful Disembarkation.—Capture of Boonsville.—Return of Banks to New Orleans.—Advance of the Union Troops in Texas.—The Retreat of the Enemy.—Forts abandoned and Property destroyed.—Friendly Disposition of Texans.

1863.

THE capture of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, and the naval occupation of the Mississippi River, had rendered the States of Louisiana and Mississippi no longer tenable by the armies of the enemy. Their detached cavalry and guerrilla bands, however, continued to hover about the country and the

borders of the great river, the navigation of which was greatly hindered.

Such was the annoyance produced by these irregular bands, that it was found necessary to send out a formidable expedition against them.

"This expedition"—says a writer,* "comprising the first and second brigades of the second division, thirteenth army corps, Brigadier-General Vandever and Colonel H. M. Day commanding; Batteries B and F, First Missouri Light Artillery, and a battalion of cavalry, under the command of Major Montgomery—succeeded in leaving Champ de Mars on the morning of the 15th of September.

"Our whole force consisted of about 3,000. * * *

"We proceeded quietly on our way without any adventure, and reached Morganzia, twenty-five miles above Port Hudson, on the evening of the 6th of September.

"Early on the morning of the 7th, a force under the command of Colonel Day, consisting of the first brigade (1,200 men), two sections of artillery, and a battalion of cavalry, Major Montgomery, started, with instructions to proceed as far as practicable in the direction of the Atchafalaya, and reconnoitre the country.

"This expedition was sent out to feel the enemy and ascertain their whereabouts. They had proceeded but a short distance when they encountered a considerable body of guerrillas, consisting of mounted infantry, who, after firing a few volleys, retreated. An exciting cavalry chase now ensued. 'Our boys' charged the flying rebels, and pursued them several miles; but the enemy, from their superior knowledge of the country, managed to escape, but not before several of their number were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners.

"We met with nothing from this time to relieve the monotony of a march until about three o'clock in the evening, when, about five or six miles from the Atchafalaya, we encountered the rebels, who were evidently waiting for us.

"Our cavalry immediately charged upon them, and as the Ninety-first and Ninety-fourth (Colonel McNulty and Major Day commanding) advanced in line of battle, they were, after a brief contest, repulsed.

"A series of skirmishes now ensued, in which artillery was brought into play. The enemy was chased a distance of five miles, with varied success, which resulted finally in driving the guerrillas across the Atchafalaya to their main body.

* * * * *

"Night put an end to the contest, and our forces—being now within 100 yards of the Atchafalaya, suffering for the want of water, which could not be obtained from the river, so near at hand, on account of the rebel sharpshooters, who kept up an incessant fire—quietly withdrew to the nearest point at which water could be obtained. This was some five miles back.

"The position of our little force under Colonel Day was indeed precarious.

* N. Y. *Herald.*

separated only by a narrow stream from an enemy almost three times their number, wearied and exhausted by their march under a broiling sun and recent fierce little fight, and uncertain as to whether our communication was open or not.

"Such, then, was the position of our force on the night of the 7th, and had the rebels attacked us then, it is impossible to predict what would have been the result.

"In all these skirmishes the loss was only one killed and seven wounded.

"On Tuesday morning, the 8th, Major-General Herron, with the main body of our forces, about 1,600 men and ten pieces of artillery, marched to the succor of Colonel Day.

"After a tedious march he came up with the latter's command. Our whole force then moved forward, and halted near the Atchafalaya, occupying the same position held the day previous. We now learned from reliable sources that the main body of the rebels had retreated, leaving a detachment to oppose our crossing the Atchafalaya, if attempted.

"The question was now whether it was policy to cross the river and pursue the flying rebels, who were well mounted and had the start of us, and were in their own country. The order of the General would safely guarantee no such movement, and the object of the expedition was already accomplished.

"To cross the Atchafalaya it would be necessary to bridge it, as we had no pontoons · and this would cause a considerable delay, and would necessarily draw the fire of the enemy, and would probably be attended with considerable loss of life.

"Accordingly General Herron decided that we should return, and at eight o'clock on the morning of the 9th we commenced a retrograde movement, and reached our transports the same night. Our loss on the 8th was only one killed.

"I am unable to state the enemy's loss in the numerous skirmishes that took place; but I am satisfied that it equals, if it does not exceed, our own. We captured about thirty prisoners, among them John A. Stevenson, an old merchant and citizen of New Orleans, known to be anything but loyal. He left that city last winter as agent for the Louisiana State Bank, for the purpose of investing the rebel notes belonging to that bank in cotton within the rebel lines."

On the banks of the Mississippi, opposite to Memphis, 200 mounted men of the enemy attacked a company of the Thirtieth Missouri, negroes, who were guarding a pontoon train.

Sep. 17.

"The Ninety-fifth Illinois, Company C, Eleventh Illinois, the First Kansas and Seventeenth Wisconsin were immediately ordered under arms, and under the command of Colonel Humphrey, of the Ninety-fifth Illinois, proceeded at once to cross the river.

"When the guerrillas saw the force crossing the river they hastily left, leaving two of our men killed and four wounded on the field.

"Colonel Humphrey chased them

fourteen miles, and coming up with a portion of them, a skirmish ensued, in which four of the rebels were killed and a captain and several privates captured.

"Arriving at a bayou, over which there was a bridge, the rebels crossed, and burned the bridge before our troops arrived, thus cutting off further pursuit.

"Here the enemy were reinforced by from 2,000 to 2,500 men, who fired a volley as we advanced.

"Skirmishers were thrown out, and for nearly an hour firing continued, when Colonel Humphrey, finding that the enemy occupied a very strong position, and fearing that he would be outflanked, fell back, and returned to Natchez.

"In this skirmish we lost one killed and six wounded.

"The day previous to the attack 200 head of cattle had been sent to that side of the river, as well as a large number of mules, and it is supposed that the attack was made for the purpose of capturing the pontoon train, and compelling the negroes to go ahead and drive the cattle and mules before them; but the bold stand made by the company of Missourians materially interfered with their plans, as it gave us time to send reinforcements over the river before the guerrillas could accomplish their purpose."

The marine brigade, which had been established to guard the Mississippi, did occasional good service. On the 11th of September, two vessels belonging to it, the B. J. Adams and the Indiana, "surprised and captured, at Catfish Point, twenty miles above Napoleon, Arkansas, on the Mississippi River, a rebel paymaster with 1,200,000 dollars in rebel bonds. Twenty of his body-guard and four captains were also taken prisoners. The party numbered in all about 175. The others escaped.

"The paymaster and his guard were attempting to cross the river for the purpose of proceeding to Little Rock, Arkansas, where the former intended paying off the rebel troops at that point."

General Banks, feeling secure in his occupation of Louisiana, was enabled to detach a large body of troops to operate against the enemy in Texas. He accordingly dispatched 4,000 men, under General Franklin, to effect a landing at Sabine Pass. Sept. 4.

"The aim of the expedition," says the correspondent* whose narrative we quote, "was the occupation of Sabine City, situated on the right bank at the mouth of the Sabine River, the dividing line of Louisiana and Texas, a point of great strategic importance as a base of operations against either western Louisiana or eastern and central Texas. The city is only forty to forty-five miles from Galveston by land, and about sixty miles by sea; from Houston, the capital of Texas, it is distant about sixty miles, and is connected with it by a branch railroad from Beaumont. This railroad is not in operation at present, a portion of the track having been torn up. The distance from the mouth of the Mississippi is 280 miles. The strategic im-

* N. Y. *Herald.*

portance of the place can thus be comprehended at a glance, and its occupation was doubtless intended as the first step in a campaign the results of which promised to be of the most brilliant and lasting character.

"Accompanying the land force was a naval force of four light-draught gunboats, consisting of the Clifton, Arizona, Granite City, and Sachem, and the plan was for these to silence the batteries, drive back the enemy, and cover the landing of the troops.

"At the last place of rendezvous, off Berwick Bay, it was determined that the entire fleet should endeavor to reach the point of destination by midnight of the 7th of September, and the attack was to take place at three or four o'clock on the morning of the 8th. With this understanding the long line of vessels moved on their way, piloted by the gunboat Arizona, Captain Tibbets, which was followed by the transport Belvidere, Captain Fletcher, having on board the veteran Brigadier-General Godfrey Weitzel, commanding the first division of the corps, and the gallant members of his staff, the General being assigned to that post of honor and of danger, which he not only willingly accepts, but modestly requests, the command of the advance. The blockading vessel stationed off Sabine Pass was now the object, and the fleet steamed swiftly on, while a bright look-out was constantly kept to discover the vessel. Hour after hour passed, and no vessel appearing up to three o'clock on the morning of the 8th, the fleet was hove to, and upon examination it became apparent that the fleet had run by the designated point quite a distance, in consequence of the absence of the blockader. It was, of course, too late in the day to carry out the original plan, and the consequence was, a delay of an entire day was necessitated, thus giving the enemy, if advised of the expedition, an opportunity of receiving reinforcements and making all necessary preparations either for evacuation or a more vigorous defence. I would add in this connection that the blockader was absent on a cruise, from which she returned before the battle.

"During Monday night, therefore, the entire fleet were collected in the neighborhood of Sabine. The gun-boats and lightest-draught vessels of the transport fleet crossed the bar, and immediate preparations were made for the attack, the unavoidable delay necessitating some changes in the mode. Captain Crocker, of the Clifton, as gallant a sailor as ever fought a ship, was to inaugurate the action by feeling and uncovering the enemy's batteries, ascertain the number and disposition of the opposing force, and drawing their fire, while Generals Franklin and Weitzel personally examined the shore of the pass and ascertained the most eligible point for disembarking the land forces. Accordingly the Clifton steamed up the pass, throwing a shell now and then from her huge rifled guns at the only work visible (an earth-work containing six heavy guns), and making a careful reconnoissance of the surrounding locality. She received no response to her numerous shots, and

with daring bravery steamed within easy range of the fort, turned about and leisurely returned to her former position. The face of the enemy's work was from 100 to 150 yards in length, and was supposed to be open at the rear.

"On the return of the Clifton the order of battle was immediately arranged and rapidly perfected. The gun-boats Clifton, Arizona, and Sachem were to engage the enemy's works, while the Granite City, which carried only a broadside of small brass guns, was to cover the landing of an advance force of 500 men, of General Weitzel's division, selected from the heroes of Port Hudson, and composed of two companies of the One Hundred and Sixty-fifth New York, four companies of the One Hundred and Sixty-first New York, and a detachment from the Seventy-fifth New York regiments, under command of Captain Fitch, of the last-named regiment. The General himself came on board at the last moment, to superintend personally the operation of disembarking his troops.

"'All ready!' was the signal, and about four o'clock P.M. the gun-boats steamed slowly forward, the Clifton advancing directly toward the fort, followed by the Granite City, and she in turn by the transport General Banks, having on board the advance of the army. The Sachem and Arizona steamed off to the right and ran up nearly opposite the battery. The Clifton opened the ball with a shell from one of her nine-inch pivot guns, which exploded inside the rebel works, throwing up a perfect shower of débris, and instantly followed it with a second shot of the same kind. Soon the little Sachem, commanded by Captain Johnson, opened her broadside thirty-two pounder guns on the works, and the next moment the Arizona also paid her compliments to the foe. The gunnery was magnificent, a few of the shells only exploding prematurely and the pieces dropping in the water. Up to this time, and until from thirty to forty shell had exploded in the works, not a shot had been returned by the enemy. An ominous silence pervaded the fort, and many were of opinion that the works had been abandoned. Neither soldiers nor inhabitants made their appearance, and the only signs of life apparent were the movements of a small steamer in the river, which had run up above the city and down as far as the fort once or twice during the forenoon, and which was joined by a second steamer about the time the action commenced.

"The action of the enemy, however, was the deceptive calm which often precedes the storm, and the sudden flash of flame which was plainly visible from the deck of the General Banks with the naked eye, and the cloud of white smoke which floated lazily up from the parapet of the enemy, were instantly followed by a heavy shot thrown at the Arizona, the largest boat of the fleet, and which passed directly over her, striking in the edge of the water beyond. This was followed in quick succession by a shot at the Sachem and another at the Clifton, neither of which, however,

took effect. The engagement now became general and very warm, the Clifton and Arizona moving very slowly forward and back, while the brave little Sachem, under a heavy fire, kept pushing steadily forward, endeavoring to pass the battery and engage in the rear, which was supposed to be unprotected. This movement the enemy divined, and redoubled their fire at her, answered shot for shot by the three boats, the huge shells every instant bursting in their midst, carrying destruction in their wake and knocking great holes in the parapet, which appeared of sufficient size to admit the passage of a carriage and horses. The enemy acted with great bravery, however, and if their fire slackened an instant after one of those terrific explosions, which seemed to shake the very earth around them, it was instantly resumed with increased rather than diminished determination. Gradually but surely the little Sachem was gaining her desired position. A moment more and she would pass out of range, and the day would be won. All eyes were bent upon the noble little craft, when suddenly a shot was seen to strike her amidships, crushing in her sides and tearing their iron-plating for the protection of sharpshooters as a piece of paper, and causing her to careen and tremble from stem to stern. An instant more, and she was enveloped in the scalding vapor of escaping steam, and lay a helpless wreck, at the mercy of the enemy. The flag was lowered, and the enemy, ceasing their fire on her, now turned their entire attention to the Clifton, probably aware of the fact, that the draught of the Arizona would not permit her to advance near enough to become a very formidable antagonist. The disabling of the Sachem at the instant when victory was within her grasp was the second of those unfortunate accidents referred to, and was, of course, of so serious a character as to imperil the success of the entire affair. The Clifton was now the only effective boat engaged. She was called upon to do double duty, and not for one breath did her gallant commander and brave crew hesitate, but with three rousing cheers, which were heard above the din of battle, they poured in their fire, running in closer and closer to the batteries, in face of the concentrated fire of the entire rebel fortification.

"Putting on a full head of steam, the Clifton ran swiftly down directly toward the battery, with the intention, doubtless, of delivering her broadside, giving her sharpshooters an opportunity of picking off the enemy's gunners and thus silencing the works. At the same time the Granite City and the General Banks gradually followed in her wake, for the purpose of reaching the point of debarkation as soon as the Clifton had effected her object, although the heavy solid shot and hissing shell which were intended for the Clifton, but which passed her, came ricochetting along on the water, almost reaching them. Just as the Clifton gained the point she aimed at reaching, and as her bow was thrown round slightly in the act of turning, she struck, the velocity with which she was

running driving her a long distance into the thin mud at the bottom of the pass. At the same time a hitherto undiscovered battery to the left of the main work, and in easy range, opened upon her as she lay, her broadside offering a target of which the enemy took every advantage. The gallant Crocker still kept up a constant fire from both bow and broadside guns, the quick rifles, loaded with double charges of grape, being poured into the main work, sweeping the parapet clean at every discharge, and killing the enemy by scores, while with his broadside guns he administered dose after dose of shell and solid shot to the battery on the left. Lying as he did, he would probably have succeeded in silencing the main work, thus enabling the troops to land, had it not been for the broadside work; for it was from that his boat was disabled. Up to this time she had sustained no material damage. The shots which had struck her had been harmless to the ship, and but very few of his crew had been injured. But fate was against him, and he was obliged to succumb. A shot from the small battery struck his boat about the centre, passing through her side and entirely through the boiler, leaving her a stranded wreck at the enemy's mercy. The flag was instantly lowered; but the firing still continued, both from the boat and the batteries. It must have been lowered without the captain's knowledge, or he may have been killed and the crew left without a leader. An instant more, and just after a shower of grape from the enemy was poured into the noble little craft, the white flag was run up and the firing ceased. The engagement was concluded. Brave hearts and manly forms had been sacrificed upon the altar of their country, but without success. There was but one available gun-boat uninjured, the Arizona, and she was incapable of offensive operations against works of such strength. She was immediately withdrawn from the unequal contest. and the order reluctantly issued to the fleet to withdraw.

"Considering the number of the forces engaged, it is doubtful if any affair of the whole war can compare with the battle of Sabine Pass in obstinacy of fighting, loss of life, and the amount of interest involved. To the enemy it was a matter of life and death, and to the Union forces it was the opening battle of a most brilliant campaign. The enemy retained their prize; but their loss has been undoubtedly without precedent in the annals of the war, and they will, in the midst of their rejoicing, tremble at the thought of a repetition of the attack. There were on board the Clifton, besides her crew, a party of seventy-five sharpshooters and three of the signal corps, and on the Sachem a detachment of thirty sharpshooters. Of the crew of the Clifton, five soldiers, one sailor, and one signal-man escaped down the beach, and were taken off by a boat from the fleet. The number of killed and wounded must have been large, particularly on the Clifton, as she was not only exposed to a cross-fire, but was raked from stem to stern by grape. As

to the killed and wounded on the Sachem nothing is known, but the loss is supposed to be light, and mostly from the escaping steam, as but the one shot was known to have struck her. The loss of the enemy was undoubtedly enormous, as the huge nine-inch shell apparently searched every nook and corner of the earth-work; and when the Clifton was aground, the same guns poured in a murderous fire of grape, sweeping the parapet from end to end. Their loss, however, will probably never be known."

Acting Master Tibbets, in command of the Arizona, which took part in the engagement, but escaped the fate of some of her consorts, gave this official account of the operations of the fleet:

"At six o'clock A.M. on the 8th of September the Clifton stood in the bay and opened fire upon the fort, to which no reply was made.

"At nine A.M. the Sachem, Arizona, and Granite City, followed by the transports, stood over the bar, and with much difficulty, owing to the shallowness of the water, reached anchorage, two miles from the fort, at eleven A.M., the gun-boats covering the transports.

"At half-past three P.M. the Sachem, followed by the Arizona, advanced up the eastern channel to draw the fire of the forts, while the Clifton advanced up the western channel, followed by the Granite City, to cover the landing of a division of troops under General Weitzel.

"No reply to the fire of the gunboats was made until we were abreast of the forts, when they opened with eight guns, three of which were rifled, almost at the same moment.

"The Clifton and Sachem were struck in their boilers, enveloping the vessels in steam.

"There not being room to pass the Sachem, this vessel was backed down the channel and a boat was sent to the Sachem, which returned with Engineer Munroe and Fireman Linn, badly scalded (since dead).

"The Arizona had now grounded by the stern; the ebb tide caught her bows and swung her across the channel, and she was, with much difficulty, extricated from this position, owing to the engine becoming heated by the collection of mud in the boilers.

"The flags of the Clifton and Sachem were run down, and white flags were flying at the fore.

"As all the transports were now moving out of the bay, this vessel remained, covering their movements until she grounded. She remained until midnight, when she was kedged off, as no assistance could be had from any of the tugs of the expedition."

Commodore Bell, who commanded the West Gulf blockading squadron temporarily, and had supplied General Banks with the naval force required, exonerated himself from blame by the following explanation:

"The attack, which was to have been a surprise, and made at early dawn on the 7th, was not made until three P.M. on the 8th, after the entire expedition had appeared off Sabine for twenty-eight hours, and a reconnoissance had

been made on the morning of the 8th by Generals Franklin and Weitzel and Lieutenant-Commanding Crocker, when they decided on a form of attack different from that recommended by myself."

The guerrilla bands continued, in spite of the vigilance of the Union military authorities, to infest the banks of the Mississippi, and the bayous and passes of the Gulf coast of Louisiana. One of their most daring acts was the capture of the Government boat Leviathan, while lying in Southwest Pass, at the mouth of the Mississippi. Eighteen armed men boarded her from a small boat, and compelled the surrender of the vessel, which, however, before she had got to sea, was recaptured by the gunboat De Soto.

Sept. 20.

The enemy still lingered in the Teche and Opelousas regions of Louisiana west of the Mississippi River in such formidable strength that they were enabled to resist with vigor the advance of our troops in their progress toward the borders of Texas. Frequent skirmishes occurred, and on the 3d of November a battle was fought near Grand Coteau, which is thus described by a campaigner:

"The Army of the Gulf, consisting of two divisions of the nineteenth army corps, the first division commanded by Brigadier-General Weitzel, the third division by Brigadier-General Grover; two divisions of the thirteenth army corps, under Generals Washburne and Burbridge, the entire force under Major-General Franklin, marched to Opelousas and Barre's Landing, encamped, and subsequently sent forward a large cavalry force, under Brigadier-General Lee, which drove the enemy from these points, and then scouted the country in that vicinity. They overtook only partisan bands of rebel troops, and they captured, killed, and wounded some of them.

"The army remained in camp eight or ten days, and orders were issued to march, not forward, but back to Carrion Crow Bayou and Vermilion Bayou; the thirteenth corps to take up quarters at the former place, the nineteenth at the latter. Burbridge's division, consisting of the first brigade, under Colonel Owen (the two other brigades having been ordered, one—General Cameron's—to Washburne's division, the other to New Iberia), was ordered to camp at the edge of the woods, the right resting on the Opelousas road, with the prairie in front. It was a dangerous position, General Washburne's division being encamped at Carrion Crow Bayou, three and a half miles away, with excellent cover of woods on the right for the enemy to advance, and prairie front on rear and around; but the General posted his pickets strongly, and placed his artillery in good positions, and disposed of his cavalry so that they could act promptly and effectively. The day following (Tuesday, November 3), the enemy's cavalry began skirmishing with ours, but after a short time fell back. Pickets upon the right were doubled, and an hour before daylight the brigade was ordered under arms.

"Colonel Owen, with his staff, rode

to the front to examine the position of the enemy, and remained an hour, during which time Captain Friedly rode with some men two miles to the front of the pickets, and shelled the woods with a section of the Seventeenth Ohio battery, supported by the Eighty-third Ohio Regiment, while the Sixtieth Indiana watched the right flank. The firing ceased. A forage train, originally ordered by General Burbridge to go with an escort at nine A.M., was now started by order of the General, and the Eighty-third Ohio was designated at eleven A.M. to go with it. Scarcely had the train emerged from the woods on our rear when the pickets on our right began firing. Colonel Owen then ordered the regiment to hold themselves in readiness, at the same time informing General Burbridge. A section of artillery was now ordered to that point, supported by the Ninety-sixth Ohio, and the Sixtieth Indiana was sent to hold the bridge and small bayou in the skirt of the woods, and to throw out skirmishers in advance to feel for the enemy, his force and position. Horse artillery was sent out; but our forces in the field were in danger of the fire, and it was called in, and shelled the woods wherever a man showed himself. Our cavalry and pickets now fell into the woods, and General Burbridge ordered the Sixtieth Indiana to advance. Lieutenant Richardson, acting assistant adjutant-general of Colonel Owen's staff, remained with them until his horse was shot under him, rallying the men, when General Burbridge ordered him to bring up the Ninety-sixth Ohio to their support, the General bravely cheering on the men. The enemy and our own men were now so close together that it was impossible to use the artillery. Captain Slick, brigade inspector, was to place a section of the Seventeenth Ohio battery in position on a slight eminence of the prairie in our front, supported by the Sixty-seventh Indiana.

"The Ninety-sixth Ohio were now holding the road on the left and in front of the Twenty-third Wisconsin, which was on the left of the Sixtieth Indiana.

"Captain Leonard, of Company A, Ninety-sixth Ohio, called attention to a heavy cavalry force coming in on the left flank to surround us; but a section of the Seventeenth Ohio battery had been placed there to hold them in check. The Sixtieth, being now hard pressed, had to fall back, the enemy advancing four ranks deep, the men previously firing ten or fifteen rounds each. General Burbridge now directed Colonel Owen to rally them. The latter found it impossible to do so at once, they being cut up so badly. Before succeeding, the Ninety-sixth Ohio and Twenty-third Wisconsin fell back, the latter losing its colonel, after which it held its ground under a disastrous fire, but making havoc in the enemy's ranks. The gallant Colonel Guppey, of the Twenty-third Wisconsin, is a serious loss. He was esteemed by his men, and was a brave officer. The enemy's cavalry was now seen converging from all points of the woods and from the prairie in our front, on our small force. The remnant of the brigade

fell back into the woods, and through them 600 yards into open ground. While rallying the men around the battery, General Washburne rode up and informed them reinforcements were coming.

"The capture of the Sixty-seventh Indiana was effected in front of a section of the Seventeenth Ohio battery. The enemy's cavalry were surrounding them, when General Burbridge sent three consecutive orders to the colonel to fall back. He disobeyed orders, and thus nearly the whole force was captured. Meanwhile the General had dismounted and personally handled one of the pieces, and with such dexterity did he use canister and grape that the enemy were alarmed, apparently; but they closed round the Sixty-seventh, and it was impossible to fire without killing our own men. Captain Rice, commanding the battery, was conspicuous for his bravery. By this time the rebel cavalry had nearly surrounded the battery, and the order to limber up was given, and they escaped into the woods, but subsequently lost one of their pieces. General Burbridge now rode forward and ordered the remnant to join General Cameron's brigade in a forward movement, the Twenty-third Wisconsin forming on the right, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hill; Colonel Moore, Eighty-third Ohio, commanding the centre, and the Ninety-Sixth Ohio, Colonel Brown, on the left. The remainder fell in under Captain Walker, acting major, Captain Godger being exhausted. A remnant of the Sixty-seventh Indiana fell in under Major Sears, Lieutenant-Colonel Bushler having, with 200 men, surrendered to the enemy's cavalry. A fresh supply of ammunition and cannon arriving, the brigade moved forward to the old position, threw out skirmishers, with a section of the Seventeenth Ohio battery, our left being flanked by cavalry. They swept the whole woods until halted by General Burbridge, facing a lane in which on the previous day we met and skirmished with the enemy's cavalry. Our battery took position, supported by a remnant of the brigade, amounting to 400 men. The men went now into the old camp to bury and care for the dead and wounded.

"The enemy were five to one; they were 6,000 strong—3,000 infantry, dismounted, and 2,500 mounted infantry and cavalry—while the Union forces only numbered about 1,000 infantry and 500 cavalry. We were superior to them in artillery only, and this being used at very short range, the canister and grape made great slaughter in their ranks. It is believed their loss in killed and wounded was much greater than ours. We lost more heavily in prisoners. The following is our loss as far as ascertained:

Killed	18
Wounded	100
Missing, supposed captured, officers	28
Missing, supposed captured, men	531
Total	677

"Some regiments lost more than half their number.

"The Sixtieth Indiana went in with 207, and lost 121; and the Ninety-sixth Ohio went in with fewer, and lost 119.

The battery, out of 125 men, lost 25 in killed, wounded, and missing.

"The cavalry force consisted of the First Louisiana Cavalry, 300 men; Fourteenth New York, 80 men; One Hundred and Eighteenth Illinois mounted infantry, 80—Total, 460.

"First Louisiana—one commissioned officer and three men killed, seven wounded, and twenty-seven missing. Fourteenth New York Cavalry—four, two of them known to be wounded and in the hands of the enemy. Lost twelve horses killed and two wounded—Total, forty-two."

General Banks, having made good progress toward the occupation of western Louisiana, and thus secured the advance by land to Texas, was prepared to carry on his operations by sea. He accordingly organized a formidable expedition, composed of a large land force, three war vessels, and a fleet of transports and tugs, which set sail on the 27th of October from the mouth of the Mississippi River. Major-General Dana was the temporary commander of the expedition, but General Banks and his staff accompanied it to the coast of Texas.

Oct. 27.

On the 3d of November the troops disembarked at Brazos without meeting any resistance from the enemy. Brownsville was taken possession of without a blow. The Confederates on evacuating the town strove to burn it, but were prevented by the inhabitants of the place, with the aid of some advanced Union troops.

General Banks now returned to New Orleans, and General Washburne arriving, and being placed in command of a considerable force, advanced through western Texas without meeting any serious resistance from the enemy, who generally abandoned their forts and positions. Their plan of operation seemed to be, to destroy and retreat, with the hope of thus rendering the country untenable. Indianola, at the entrance of Lavacca Bay, was occupied by the advance of the Union army, under General Warren, on the 27th of December. He reported that on his arrival the inhabitants were greatly alarmed, as pains had been taken by the rebel General Magruder to impress them with the idea that the Northerners would ravish, burn, and destroy wherever they went. By thus acting on their fears, he strove to induce them to fly from their homes and destroy their property, to prevent it falling into the hands of the enemy. When disabused of this error, they exhibited a more friendly disposition to the Union troops.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Retreat of Lee in Virginia after the Battle of Gettysburg.—Cautious Pursuit of Meade.—General Pleasonton crosses the Rappahannock.—Culpepper Court House evacuated by the Enemy and occupied by General Pleasonton.—Pleasonton attempts to cross the Rapidan.—A spirited Resistance.—General Meade with his Army at Culpepper Court House.—The two Armies confronting each other.—The Enemy assumes the Offensive.—Lee's Report of his Advance and of the Battle of Bristoe Station.—Stuart's Cavalry Operations.—General Imboden's Operations in Western Virginia.—Union Account of the Engagement at Bristoe Station.—The Campaign reviewed.—Lee's Retreat toward Richmond.—Meade's Pursuit.—Follows Lee across the Rappahannock.—Congratulates his Troops upon their good conduct.—Advances again.—Crosses the Rapidan.—High Hopes.—The Enemy strongly posted.—A Demonstration.—Meade retires.—The two Armies in winter quarters.

1863.

AFTER the battle of Gettysburg and the escape of the beaten army across the Potomac, General Lee retreated toward Richmond. General Meade followed cautiously. On the 13th of September, the Union cavalry, under General Pleasonton, which was hanging on the rear of the enemy, crossed the Rappahannock, at Kelly's, Rappahannock, and Sulphur Springs fords. General Pleasonton was supported in this movement by the second corps. The Confederates were overtaken about two miles south of the river, and their pickets pursued to Culpepper Court House, which the enemy evacuated in great haste, leaving five guns and forty-three prisoners in the hands of Pleasonton, who took possession of the place.

Sept. 13.

On the next day, the 14th of September, General Pleasonton continuing his advance while skirmishing with the enemy, reached the Rapidan at Raccoon Ford, where he attempted to cross, but was met by a spirited resistance from the enemy. Meade soon after followed the cavalry advance with his main body, and encamped about Culpepper Court House. The two armies remained confronting each other from the opposite banks of the Rapidan until the 9th of October, when the enemy assumed the offensive.

"With the design of bringing on an engagement with the Federal army, which was encamped around Culpepper Court House, extending thence to the Rapidan, this army crossed that river on the 9th of October," says General Lee in his report, "and advanced by way of Madison Court House. Our progress was necessarily slow, as the march was by circuitous and concealed roads, in order to avoid the observation of the enemy.

"General Fitz Lee, with his cavalry division and a detachment of infantry, remained to hold our lines south of the Rapidan. General Stuart, with Hampton's division, moved on the right of the column. With a portion of his command he attacked the advance of the enemy near James City, on the 10th, and drove

them back toward Culpepper. Our main body arrived near that place on the 11th of October, and discovered that the enemy had retreated toward the Rappahannock, ruining or destroying his stores. We were compelled to halt during the rest of the day to provision the troops, but the cavalry, under General Stuart, continued to press the enemy's rear-guard toward the Rappahannock. A large force of Federal cavalry, in the mean time, had crossed the Rapidan after our movement begun, but was repulsed by General Fitz Lee and pursued toward Brandy Station.

"Near that place the commands of Stuart and Lee united on the afternoon of the 11th of October, and after a severe engagement drove the enemy's cavalry across the Rappahannock with heavy loss.

"On the morning of the 12th of October the army marched in two columns, with the design of reaching the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, north of the river, and interrupting the retreat of the enemy.

"After a skirmish with some of the Federal cavalry at Jeffersonton, we reached the Rappahannock at Warrenton Springs in the afternoon, where the passage of the river was disputed by cavalry and artillery. The enemy was quickly driven off by a detachment of our cavalry, aided by a small force of infantry and a battery. Early next morning, 13th of October, the march was resumed, and the two columns reunited at Warrenton in the afternoon, when another halt was made, to supply the troops with provisions. The enemy fell back rapidly along the line of the railroad, and early on the 14th of October the pursuit was continued, a portion of the army moving by way of New Baltimore toward Bristoe Station, and the rest, accompanied by the main body of the cavalry, proceeding to the same point by Auburn Mills and Greenwich. Near the former place a skirmish took place between General Ewell's advance and the rear-guard of the enemy, which was forced back and rapidly pursued.

"The retreat of the enemy was conducted by several direct parallel roads, while our troops were compelled to march by difficult and circuitous routes. We were consequently unable to intercept him. General Hill arrived first at Bristoe Station, where his advance, consisting of two brigades, became engaged with a force largely superior in numbers, posted behind the railroad embankment. The particulars of the action have not been officially reported, but the brigades were repulsed with some loss, and five pieces of artillery, with a number of prisoners captured. Before the rest of the troops could be brought up and the position of the enemy ascertained, he retreated across Broad Run. The next morning he was reported to be fortifying beyond Bull Run, extending his line toward the Little River turnpike.

"The vicinity of the intrenchments around Washington and Alexandria rendered it useless to turn his new position, as it was apparent that he could readily retire to them, and would decline an engagement unless attacked

in his fortifications. A further advance was therefore deemed unnecessary, and after destroying the railroad from Cub Run southwardly to the Rappahannock, the army returned, on the 18th of October, to the line of that river, leaving the cavalry in the enemy's front.

"The cavalry of the latter advanced on the following day, and some skirmishing occurred at Buckland. General Stuart, with Hampton's division, retired slowly toward Warrenton, in order to draw the enemy in that direction, thus exposing his flank and rear to General Lee, who moved from Auburn and attacked him near Buckland. As soon as General Stuart heard the sound of Lee's guns he turned upon the enemy, who, after a stubborn resistance, broke and fled in confusion, pursued by General Stuart nearly to Haymarket, and by General Lee to Gainesville. Here the Federal infantry was encountered, and, after capturing a number of them during the night, the cavalry slowly retired before their advance on the following day. When the movement of the army from the Rapidan commenced, General Imboden was instructed to advance down the valley and guard the gaps of the mountains on our left. This duty was well performed by that officer, and on the 18th of October he marched upon Charlestown, and succeeded, by a well-concentrated plan, in surrounding the place and capturing nearly the whole force stationed there, with all their stores and transportation. Only a few escaped to Harper's Ferry. The enemy advanced from that place in superior numbers to attack General Imboden, who retired, bringing off his prisoners and captured property, his command suffering very little loss, and inflicting some damage upon the pursuing column. In the course of these operations 2,436 prisoners were captured, including 41 commissioned officers. Of the above number, 434 were taken by General Imboden."

The only serious conflict during this advance of Lee and the retrograde movement of Meade was at Bristoe Station. The foremost corps of the Union army had reached Manassas, and the last (the second corps), under General Warren, was coming up to Bristoe when the enemy's advance, under General Hill, made its appearance. (Oct. 14.)

"The rebel force," reports a campaigner, "had reached Bristoe just sufficiently in advance of the second corps to allow of the formation of their line of battle, which was done perpendicularly to the railroad. The rebels, however, had neglected to take possession of the cut and embankment of the railroad, and Warren instantly detecting the advantage their possession would give him, jumped his men into those ready made breast-works, and from thence poured a murderous fire into the advancing and presently retreating rebels." Warren's victory was complete, and the defeat of the enemy proportionately severe. Their loss amounted to 1,000 killed and wounded, 500 taken prisoners, and the capture of five pieces of their artillery.

General Lee, after receiving this check

to his "raid" at Bristoe Station, fell back again toward Richmond. General Meade followed, but was unable to overtake the enemy before they had crossed the Rappahannock. On crossing the river they made a stand, and seemed disposed to resist further pursuit. General Meade, however, persisted in following them, and forced his way across the Rappahannock.

"After the fight at Bristoe," writes a campaigner, "we followed on Lee's retreating army pretty briskly, but soon found they had too rapidly fallen back, and had thrown too many obstacles in our way for us to overtake them. The troops were then encamped in a kind of semicircle, extending from Warrenton *via* Auburn to the line of railway near Catlett's Station. On the evening of the 6th of November a general order indicating the line of forts was issued to the corps commanders, and early on the morning of the 7th, Saturday, the troops fell back into column in the following order: The sixth corps moved from Warrenton to Rappahannock Station; the second, third, and fifth corps marched by Warrenton Junction along the line of railway by way of Bealton, where the first corps brought up our extreme left. * * * From Bealton the fifth corps continued in direct line of march to form a junction with the sixth, while the second and third deployed for Kelly's Ford.

"The third corps was in advance, and as they neared the ford they threw out strong lines of skirmishers and sharpshooters. General Birney, who was in command of the corps, advanced two batteries, and placed Randolph on the right, near Mount Holly church, and the Tenth Massachusetts battery on the left. Though the enemy shelled us all the time while our batteries were getting into position, still we suffered very little. Our position now was a strong one.

* * * * *

"Our battery now occupied a sweeping range of the extensive plateau on the south side. Under shelter of the guns, which were vomiting forth shot and shell on them and forcing them back from the river, the working parties advanced to lay the pontoons. The first division, commanded by General Ward, was now massed, and the third brigade ordered to lead the attack. They were commanded by Colonel De Trobriand. * * * The pontoons were now laid, the enemy's guns were silenced, and the attacking party rapidly advanced across the bridge. The First United States Sharpshooters, known as Berdan's Sharpshooters, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Trappe, were in front. Having gained the opposite bank, the sharpshooters, armed with Sharp's rifles, deployed and charged the enemy's rifle-pits, and after a brisk fire of musketry, the enemy, finding themselves surrounded on all sides, threw down their arms and surrendered.

"Our regiments engaged were the First United States Sharpshooters, the Fortieth New York, the First and Twentieth Indiana, the Third and Fifth Michigan, and the One Hundred and Tenth Pennsylvania, but the brunt of

the fight fell on the sharpshooters. We captured Colonel Gleason, of the Twelfth Virginia, who was in command; one surgeon, one major, two captains, several lieutenants, and nearly 500 privates. They mostly belonged to the Twelfth Virginia, Thirtieth North Carolina, and Ninth Alabama, and were skirmishers selected from Ewell's corps. We lost in killed and wounded about thirty-five; the enemy, I should think, the same.

* * * * *

"The Rappahannock Station is protected by several strong forts. On the north side is a strong fort, two redoubts, and several rifle-pits. These were protected by a force of nearly 2,000 men and a battery of guns, in command of Colonel Godwin, of the Fifty-fourth North Carolina. They were part of Ewell's corps, Early's division. It was about three o'clock when the head of the column neared the station. A heavy line of skirmishers and sharpshooters was thrown out to cover the advance of our batteries. There is a commanding position to the rear of the forts, and here Martin's and the first reserve artillery of heavy guns got into position and opened on the fort. Just before dark, the storming parties—Russell's and Upson's brigades, and led by General Russell in person—were formed. The fifth corps was now advancing on the centre, and threw out the first division in support of the sixth corps and in order to take up a position lower down the river, so as to cover the advance and cut off the enemy's retreat that way.

"The batteries now opened fiercely and desperately on one another. Shot and shell flew like hail across the river, sweeping through the forts on both sides. The storming party, comprising the Sixth Maine, the Fifth Wisconsin, and the Fourteenth New York, now rushed on the forts, while a strong party took possession of the pontoon, thus cutting off the enemy's retreat and their chance of succor. Our troops dashed into the pits and forts on every side, and one of the fiercest hand-to-hand conflicts of the war commenced. * *

"This fierce and savage conflict continued for about twenty minutes; but our supports were pouring in from every side, and the enemy, finding longer resistance useless, surrendered. Our victory was decisive, and no fewer than four colonels—two of them commanding brigades—132 officers, and about 1,500 men, fell into our hands, besides four guns, four caissons, and eight battle-flags."

General Meade expressed his satisfaction with the conduct of his troops in this order:

Nov. 9.

"The Commanding General congratulates the army upon the recent successful passage of the Rappahannock in the face of the enemy, compelling him to withdraw to his intrenchments behind the Rapidan.

"To Major-General Sedgwick and the officers and men of the fifth and sixth corps participating in the attack, particularly to the storming party under Brigadier-General Russell, his thanks are due for the gallantry displayed in the assault on the enemy's intrenched

position of Rappahannock Station, resulting in the capture of four guns, 2,000 small-arms, eight battle-flags, one bridge train, and 1,600 prisoners. To Major-General French and the officers and men of the third corps engaged, particularly to the leading column commanded by Colonel De Trobriand, his thanks are due for the gallantry displayed in the crossing at Kelly's Ford and the seizure of the enemy's intrenchments, and the capture of over 400 prisoners. The Commanding General takes great pleasure in announcing to the army that the President has expressed his satisfaction with its recent operations."

General Meade, after concentrating his force on the south side of the Rappahannock, prepared to advance against the enemy, now encamped beyond the Rapidan.

On the 26th of November, Meade crossed the Rapidan, exciting high hopes in the Army of the Potomac of a vigorous campaign. The enemy were found in a strong position on the left bank of Mine Run. In front they were covered by an impassable marsh, and additionally protected by earth-works, rifle-pits, and abattis. So formidable was the position, that it was deemed imprudent to attempt to take it by direct assault. It was accordingly determined that General Warren should attack and turn the enemy's right wing, and that Generals Sykes and Sedgwick, with the fifth and sixth corps, should attack their left while the third and first corps made a demonstration upon their centre.

"The reserves of artillery," says a military critic,* "had all been brought forward and positioned ready for action; but for some reason General Warren failed to connect, and night slipped in upon us, all drawn up in line of battle. That night a change was made in the programme. General Warren did not deem his force adequate to the task of turning the enemy's right, so he was still further reinforced by two divisions of the third corps, under Generals Carr and Prince, while Birney, with his division of the same corps, was to support the artillery.

"Eight o'clock on Monday morning, November 30th, was then set as the hour for the great battle to open, and we retired to our ground beds to rest and dream. The night of Sunday was the coldest we have yet experienced. Ice formed in the streams an inch in thickness, and several of our men froze their limbs, and one or two their lives out, while doing duty as pickets.

"At eight o'clock on Monday, November 30th, the artillery began to play upon the enemy, and for an hour, I think, the firing was as constant and heavy as I ever witnessed; but the infantry did not make any demonstrations whatever, and, after making a deal of noise and wasting a large amount of ammunition, the artillery was silenced by an order from general headquarters.

"Nothing further was done during the day, except to study strategy; and that study resulted in demonstrating that the wisest plan to advance would be to

* N. Y. *Herald*.

go back to the line of the Rappahannock and take a fresh start. Accordingly we commenced moving back toward the river, and at night we crossed in safety, having succeeded in losing about 1,000 men in killed, wounded, and missing, and generating a very unkind feeling in the breasts of the rank and file toward those in position who had promised them so much and yielded them so little."

The armies of Lee and Meade now went into winter quarters, doing little else than guarding their lines and occasionally harassing each other by cavalry expeditions.

CHAPTER XXVII.

A Closing Chapter.—The Capital of Arkansas occupied by Union Troops.—The Enemy posted at Arkadelphia.—They assume the Offensive.—Battle of Pine Bluff.—The Enemy beaten.—Sack of the Town. Demoralization of the Enemy.—Mutiny.—Quarrel of Price and Holmes.—Reconciliation.—Retirement of the Enemy.—Arkadelphia occupied by Union Troops.—Return to Loyalty in Arkansas.—Meetings.—Recruits for Federal Army.—The Indians abandon the Enemy.—Shelby's Raid into Missouri.—Its extent.—General Brown in pursuit.—Escape of Shelby.—General Averill's Expedition in Western Virginia.—A remarkable March.—Marching, Climbing, Sliding, and Swimming.—Enemy's Account.—The Siege of Charleston.—Sumter still flies the Rebel Flag.—The Bombardment of Charleston.—Harbor closed.—The Affair of the Marblehead.—The Foundering of the Weehawken.—The cause explained.—Grounding of the Lehigh. Destruction of Salt-works in Florida.—General Butler in command of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina.—His Action in Behalf of the "Contrabands."—The Union Prisoners in Virginia—Their Sufferings—Relieved through Butler.—Communication with Butler refused by the Confederate Authorities—Seizure of the Chesapeake.—Recapture.—The Prisoners handed over to the British Authorities.—Held for Trial.

In this closing chapter of the military and naval operations of the year, 1863. various incidents of the war, though not associated by time or place, will be grouped together for the convenience of the writer and reader.

The enemy in Arkansas, after having been dispossessed of Little Rock, the capital, and driven from the centre of the State, took post at Arkadelphia, in the south, where, after concentrating their forces, they ventured to assume the offensive. With their cavalry, estimated at 4,000, under the command Oct. 25. of Generals Marmaduke and Cabell, they attacked the Union troops at Pine Bluff. Colonel Clayton held the place with a force of only about 700 mounted men. As soon as he discovered that the enemy, of whose approach he had "only a half-hour's notice," were coming, he made hasty preparations for defence. Posting his eleven cannon in the court-house square, and barricading the streets with bales of cotton, he succeeded in repulsing several assaults of the enemy, and inflicting upon them a severe loss. Finally, Colonel Clayton, clearing his barricades of cotton, charged upon his assailants and drove them off. They had, however, been sufficiently long in possession of the undefended parts of

the city, to which they had gained access, to sack many of the houses and burn a quantity of cotton. Three hundred of their men were left dead and wounded in the streets. The Union loss was only eleven killed and thirty-three wounded.

The enemy's force in Arkansas was now reported to be much demoralized. Numerous desertions occurred daily, and the dissatisfaction at the supersedure of General Price by General Holmes exhibited itself in mutiny. The two generals themselves quarrelled, and were on the point of fighting a duel, when their friends interposed and reconciled them. To prevent the total dissolution of their force, the enemy were obliged to shift their quarters farther to the south, and Arkadelphia being evacuated by them was occupied by the Union troops. Arkansas was thus almost entirely abandoned by the regular troops of the Confederates, though their guerrilla bands yet roamed over the country. The citizens of the State, under Federal influence, began to manifest a disposition not only to return to the Union but to fight for it. A convention of "unconditional Unionists" assembled, at which loyal speeches and resolutions were made, and a candidate for Congress nominated, who was subsequently elected. Numbers of citizens came forward and took the oath of allegiance to the United States, while many united themselves in companies for home defence or joined the Federal army.

The Indian allies of the enemy, moreover, seemed inclined to follow the good example of their white brethren of Arkansas. The Choctaw chieftain, McCurtain, and some of his braves, surrendered themselves to General McNeil at Fort Smith, and expressed a desire to take the benefit of President Lincoln's amnesty.

The much vexed Missouri was still tormented by the enemy. Colonel Joe Shelby, having gathered together the remnants of the scattered cavalry in Arkansas, made a dash into Missouri. On the 3d of October he took undisputed possession of Pineville, McDonald County, and on the next day captured two companies of the Missouri State Militia at Acosho. Subsequently Carthage was burned, Greenfield plundered, Dade County court-house destroyed, Hamansville, in Polk County, turned into a camping ground, and Warsaw and Osceola plundered.

From Warsaw the raiders made their way to the Pacific Railroad, where they did much damage. From the railway, which they struck at Tipton, they proceeded to Booneville, which they treated without mercy.

"They entered the city," testifies one of the sufferers, "about twelve o'clock on Sunday, and remained till after dark the same day, robbing and pillaging indiscriminately during their stay. They asked no questions about politics or sympathies, but robbed all alike. Not a single store in the place escaped. All were plundered—some of them of large amounts of dry goods, groceries, boots and shoes. The saddlery shops, of which there were two in the city, were objects

of particular attraction to the villains, and were stripped of everything in them. All the horses and mules of any value they could find were seized and carried off. The farmers in the country suffered nearly as heavily as the merchants in the city. It is estimated that the total value of property stolen in the county by the greedy rebel thieves is $200,000.

* * * * *

"The vandals destroyed all the records they could find in the court-house. Dr. Trigg, a prominent citizen, expostulated with them on this piece of wanton destruction, and was told by the rebels that it was their determination to destroy all the records and archives of the 'Gamble dynasty.'"

Shortly after the marauders left Booneville, General Brown, who had been for some time in pursuit, came up with their rear-guard and commenced a series of skirmishes which closed with a more serious engagement. General Brown, in his report of October 13, 1863, says: "After following the enemy through Cole Camp, Syracuse, and Booneville, skirmishing with his rear all the distance, he was forced to make a stand at Merrill's Crossing of Salt Fork, a point eight miles southwest of Arrow Rock, and about the same distance from Marshall, and commenced a skirmishing fight at six o'clock on the evening of the 12th, in the midst of a cold driving rain. We fought him as long as we could see, and lay down on our arms in the rain during the night.

"At three o'clock this morning I dispatched Lieutenant-Colonel Lazear, with about 900 men, with orders to move to the south, avoiding the route of the enemy, and intercept him, if possible, at Marshall, and bring on an engagement, while I followed him (the enemy) with the balance of my command. The result was as I had hoped: Lieutenant-Colonel Lazear drove in the balance of the enemy, and an engagement commenced at eight o'clock A.M. The enemy had possession of the ford on my arrival, and checked my advance for a few moments; but by making a detour to the left, I found one of these crossings, and gained position in their rear, on the bank of the creek along which they were formed. They soon gave way and broke through the dense timber and brush which for a mile and a half fringed the borders of the creek. By throwing a force through their centre their forces were divided, part being driven east toward Arrow Rock, and part, under Shelby, to the northwest—both bodies pursued by our victorious troops."

The Unionists, in the various engagements, lost, according to General Brown, only thirty, while the loss of the enemy he estimated at 200 or 300 men with all their artillery, consisting of two guns.

Brown continued his pursuit, but Shelby escaped finally with a remnant of his marauders, though terribly harassed in his flight. His trail was marked by lines of dead and broken-down horses which had been left by the fugitives, who mounted in their stead those they had stolen.

General Kelley, in his Department of Western Virginia, being advised of Gen-

eral Longstreet's repulse at Knoxville, made an effort to harass him during his retreat. He accordingly organized an expedition to cut the line of the Tennessee and Virginia Railroad. General Averill was placed in command, and sent out with the Second, Third, and Eighth Virginia Mounted Infantry, Fourteenth Pennsylvania, a battalion of cavalry, and Ewing's battery. On the 16th of December he commenced his operations on the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, at Salem.

Dec. 16.

"Three dépôts," says General Averill in his report, "were destroyed, containing 2,000 barrels of flour, 10,000 bushels of wheat, 100,000 bushels of shelled corn, 50,000 bushels of oats, 2,000 barrels of meat, several cords of leather, 1,000 sacks of salt, 31 boxes of clothing, 20 bales of cotton, a large amount of harness, shoes, and saddles, equipments, tools, oil, tar, and various other stores, and 100 wagons. The telegraph wire was cut, coiled, and burned for half a mile. The water-station, turn-table, and three cars were burned, and the track torn up and rails heated and destroyed as much as possible.

"In six hours five bridges and several culverts were destroyed over an extent of fifteen miles. A large quantity of bridge timber and repairing materials were also destroyed.

"My march was retarded occasionally by the tempest in the mountains and the icy roads. I was obliged to swim my command and drag my artillery with ropes across Crog's Creek seven times in twenty-four hours.

"On my return I found six separate commands, under Generals Early, Jones, Fitz Hugh Lee, Imboden, Jackson, Echols, and McCoustin, arranged in a line extending from Staunton to Newport, upon all the available roads, to prevent my return. I captured a dispatch from General Jones to General Early, giving me his position and that of Jackson at Clifton Forge.

"I marched from the front of Jones to that of Jackson at night. His outposts were pressed in at a gallop by the Eighth Virginia Mounted Infantry, and the two bridges across Jackson's River were saved, although fagots had been piled ready to ignite. My column, about four miles long, hastened across, regardless of the enemy, until all but my ambulances, a few wagons, and one regiment had passed, when a strong effort was made to retake the first bridge, in which they did not succeed. The ambulance and some sick men were lost, and by the darkness and difficulties the last regiment was detained upon the opposite side until morning, when it was ascertained that the enemy seemed determined to maintain his position up the cliffs which overlooked the bridges. I caused the bridges, which were long and high, to be destroyed, and the enemy immediately changed his position to the flank and rear of the detachment which was cut off, and sent orders to the remnants to destroy our wagons and come to me across the river or over the mountains. They swam the river with the loss of only four men, who were drowned, and joined me.

"In the mean time the forces of the enemy were concentrating upon me at Callaghan's, over every available road but one, which was deemed impracticable, but by which I crossed over the top of the Alleghanies with my command, with the exception of four caissons, which were destroyed in order to increase the teams of the pieces.

"My loss is six men drowned, one officer and four men wounded, and four officers and ninety men missing.

"We captured about 200 prisoners, but have retained but four officers and eighty men, on account of their inability to walk. We took also about 150 horses.

"My horses have subsisted entirely upon a very poor country, and the officers and men have suffered cold, hunger, and fatigue with remarkable fortitude. My command has marched, climbed, slid, and swam 355 miles since the 8th of December."

The siege of Charleston still lingered. General Gillmore kept up a slow fire upon the enemy's forts, with an occasional bombardment of the city. The ruins of Sumter, though frequently cannonaded, continued to harbor a garrison and bear the rebel flag. Our troops had secured an impregnable position, and the iron-clad force so closed the harbor that there was no ingress or egress for the enemy's vessels.

"The U. S. steam gun-boat Marblehead, Lieutenant-Commander Richard W. Meade, Jun., of six guns and seventy-two men (twelve men short of complement)," reports a correspondent of the *Army and Navy Journal*, "was attacked at twenty minutes past six A.M., December 25th, while anchored off Legareville, S. C., by the rebels on John's Island.

"The attack was made by two batteries of field and siege pieces—one posted in a thick wood, and masked from view, and the other in the open space to the southwest of the village (where 100 Federal soldiers were quartered), and distant one mile from Legareville, and 1,000 yards from the Marblehead.

"The rebels only fired two shots, when the Marblehead slipped her cable and replied. She then took a position distant 700 yards from the battery in the wood, and paying no attention to the light battery in the open, concentrated a fire of four guns on the siege pieces. The brass guns of the Marblehead, from rapidity of fire, becoming heated, broke adrift—the vessel wore round, keeping up a rapid fire from the two pivot-guns, and brought the port broadside to bear. After a sharp and bloody contest of an hour, the rebels flinched from their guns and retired in disorder, leaving behind them on the field two eight-inch howitzer iron guns and caissons, six dead horses, seventy-two shovels for intrenching, one dead man, and accoutrements of every description. The rebels fired over 300 rifled projectiles at the Marblehead. The Marblehead fired 256 shell and shrapnel, nearly all of which went straight to the mark. The loss of the rebels in killed and wounded it is im-

possible to ascertain ; it must have been very great, as the ground is torn up in every direction as if ploughed.

"The loss of the Marblehead was three killed (cut almost in two by heavy projectiles), and four wounded seriously. Two other men were wounded slightly, but refused to report to the surgeon. The commander also was struck on the foot by an iron splinter from the starboard fore-bit, but uninjured, and Acting Ensign Harriman was knocked down at his gun, but is also uninjured.

"The coolness and courage displayed by the officers and men produced so creditable a result to the navy.

"The Marblehead is badly cut up—has twelve shot in the hull, eighteen through the upper works and spars, and has lost her main topmast. The running rigging was all cut to pieces, and some of the standing rigging was shot away. The affair was decided by short range and rapidity of fire.

"The U. S. steamer Pawnee at the time the action commenced was anchored in Stono Inlet, about two miles from Legareville ; owing to a leaky boiler and little speed, she did not get up until the fight was almost over ; but by going up the Hiawah River and enfilading the rebels, she contributed greatly to their demoralization. The rebels, however, did not fire a shot at her, as they had commenced to give way when the Pawnee opened fire. The mortar schooner C. P. Williams, Acting Master Freeman commanding, although anchored nearly five miles off in the Folly River, slipped her cable at the sound of the first gun, and came down gallantly under sail. She arrived in time to open fire on the retreating enemy."

The foundering of the Weehawken was a disaster which, with other circumstances, created a distrust of the iron-clad monitors, of which so much had been expected. She was lying at anchor at the entrance of the harbor of Charleston, when a storm arose, which caused her to labor heavily, to ship frequent heavy seas, and finally to sink, and so suddenly as to carry down with her most of her officers and crew.

Dec. 6.

"It is impossible," wrote a witness of the scene, "to convey any idea of the appalling nature of this disaster. It came with the suddenness of a thunderbolt. When the first signal of distress was made, no one divined how serious was the danger, and when, at length, the vessel went down, it was difficult for those who saw her disappear to credit even the evidence of their own senses. The confusion on the flag-ship, arising mainly from the difficulty of launching her boats, and the desire of both officers and men to be first in them, was most intense and painful. The wind was now blowing with great fury, and the boats which hastened from all sides to the scene encountered great peril in picking up from the water the few who had succeeded in getting away from the Weehawken before she sank. Almost at the moment she went down, some twenty or more sprang to the boats and succeeded in getting away. As many others were rescued from the

surging waves by the launches of the flag-ship, the South Carolina, and the tug-boats Dandelion and Iris. Thirty perished.

"All day the Weehawken had labored heavily in the sea, which kept her decks constantly submerged, and which frequently swept in huge volumes into her forward hatch. Toward noon the crew commenced paying out chain, to ease her; but accustomed as they were, in every gale, to the shipping of such seas, it is believed that they had grown confident and careless of danger, and paid no heed to the encroaching waters until it was too late to resist them. They dreamed of no peril till the waves had fairly yawned to swallow them. Then, when it was known for a certainty that the vessel was to be lost, a panic of fright and fear benumbed them, and the terror-stricken crew below had little power to help themselves. There were men in irons between decks, and the sergeant-at-arms rushed frantically away to release them. Poor fellows, they all went down. There were invalids in the sick bay, and to their relief the surgeon sent his steward, who never returned. There were firemen at the furnaces, to whom vain shrieks for a helping hand at the pumps were made. A few of the confident were rushing to their quarters to save their effects, jostling the timid on their way to the deck to save themselves. It was in the midst of scenes like these that the Weehawken went down."

On investigation, it was discovered that a rupture between the "overhang" and the hull of the vessel was the cause of her foundering. So great was the leak thus produced, that it was impossible for the pumps to keep her clear of water.

The grounding of the Lehigh was a second serious disaster to the iron-clad fleet. She was on picket duty near Fort Johnson when she struck. The enemy's batteries opened upon her and did her great damage, but her consorts went to her relief and brought her off. The Lehigh, however, was so much injured, that it was found necessary to tow her to Port Royal for repairs.

Dec. 18.

The destruction of the extensive salt-works at Lake Ocala and in St. Andrew's Bay, in Florida, by the blockading force under the command of Acting Master William R. Browne, was a serious blow to the enemy. Kent's salt-works on the lake, which produced about 130 bushels of salt daily, were destroyed on the 2d of December, and on the 10th, the Confederate Government salt-works also, whose daily product was 400 bushels. A large number of buildings, twenty-two large boilers, 200 kettles, with the capacity of 200 gallons each, 5,000 bushels of salt, and several storehouses containing provisions, shared the same fate. Subsequently the expedition moved along the coast and destroyed 198 private salt-making establishments, and shelled and burned to the ground the town of St Andrews. The loss of the enemy was estimated at $3,000,000.

Dec. 2, 10.

General Butler, who, after being superseded in Louisiana by General

Banks, remained for several months without a command, was finally appointed the successor of General Foster, in the Department of Virginia and North Carolina. With characteristic energy he moved rapidly over his scene of duty and thoroughly inspected every post. Now an enthusiast in the cause of emancipation, he strove to rally the negro slaves, or "contrabands," as he himself called them, to the free standard of the North. To secure the good treatment of such, the General issued a humane order which, in its recognition of equal rights, showed how thoroughly he had become converted to the opinions of those he had once persecuted.

Oct. 28.

His humanity was also called into exercise in behalf of the Union prisoners in the hands of the enemy. In consequence of a disagreement between the commissioners of exchange, a large number of our captured soldiers remained in Southern prisons, where they were greatly suffering. "If the Government wait much longer, very few will remain for exchange; cold, hunger, and creeping filth—these are our daily solace," wrote an officer from his place of captivity in Richmond. The following report, drawn up by a number of surgeons who had been prisoners, gives a detailed account of the hardships to which they had been exposed.

"United States Steamer Adelaide, en route for Baltimore, Md., *Nov.* 26, 1863.

"The committee appointed by the United States army and navy surgeons recently imprisoned in Richmond, Va., to report the past and present condition and treatment of Union prisoners now held at that place, submit the following facts, derived from personal observation and the statements of fellow-prisoners, in whose veracity they have implicit confidence:

"The officers, about 1,000 in all, and representing nearly all grades of both branches of the service, are confined in seven rooms of the Libby Prison—a building formerly used as a warehouse. Each room is 43 feet wide and 102 feet long, with unplastered walls, partitions, and ceilings. But few of the windows are glazed, being open to the full sweep of cold winds or closed with boards or canvas—either of the latter rendering the rooms dark and cheerless. One of the rooms is used exclusively as a kitchen and dining-room, while portions of others are necessarily devoted to the same purpose. But nine scantily furnished and medium-sized cook-stoves are supplied the entire prison. The officers have to do their own cooking, and the supply of wood for this purpose is often insufficient, and occasionally for half a day none at all is sent in. A privy and sink rendered foul and disgusting one end of each room, polluting at times the air of the entire apartment. None are permitted to leave this building of accumulated and accumulating horrors till borne to the hospital, or happily, exchanged.

"The enlisted men are confined in various places. At the time the surgeons left Richmond, there were about 6,300 soldiers held on Belle Island, in

James River, near the city, and about 4,000 soldiers and 200 sailors and marines in buildings similar to and in the immediate vicinity of the Libby. In the buildings the men are in about the same condition as the officers in the Libby, only much more crowded; but the condition of those on the island is much worse. An insufficient number of tents are furnished to protect them from cold and rain; and no blankets or any other bedding have been given them by the rebels. Only one surgeon is assigned to Belle Island, and he makes but one visit a day, during which he does not enter the inclosure where the men are kept, to see those too sick to walk, but attends to those only who are able to come to him. When those neglected men are sent to the hospital, it is often too late.

"None of the privates in the prisons about Libby are furnished bedding of any kind. A member of this committee received a letter from a man belonging to the same command, and confined in the building opposite Libby, worded thus: 'Doctor, we beg of you to try and get us something, either clothes or blankets, to keep us warm. We have no fires in the building to warm us, have nothing either to lie on or cover us, and suffer greatly from the cold.' In Libby, stoves for heating purposes have recently been put up in some of the rooms, but no fuel of any description has yet been given to render them useful.

"At one time the rations issued consisted of about three fourths of a pound of wheat bread, one-fourth of a pound of fresh beef, two ounces of beans, and a small quantity of vinegar and salt for each prisoner per day. Subsequently the same quantity of corn bread, made of unsifted meal, was issued instead of the wheat bread, and rice instead of beans. More recently the rations have been corn bread, fresh beef and rice, in the above quantities, or, in lieu of beef and rice, two or three small sweet potatoes, and quite often, more particularly within the past two weeks, absolutely nothing excepting the three-fourths of a pound of corn bread has been issued to each prisoner to satisfy the gnawing of hunger for twenty-four hours. On the 10th of this month the men on Belle Island did not get a morsel of anything to eat till four o'clock P.M. The committee unanimously agree that the rations furnished Union prisoners by rebel authorities at Richmond are not sufficient to prevent those prisoners from suffering from hunger, and thus becoming debilitated and very susceptible to disease. Some of this committee have seen men brought from Belle Island to the prison hospital literally starving to death, and a United States army officer, of high rank and undoubted veracity, then and now a prisoner in Libby, told a member of this committee that while on a visit to Belle Island recently, whither he went by permission of the rebels, the prisoners there followed him in crowds as he walked around the inclosure, and cried to him with eager voices, 'We are hungry; send us bread—send us bread!' Were it not for supplies received from home, none

of those confined in Libby and the other prisons would escape the pangs of hunger.

"On arriving at the prison the officers are searched, and in addition to articles 'contraband of war,' their money and other valuables are taken from them. A few get all, some the greater portion, and others none of their money returned, while all other articles are retained. All money arriving in letters and express packages for prisoners, from whatever source, is taken and 'deposited' with the rebel quartermaster of Richmond, and the owner is permitted to draw it in limited amounts in rebel paper, though they allow seven dollars in 'Confederate currency' for one dollar United States money. Some of the surgeons released yesterday, on applying for their money—taken from them in various ways, but always with the promise that if released while any remained 'on deposit' it would be returned in kind—were coolly told that the aforesaid quartermaster had exchanged all their money, and they must either take 'Confederate' or wait.

"The treatment received by our privates is of the greatest severity. For looking out of a window three nights since, one was shot and instantly killed. Those having trades, and also some who have none, are taken out into the city and compelled to work, guarded and restrained from all liberty by sentries. It was no uncommon sight to see gangs of our men coming back to their prison-house at night, carrying their implements of labor, bespattered with white-wash, or showing other signs of having been at work. About thirty of our men are now employed in Richmond making shoes, supposed to be for the rebel army.

"Some officers have been compelled to scrub the floors, clean the water-closets of the prison, and perform other menial services. All are and have been at all times since their imprisonment in Libby subjected to insults and brutal treatment on the part of prison subordinates; and the captain and inspector of the prison, when appealed to, not only does not rebuke these subordinates, but encourages them to further offensive conduct. Upon the most trivial charges officers have been confined for from twenty-four hours to several days in damp dungeons under the jail, there fed only on bread and water. An officer, for doing that which certainly did not merit the term offence, was put into one of these dungeon cells, though at the time convalescent from typhoid fever, and too weak to do anything.

Not more than 200 blankets have been given the prisoners in Libby by the rebels. Were it not for those received from home and furnished by the Sanitary Commission, all would suffer very much.

"Twice within the past week the floors of the prison have been scrubbed at sundown, and thus through the cold night following, with no fires to drive off the moisture, officers have had to lie on those disease-engendering floors, or walk the rooms till morning brought relief by bringing sunlight. On two

other occasions the floors were scrubbed nearly half an hour before the officers were ready to arise from their resting-places; and thus in various ways do the authorities seek to make our condition not only uncomfortable but dangerous.

"After their arrival at the hospital the sick are not unkindly treated, and the rations given them are a shade better than those issued to them when in the prisons; but so enfeebled have they become by the deprivation of food, and so stricken by exposure previous to their admission, that the mortality is great. The number of deaths among Union prisoners in Richmond, Va., and on Belle Island, together, has reached the startling number of fifty in one day. All the prison hospitals are insufficiently supplied with medicines for the proper treatment of the sick. And finally, the members of this committee individually asseverate that no prison or penitentiary ever seen by them in a Northern State equalled in cheerlessness, unhealthiness, and paucity of rations issued in them, either of the military prisons of Richmond, Va. Respectfully,

"COMMITTEE: Daniel Meeker, Surgeon, United States Volunteers; O. Q. Herrick, Surgeon, Thirty-fourth Illinois Volunteers; William M. Houston, Surgeon, One Hundred and Twenty-second Ohio Volunteers; H. J. Herrick, Surgeon, Seventeenth Vermont Volunteers; John T. Luck, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Navy; Augustine A. Mann, Assistant Surgeon, First Rhode Island Cavalry; J. Marcus Rice, Surgeon, Twenty-fifth Massachusetts Volunteers."

Permission having been obtained from the enemy for the admission of supplies to our prisoners, a large quantity of food and clothing was sent by the Government and some private persons to Richmond for the benefit of the sufferers. General Butler became the medium of the preliminary negotiations and subsequent transport of these supplies, the Confederate authorities not hesitating to accept this timely relief to their exhausted commissariat from the impure hands of a man they had denounced as unworthy of human fellowship. On General Butler, however, being authorized to negotiate for the exchange of the prisoners, the Confederate Government, whose President had proclaimed him an outlaw, refused all communication with him.

Dec. 7.

The seizure of the Chesapeake, a screw steam-packet plying between New York and Portland, in Maine, while on her passage to the latter place, was one of the most daring acts of the enemy. The perpetrators were sixteen men, under the leadership of Osborne and Braine, who had gone on board the vessel in the guise of passengers.

Captain Willets, the commander of the Chesapeake, in his narrative of her capture, said, "that at a quarter past one o'clock on the morning of Monday, the 7th of December, he was awakened by Mr. Johnson, the mate, who told him that the second engineer had been shot. The captain supposed it was done by the passengers, who afterward turned out to be pirates. It appears, at the time of the rising of the villains, that the

vessel was about twenty miles north-northeast of Cape Cod, heading up for Portland, and that the night was dark. The mate went to the pantry for some purpose, when he saw one of the pirates fire a pistol at Mr. Schaffer, the ball taking effect under the right ear and in the neck. Mr. Schaffer had been down below, oiling the engine, and had just come up on the grating when he received his first mortal wound ; but enough of life remained in him to reach the deck, when he fell a corpse. Two more balls were put into his head after he was dead.

"Mr. Johnson, the mate, now fled to warn the captain, while three or four of the devils incarnate pursued him, firing at him rapidly. No sooner had Captain Willets reached the deck than he met a volley of pistol balls. He went aft and sought to regain his room, where he had firearms ; but finding he was pursued too closely, he endeavored to reach the pilot-house, and just as he was about to enter it he was seized, and with a pistol held close to his face, was put in irons. Strange to say, while he was at the engine-room door and in his run around the deck, although over fifteen balls passed close to him, and at one time two men who were pursuing him were not twelve feet from him, and while at the pilot-house three or four persons fired at him, yet he escaped harm. After being ironed, Captain Willets was placed in his room and a guard put over him.

"One pirate went down into the fire-room and found a fireman at work, busily engaged in attending to his duties; he let fly a shot at him, but missed his mark. The poor fellow sought refuge in a coal bunker, but was finally brought out and put in irons, and kept below in charge of this would-be murderer. It seems that the pirates did not relish much talking, as the second engineer, who was killed, was not spoken to by his murderer.

"Mr. Johnson, the chief engineer, was shot in the chin ; and Mr. Johnson, the chief officer, was wounded in the arm and also on the knee-joint. These gentlemen were put in irons ; and then the sailors and firemen, who were below and asleep at the time of the shooting, and had been kept below by securing the forecastle hatch, were brought up and placed in irons.

"During this time, which occupied only a few minutes, the ship had been going ahead at her own will, the engines at their usual speed, and the helm still remaining in charge of the helmsman. Osborne now took charge of the vessel, put her on her course, and ordered the body of Schaffer to be thrown overboard and sunk by means of a large piece of iron which was fastened to it. The captain and the officers were now sent to the cabin, and a guard placed over them.

"The five *bona-fide* passengers, who were old sea captains, were not molested, but were told if they interfered in any manner they would be shot.

"The third assistant engineer was now relieved of his irons and put in charge of the engine, and one fireman was released to keep the fires in order.

Occasionally the chief engineer was allowed to visit the engine-room to see if everything was going on right, as they feared the inexperience of the junior engineer might lead to some disastrous results.

"From two o'clock in the morning until daylight Captain Willets had no opportunity of learning what was going on upon deck. At any rate, everything was quiet. At sunrise, and occasionally afterward, the prisoners were allowed to come up to get the air.

"At the usual time the steward was notified to prepare the breakfast, which was conducted in the usual manner, save that, for fear of being poisoned, the cook was compelled to taste of everything in their presence, and he was watched very closely after breakfast, of which the pirates, the captives, and the passengers partook of as if nothing had happened. The captain was detained aft, while his and the officers' rooms were ransacked. Of the contents of the cargo they knew full well, and did not disturb it.

"Nothing unusual occurred on Monday night; but on Tuesday morning at seven o'clock the Chesapeake was brought to anchor in Seal Harbor, at the island of Grand Menan. Colonel Braine then ordered a boat to be lowered and manned by the pirates. He then went on shore to obtain further orders. He returned at noon, when the steamer was got under weigh, and stood off to the southwestward of the island, then, entering the river, headed up for St. John's, N. B. On arriving at a given point the American ensign was set union down, and in response a St. John's pilot-boat, commanded by one Captain Mullheron, put off. The steamer was stopped, and a boat came alongside, bringing a man who gave his name as Smith. This fellow conferred with Osborne and his associates, and then returned to the pilot-boat. 'Now Jno. Parker,' former commander of the privateer Retribution, came on board and assumed sole command, leaving Osborne—who had been kicking his pirate crew unkindly a little while before—out in the cold.

"After Parker came on board, the pilot-boat was taken in tow, Smith still being on board of the pilot-boat, and the steamer was headed for Dipper Harbor, which is about twelve miles from St. John's. At seven o'clock in the evening she came to at Dipper Harbor, and the captives were allowed just ten minutes to transfer themselves and their allowance of baggage to the pilot-boat. The captain, officers, and men were robbed of half their clothing and effects. Having embarked on the pilot-boat, the Chesapeake towed her up the river toward St. John's, say five miles from Dipper Harbor, when she cast her tow off and started off. She then went off the same way she came, picking up a schooner, which is supposed to have had guns, ammunition, and a few coals on board for the pirate steamer."

The Government promptly dispatched a number of armed vessels in pursuit of the stolen steamer, which was finally, after a diligent search, found by the

Dec. 17. U. S. gun-boats Ella and Annie, in Sambro Harbor, and recaptured.

The course of the Chesapeake after leaving St. John's, where Captain Willets' narrative closed, is thus related by the chief engineer, Johnson, who had been compelled to remain on board.

"After we left St. John's," he says, "the first port we entered was Shelburne, where we arrived on Thursday night, December 10th. Here we took in ten tons of coals and some wood. The next morning we left for Lahave River. Seeing a steamer off the mouth of the river we concealed the vessel as best we could, and ascended the river on Friday night, December 11th. We laid to at this point until Tuesday night, December 15th, discharging part of the cargo, for which we received 1,000 dollars. We sold the sugar for three cents a pound, the flour for three dollars a barrel, and other articles for proportionate prices. We left the river at three o'clock in the afternoon, lying to at its mouth all night, and loading a schooner with goods which we had not disposed of. On the morning of Wednesday we steamed for St. Mary's Bay, about ninety miles east of Halifax. About nine o'clock on the following morning we saw a steamer. Immediately we concealed the vessel by hugging the shore. When the steamer disappeared we started again. We arrived off Sambro without meeting with any further trouble, and were boarded by a pilot named Flynn, who took the vessel into Sambro Harbor. Captain Locke, now satisfying himself that there was not coal enough on board to complete the voyage, concluded to anchor the vessel, and he did so at two o'clock in the afternoon.* In the mean time he started for Halifax to procure coal and engineers for the vessel. He told me (Johnson) that as soon as he obtained new engineers he intended to release me, and I told him that I would not on any account remain with the vessel any longer. The captain returned about two o'clock on the following morning, having been successful in his expedition. A schooner came with him. At about six o'clock on the same morning the pilot Flynn informed the captain that Union gun-boats were entering the harbor. The captain, satisfying himself that this statement was correct, ordered me (Johnson) to scuttle the vessel. I replied that I could not do it. The captain then hastily secured what plunder he could, and he and his officers and crew took to the boats as the Ella and Annie appeared in sight."

The commander of the U. S. gun-boat gave up the Chesapeake and the three men who were found on board of her, as they had been captured in English territory, to the British authorities. On landing the prisoners at Halifax, they were rescued by a mob. They were, however, retaken and held for trial, together with their fugitive comrades, who had been arrested.

* Locke had gone on board the Chesapeake at St. John's, and assumed the command.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Meeting of the Thirty-eighth Congress.—The President's Message.—Foreign Relations.—Finances.—Naval Operations.—Negro Enlistments.—Good Policy of Emancipation Proclamations, etc.—Firmness of the President.—Proclamation of Amnesty.—Report of the Secretary of the Treasury.—Report of the Secretary of War.—Exchange of Prisoners.—Power of Ordnance.—Report of the Secretary of the Navy.—Meeting of the Confederate Congress.—Message of Jefferson Davis.—Report of Memminger, the Secretary of the Treasury.—Memminger's Confessions.—Immense overflow of Currency.—The Effect—Fatal to the Confederacy, if not remedied.—Action of Congress on the Conscription.—Extraordinary Measures.—Signs of Exhaustion—Bread Riots.—Confessions of the Authorities.—A Redundant Currency the chief Mischief. Destitution at Richmond.—Nothing left but the effort of Despair.—Montesquieu's Opinion of the Strength of Despair.—Rumors of Peace Propositions.—Mission of Vice-President Stephens.—Misconceptions—Explanation by Davis.

1863. Dec. 7.

On Monday, December 7th, the Thirty-eighth Congress met at Washington. The Senate and House of Representatives were organized, with Vice-President Hamlin as the official president of the former, and the Hon. Schuyler Colfax as the chosen speaker of the latter.

The President's message and the reports of the various departments were duly laid before Congress. The President said on the subject of our foreign relations:

"We remain in peace and friendship with foreign powers. The efforts of disloyal citizens of the United States to involve us in foreign wars, to aid an inexcusable insurrection, have been unavailing. Her Britannic Majesty's Government, as was justly expected, have exercised their authority to prevent the departure of new hostile expeditions from British ports. The Emperor of France has, by a like proceeding, promptly vindicated the neutrality which he proclaimed at the beginning of the contest. Questions of great intricacy and importance have arisen out of the blockade, and other belligerent operations, between the Government and several of the maritime powers, but they have been discussed, and as far as was possible accommodated, in a spirit of frankness, justice, and mutual good-will. It is especially gratifying that our prize courts, by the impartiality of their adjudications, have commanded the respect and confidence of maritime powers."

In regard to the finances of the Government, Mr. Lincoln briefly stated:

"The receipts during the year from all sources, including loans and the balance in the treasury at its commencement, were $901,125,674 86, and the aggregate disbursements $895,796,620 65, leaving a balance on the 1st of July, 1863, of $5,329,044 21. Of the receipts there were derived from customs, $69,059,642 40; from internal revenue, $37,640,787 95; from direct tax, $1,485,103 61; from lands, $167,617, 17; from miscellaneous sources, $3,046,615

35; and from loans, $776,682,361 57; making the aggregate $901,125,674 86. Of the disbursements there were for the civil service, $23,253,922 08; for pensions and Indians, $4,216,520 79; for interest on public debt, $24,729,846 51; for the War Department, $599,298,600 83; for the Navy Department, $63,211,105 27; for payment of funded and temporary debt, $181,086,635 07; making the aggregate $895,796,630 65, and leaving the balance of $5,329,044 21. But the payments of funded and temporary debt, having been made from moneys borrowed during the year, must be regarded as merely nominal payments, and the moneys borrowed to make them as merely nominal receipts, and their amount, $181,086,635 07, should therefore be deducted both from receipts and disbursements. This being done, there remains as actual receipts, $720,039,039 79; and the actual disbursements, $714,709,995 59, leaving the balance as already stated."

Of naval operations the President remarked:

"The duties devolving on the naval branch of the service during the year, and throughout the whole of this unhappy contest, have been discharged with fidelity and eminent success. The extensive blockade has been constantly increasing in efficiency. If the navy has expanded, yet on so long a line it has so far found it impossible to entirely suppress illicit trade. From returns received at the Navy Department, it appears that more than 1,000 vessels have been captured since the blockade was instituted, and that the value of prizes already sent in for adjudication amounts to over 13,000,000 of dollars. The naval force of the United States consists at this time of 588 vessels, completed and in the course of completion; and of these, seventy-five are iron-clad, or armored steamers. The events of the war give an increased interest and importance to the navy, which will probably extend beyond the war itself. The armored vessels in our navy, completed and in service, or which are under contract and approaching completion, are believed to exceed in number those of any other power; but while these may be relied upon for harbor defence and coast service, others of greater strength and capacity will be necessary for cruising purposes, and to maintain our rightful position on the ocean."

In regard to the experiment of enlisting negroes in the army, Mr. Lincoln made the following satisfactory statement:

"Of those who were slaves at the beginning of the rebellion, full 100,000 are now in the United States military service, about one-half of which number actually bear arms in the ranks; thus giving the double advantage of taking so much labor from the insurgent cause, and supplying the places which otherwise must be filled with so many white men. So far as tested, it is difficult to say they are not as good soldiers as any. No servile insurrection, or tendency to violence or cruelty, has marked the measures of emancipation and arming the blacks."

The President, convinced of the good policy of his action in respect to the emancipation of the slave, reiterated his conviction of the beneficial results of the laws and proclamations on the subject, and declared his determination to abide by them. He said:

"Those laws and proclamations were enacted and put forth for the purpose of aiding in the suppression of the rebellion. To give them their fullest effect there had to be a pledge for their maintenance. In my judgment they have aided and will further aid the cause for which they were intended. To now abandon them would be not only to relinquish a lever of power, but would also be a cruel and astounding breach of faith. I may add, at this point, that while I remain in my present position I shall not attempt to retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation, nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that proclamation, or by any of the acts of Congress. For these and other reasons it is thought best that support of these measures shall be included in the oath; and it is believed that the executive may lawfully claim it in return for pardon and restoration of forfeited rights, which he has a clear constitutional power to withhold altogether, or grant upon the terms he shall deem wisest for the public interest. It should be observed, also, that this part of the oath is subject to the modifying and abrogating power of legislation and supreme judicial decision."

The most important feature of the message was this proclamation of amnesty:

"Whereas, in and by the Constitution of the United States, it is provided that the President shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment; and, whereas, a rebellion now exists, whereby the loyal State governments of several States have for a long time been subverted, and many persons have committed and are now guilty of treason against the United States:

"And, whereas, with reference to said rebellion and treason, laws have been enacted by Congress declaring forfeitures and confiscation of property and liberation of slaves, all upon terms and conditions therein stated, and also declaring that the President was thereby authorized at any time thereafter by proclamation to extend to persons who may have participated in the existing rebellion, in any State or part thereof, pardon and amnesty, with such exception and at such time, and on such conditions as he may deem expedient for the public welfare;

"Whereas, the Congressional declaration for limited and conditional pardon accords with the well-established judicial exposition of the pardoning power; and, whereas, with reference to the said rebellion, the President of the United States has issued several proclamations with provisions in regard to the liberation of slaves; and, whereas, it is now desired by some persons heretofore engaged in the said rebellion to resume their allegiance to the United States, and to reinaugurate loyal State govern-

ments within and for their respective States; therefore I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do proclaim, declare, and make known to all persons who have, directly or by implication, participated in the existing rebellion, except as hereinafter excepted, that a full pardon is hereby granted to them and each of them, with restoration of all rights of property, except as to slaves, and in property cases where the rights of third parties shall have intervened, and upon the condition that every such person shall take and subscribe an oath, and thenceforward keep and maintain said oath inviolate; and which oath shall be registered for permanent preservation, and shall be of the tenor and effect following, to wit:

"I, ———, do solemnly swear in presence of Almighty God that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Union of the States thereunder, and that I will in like manner abide by and faithfully support all acts of Congress passed during the existing rebellion with reference to slaves, so long and so far as not repealed, modified, or held void by Congress, or by decision of the Supreme Court; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all proclamations of the President made during the existing rebellion, having reference to slaves, so long and so far as not modified or declared void by decision of the Supreme Court. So help me God."

The persons excepted from the benefits of the foregoing provisions are all who are, or shall have been, civil or diplomatic officers or agents of the so-called Confederate Government; all who have left judicial stations under the United States to aid the rebellion; all who are, or shall have been, military or naval officers of said so-called Confederate Government above the rank of colonel in the army or of lieutenant in the navy; all who left seats in the United States Congress to aid the rebellion; all who resigned commissions in the army or navy of the United States, and afterward aided the rebellion; and all who have engaged in any way in treating colored persons, or white persons in charge of such, otherwise than lawfully as prisoners of war, and which persons may have been found in the United States service as soldiers, seamen, or in any other capacity; and I do further proclaim, declare, and make known, that whenever, in any of the States of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, and North Carolina, a number of persons, not less than one-tenth in number of the votes cast in such State at the Presidential election of the year of our Lord 1860, each having taken the oath aforesaid and not having since violated it, and being a qualified voter by the election law of the State existing immediately before the so-called act of secession, and excluding all others, shall re-establish a State government which shall be republican, and in no wise contravening said oath, such shall be recognized as the true government of the State, and the State

shall receive thereunder the benefits of the constitutional provision which declares that

"'The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive when the Legislature cannot be convened, against domestic violence.'

"And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known, that any provision which may be adopted by such State government in relation to the freed people of such State which shall recognize and declare their permanent freedom, provide for their education, and which yet may be consistent, as a temporary arrangement, with their present condition as a laboring, landless, and houseless class, will not be objected to by the national Executive.

"And it is engaged as not improper that, in constructing a loyal State government in any State, the name of the State, the boundary, the subdivisions, the constitution, and the general code of laws as before the rebellion, be maintained, subject only to the modifications made necessary by the conditions hereinbefore stated, and such others, if any, not contravening said conditions, and which may be deemed expedient by those framing the new State government. To avoid misunderstanding, it may be proper to say that this Proclamation, so far as it relates to State governments, has no reference to States wherein loyal State governments have all the while been maintained; and for the same reason it may be proper to say, that whether members sent to Congress from any State shall be admitted to seats constitutionally, rests exclusively with the respective houses, and not to any extent with the Executive. And still further, that this Proclamation is intended to present the people of the States wherein the national authority has been suspended, and loyal State governments have been subverted, a mode in and by which the national authority and loyal State governments may be re-established within said States or in any of them, and while the mode presented is the best the Executive can suggest with his present impressions, it must not be understood that no other possible mode would be acceptable.

"Given under my hand, at the city of Washington, the eighth day of December, A.D. one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-eighth.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"By the President:

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD,

"Secretary of State."

The Secretary of the Treasury presented an elaborate report of the financial condition of the Government for the fiscal year, closing with the 30th of June, 1863, and gave an estimate of that of the ensuing year, ending on the 30th of June, 1864.

"He had estimated that the receipts of the Government, apart from loans, for the year ending June 30, 1863,

would be 180 millions,* the amount was actually 124 millions, the deficiency arising from internal revenue, which had been calculated to produce 85 millions, while the receipts were only 37 millions. He had also estimated that the actual expenditures of the year would be 693 millions; the amount was 714 millions; of this sum 590 millions were derived from loans, which form an addition to the public debt. This debt on the 1st of July, 1862, was 508 millions; the national debt was therefore on the 1st of July, 1863, 1,098 millions. The expenditures of the Government for the present fiscal year, the Secretary estimated at 749 millions; of which 161 millions will be derived from customs and taxes, and the remaining 588 millions from loans. The debt of the nation on the 30th of June, 1864, will then be 1,686 millions. The actual amount on the 30th of September, 1863, was 1,228 millions. The estimates for the fiscal year commencing July 1, 1864, are only approximations, and are based on the supposition that the war will still continue. The revenue from ordinary sources is put down at 206 millions, the expenditures at 751 millions; leaving 545 millions to be provided for by loans. According to these estimates the entire debt on the 30th of June, 1865, will be about 2,232 millions. In order to make the internal revenue bring in the sum of 150 millions, the Secretary recommends increased taxes and duties upon various articles of luxury, prominent among which are that the duty on distilled spirits be fixed at sixty cents per gallon; on tobacco from five to twenty-five cents per pound, on petroleum ten cents per gallon; and on cotton two cents per pound."

The Secretary of War, in his report, gave a summary of the military operations of the year, the influence of which he stated "in suppressing the rebellion and restoring the authority of the Government can scarcely be overestimated." In the West, "the rebel territory has been cut in twain, and the States west of the Mississippi no longer furnish supplies to the rebels, while the people of these States are showing such signs of returning loyalty that a speedy restoration of civil government may be confidently anticipated. The operations against Charleston have not accomplished all that was anticipated; but they have exhibited great skill and bravery on the part of our forces. By the recent operations in Texas, the chief avenue of the rebels for foreign commerce and foreign aid is cut off. In the East, there has been little material change. The armies of Lee and Meade occupy nearly the same relative positions as they did a year ago; the combats have been attended by about equal loss on both sides, without material advantage to either. Western Virginia is clear from any rebel force. Nothing of importance has taken place in the Departments of Virginia and North Carolina. In the Department of Missouri the enemy have been driven across the Arkansas."

In regard to the exchange of prisoners, the Secretary declared that the

* The sums are given in round numbers.

agreement by which prisoners on either side were to be released on parole has been systematically violated by the enemy.

"At Vicksburg and Port Hudson we captured and parolled about 35,000, not a few of whom, without having been exchanged, have since been found in the Confederate armies; and again, the Confederate Government refuses to consider our colored soldiers or white officers who command them, when captured, as prisoners of war, but treats them as criminals, refusing to exchange them. They have 13,000 of our soldiers, while we have 40,000 of theirs. They refuse to exchange man for man, demanding that we should give all of theirs in exchange for all of ours. This cannot be acceded to. In the mean while, our prisoners in their hands undergo the utmost hardships, while theirs in our hands are well cared for. If necessary, retaliation must be resorted to.

"The conscription has been enforced in twelve States, bringing in 50,000 soldiers and $10,000,000 of money. The question of abolishing the $300 exemption clause was commended to the consideration of Congress. The conduct of the colored troops in our armies was lauded."

The following facts show the extraordinary increase in the Ordnance Department, the operations of which the Secretary gives in detail.

"At the opening of the war we had 1,052 siege and coast guns, and have since procured 1,064; of field-artillery we had 231 pieces, and have procured 2,734; of infantry fire-arms we had 473,000, and have procured 1,950,000; of cavalry fire-arms we had 31,000, and have procured 338,000; of balls and shells we had 363,000, and have procured 2,562,000. At first we were compelled to rely on foreign countries for our arms and munitions; now we manufacture them ourselves."

The Secretary of the Navy, in his report, dwelt upon the extraordinary increase of our naval force.

"At the commencement of the present Administration we had 76 vessels, of which only 42 were in commission. At the time of the last report of the Secretary a year ago we had 427 vessels, with 3,268 guns, tonnage 340,036 tons. We have now 588 vessels, with 4,443 guns, tonnage 466,967 tons; an increase, exclusive of losses, of 161 vessels, 1,175 guns, 126,-931 tons. We have, meanwhile, lost 32 vessels, with 166 guns, tonnage 15,985 tons. Of these lost vessels 12 were captured, 3 destroyed to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, 4 were sunk in battle or by torpedoes, and 13 lost by shipwreck, fire, and collision. Of our present 588 vessels, 46 are iron-clad steamers for coast service; 29 iron-clad steamers for inland service; 203 side-wheel steamers; 198 screw-steamers; and 112 sailing vessels.

"The number of vessels captured by our blockading fleets, exclusive of a large number destroyed on the Mississippi and other rivers, was 1,045; of these 547 were schooners, 179 steamers, 131 sloops, 30 brigs, 26 barks, 15 ships, and 117 yachts and small boats. The

value of the prizes sent into court for adjudication amounts to $13,000,000."

The Congress of the so-called Confederate States met in Richmond on the 7th of December, 1863. On the same day President Davis delivered his message. After a review of the military operations of the year and a confession of disaster, he still found "ground for congratulation on successes in Louisiana and Texas. On the sea-coast," said he, "the enemy is exhausted by vain efforts to capture our forts, while on the northern frontier he has in turn felt the pressure, and dreads the renewal of invasion."

In regard to the foreign relations of the Confederate Government, he complained that the action of foreign nations had in some cases assumed a character positively unfriendly. He entered upon a long argument to prove that the blockade had been ineffectual, and charged Great Britain with partiality in not acknowledging the fact.

Mr. Davis recognized the disastrous condition of the finances of his government, and stated that the issues of Treasury notes had been increased until the currency in circulation amounted to more than $600,000,000, or more than threefold the amount required by the business of the country.

In regard to the army, Mr. Davis said, "The assertion is believed to be fully justified, that, regarded as a whole, for character, valor, efficiency, and patriotic devotion, our army has not been equalled by any like number of troops in the history of war;" but he confessed the want of men, and declared that "no effort must be spared to add largely to our effective force as promptly as possible." He could not, said Mr. Davis, close his message "without again adverting to the savage ferocity which still marks the conduct of the enemy in the prosecution of the war. After their repulse from the defences before Charleston, they first sought revenge by an abortive attempt to destroy the city with an incendiary composition, thrown by improved artillery from a distance of four miles. Failing in this, they changed their missiles, but fortunately have thus far succeeded only in killing two women in the city. Their commanders, Butler, McNeill, and Turchin, whose horrible barbarities have made their names widely notorious and everywhere execrable, are still honored and cherished by the authorities at Washington. The first named, after having been withdrawn from the scenes of his cruelties against women and prisoners of war (in reluctant concession to the demands of outraged humanity in Europe), has just been put in a new command at Norfolk, where helpless women and children are again placed at his mercy.

"Nor has less unrelenting warfare been waged by these pretended friends of human rights and liberties against the unfortunate negroes. Wherever the enemy have been able to gain access, they have forced into the ranks of their army every able-bodied man that they could seize, and have either left the aged, the women, and the children to perish by starvation, or have gathered them into camps, where they have been

wasted by a frightful mortality. Without clothing or shelter, often without food, incapable, without supervision, of taking the most ordinary precautions against disease, these helpless dependents, accustomed to have their wants supplied by the foresight of their masters, are being rapidly exterminated wherever brought in contact with the invaders. By the Northern man, on whose deep-rooted prejudices no kindly restraining influence is exercised, they are treated with aversion and neglect. There is little hazard in predicting that, in all localities where the enemy have gained a temporary foothold, the negroes, who under our care increased six-fold in number since their importation into the colonies of Great Britain, will have been reduced by mortality during the war to not more than one-half their previous number."

The continuance of the war was attributed to the ferocity of the enemy, whom Mr. Davis, however, declared that his fellow-insurgents were prepared to resist to the last.

"The hope last year entertained of an early termination of the war," said he, "has not been realized. Could carnage have satisfied the appetite of our enemy for the destruction of human life, or grief have appeased their wanton desire to inflict human suffering, there has been bloodshed enough on both sides, and two lands have been sufficiently darkened by the weeds of mourning to induce a disposition for peace.

"If unanimity in a people could dispel delusion, it has been displayed too unmistakably not to have silenced the pretence that the Southern States were merely disturbed by a factious insurrection, and it must long since have been admitted that they were but exercising their reserved right to modify their own government in such manner as would best secure their own happiness. But these considerations have been powerless to allay the unchristian hate of those who, long accustomed to draw large profits from a union with us, cannot control the rage excited by the conviction that they have, by their own folly, destroyed the richest sources of their prosperity. They refuse even to listen to proposals for the only peace possible between us—a peace which, recognizing the impassable gulf which divides us, may leave the two peoples separately to recover from the injuries inflicted on both by the causeless war now waged against us. Having begun the war in direct violation of their constitution, which forbade the attempt to coerce a State, they have been hardened by crime, until they no longer attempt to veil their purpose to destroy the institutions and subvert the sovereignty and independence of these States. We now know that the only reliable hope for peace is in the vigor of our resistance, as the cessation of their hostility is only to be expected from the pressure of their necessities.

"The patriotism of the people has proved equal to every sacrifice demanded by their country's need. We have been united as a people never were united under like circumstances before. God

has blessed us with success disproportionate to our means, and, under His divine favor, our labors must at last be crowned with the reward due to men who have given all they possessed to the righteous defence of their inalienable rights, their homes, and their altars."

Mr. Memminger, Secretary of the Treasury, acknowledged the great evil of a redundant paper currency, which had been issued to the amount of 800,000,000 of dollars. This he declared was five times as much as the South required for its trade. The Secretary believed that this superabundant currency, which had so depreciated that one of its nominal dollars was worth only ten cents of real money, would prove fatal to the Confederacy, unless some means were discovered and adopted for diminishing its quantity and increasing its value.

The earliest action of the Confederate Congress was to report an extraordinary conscription bill, with the following clauses:

"1. All white male residents of the Confederate States between sixteen and fifty-five shall be in the military service.

"2. All between sixteen and eighteen, and between forty-five and fifty-five, shall belong to the reserve corps; those between eighteen and forty-five, to the army in the field.

"3. All who hereafter arrive at the age of sixteen shall belong to the reserve, and those who hereafter arrive at the age of eighteen shall be transferred from the reserve to the army in the field.

"4. That the reserved corps shall be used for local defence and garrison duty, and may be ordered beyond the limits of their State for thirty days in cases of great emergency. All details for provost and hospital guards, for commissary and quartermasters' agents, etc., shall be from this corps.

"5. Persons liable to duty in the reserve corps failing to enroll, shall be conscribed to the army in the field.

"6. The organization of the reserve corps shall be the same as that prescribed by existing laws for the army in the field, etc.

"7. Any existing organization of non-conscripts may be received into the service, and form part of the reserve corps.

"9. No person shall be relieved from the operations of this law by reason of having been heretofore discharged from the army, when no disability now exists, nor shall those who have furnished substitutes be any longer exempted by reason thereof, provided that those who have paid into the public treasury the amount specified by the act in relation to exemptions, approved 11th of October, 1862, and who may be held to service under this act, shall be repaid a fair proportion of the amount so paid by them, under rules to be prescribed by the Secretary of War.

"10. All laws granting exemptions from military service be repealed, and that hereafter none be exempt but the following:

"1. All who shall be held to be unfit for military service under rules to be prescribed by the Secretary of War.

"2. Ministers of religion, superintendents of asylums of deaf, dumb, and blind, and of the insane; one editor of each newspaper and the employes in newspaper establishments; physicians and apothecaries, as now prescribed by law."

This bill was an indication of the strain to which, in the Southern Confederacy, the chief resource of war, that of fighting men, had been subjected. It is generally conceded that military service to be effective must be confined to the ages between eighteen and forty-five. When this limit is overstepped, the demand for soldiers is supposed to exceed the natural supply, and is not only a proof but a cause of weakness.

There were other indications, besides the want of effective fighting men, of the diminished resources of the South. The "bread riots," which occurred in the spring of 1863, at Richmond, Savannah, Mobile, and other Southern cities, showed either a scarcity of food or of the means of procuring it. The Confederate Congress, by its public acts, confessed not only a present deficiency in the means of subsistence, but a solicitude in regard to supplies for the future.

In an address to the Southern people, **April 10.** dated April 10, 1863, issued by Mr. Davis, he complained that the protracted droughts of the previous year, more particularly in the northern part of the Confederacy, had reduced the harvests far below an average yield, and appealed to them to lay aside all thought of gain by devoting their fields to the raising of grain and live-stock, instead of cotton and tobacco.

The supply of meat for the army was deficient at this time, as appears by a letter from the Confederate Commissary-General to the Secretary at War, **April 25.** dated April 25, 1863, in which he states, that "unless something is done immediately, the people and army must starve next winter." One plan among others suggested was, for the Governors to convoke the farmers at numerous points, and addressing them through prominent speakers, to urge on this class of citizens to avert the impending danger. Fearing, however, that this convocation would be disregarded, three plans for preventing the threatened famine were offered by General Bragg. The first was, that the President, by proclamation, prohibit the raising of any more cotton and tobacco or clearing of new lands until further notice. The second, that by proclamation he order all planters to seed a certain number of acres of grain or other articles of necessary consumption, in proportion to the quantity of cleared land and negroes belonging to them. The third, for the government to take possession of the plantations, or such portion of them as the owners did not intend to seed with grain, etc., and employ the negroes belonging thereto in raising such agricultural products as might be deemed necessary. Officers and soldiers rendered by wounds and disease unfit for further service in the field, could be employed as superintendents and overseers.

"The last-mentioned plan," writes the Commissary-General, "appears to me

feasible, and entirely the best that can now be adopted.

"The wheat harvests, it is easy to see and learn from a trip through the country, will not be half as bountiful as we have anticipated; and the belief into which the government has been led, that there are large quantities of bacon in many parts of the country, is erroneous. The inventory ordered by Governor Brown of the bacon and live-stock in Georgia (of which you have by this time probably received a copy), shows the well-nigh exhausted condition of that State, and yet, beyond peradventure, it is less nearly exhausted than any other State in the Confederacy.

"It will, therefore, be no easy matter to keep our armies in the field without causing suffering among the people till the harvests are gathered next autumn. From that time we shall be entirely dependent on those harvests, and that they may be rendered adequate to our wants, I unhesitatingly recommend the adoption of the third plan suggested by General Bragg."

These documents prove undoubtedly that there was either a scarcity, or the fear of it, in the Southern Confederacy.

That there was suffering is shown by this significant paragraph under the heading "Bread Destitution," published in the Richmond *Whig* of the 8th of April:

"Lee Mallory, the lessee of Metropolitan Hall, has established a dépôt at the hall for the distribution of 2,400 loaves of bread per month to the needy families of soldiers in the field. The Ladies' Benevolent Society superintend the distribution, which takes place on Tuesday and Friday of each week, the beneficiaries being furnished with tickets for the bread."

The main cause of the suffering which existed was undoubtedly the currency, which by its great abundance, its irregular fluctuations of value, and its extreme depreciation, raised prices, perplexed trade, and checked the distribution of commodities.

That the South had, by a long war with a people superior to it in every resource, been strained almost to the extent of its powers of resistance, was becoming evident. With diminished men and material, it had apparently, if unaided by foreign powers, little left but the effort of despair to rely upon; but this, says Montesquieu, has often made weakness the equal of strength.

With the evidences of the enemy's diminished resources for carrying on the war, came rumors of a disposition to make concessions for the sake of peace. Mr. Stephens, the Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy, having presented himself at the Union outposts of Fortress Monroe, and asked for admission to an audience of President Lincoln (which was refused), it was conjectured that he was charged with a pacific mission.*

July 3.

* This conjecture would seem to have been erroneous. The true object of Mr. Stephens was subsequently disclosed by the publication of his intentions.

"Your mission," wrote President Davis, "is simply one of humanity, and has no political aspect.

"If objection is made to receiving your letter, on the

Peace, however, was still remote. The Union arms had accomplished much, but, though signs of decay in both the military and political power of the Confederacy had become marked, much remained to be accomplished. Though the population of the South were in a state of great destitution, and in some parts said to be starving, the small but powerful aristocracy, which had instigated the rebellion — whose members held all the high military and political positions, and would alone be benefited by success—would not fail to feed its soldiers.

Some of the greatest victories have been won by commanders whose armies were destitute of everything but the first necessaries of life. Active military operations had almost ceased at the close of the year 1863; but momentous issues hung on the coming campaigns. The rebel leaders would be compelled by the critical nature of their position to carry into the future conduct of the war all their vigor, energy, and audacity. Though their resources were drained, and three successive conscriptions had gathered in nearly all the fighting population, yet none could say that they would not by faultless military action make up for the want of material means, and that the chiefs of the rebellion might not form such military combinations as would turn back the tide of victory.

---

ground that it is not addressed to Abraham Lincoln as President instead of commander-in-chief, etc., then you will present the duplicate letter, which is addressed to him as President and signed by me as President. To this latter objection may be made, on the ground that I am not recognized to be President of the Confederacy. In this event you will decline any further attempt to confer on the subject of your mission, as such conference is admissible only on the footing of perfect equality.

"My recent interviews with you have put you so fully in possession of my views that it is scarcely necessary to give you any detailed instructions, even were I at this moment well enough to attempt it

"My whole purpose is, in one word, to place this war on the footing of such as are waged by civilized people in modern times, and to divest it of the savage character which has been impressed upon it by our enemies, in spite of all our efforts and protests. War is full enough of unavoidable horrors, under all its aspects, to justify, and even to demand, of any Christian rulers who may be unhappily engaged in carrying it on, to seek to restrict its calamities, and to divest it of all unnecessary severities.

"You will endeavor to establish the cartel for the exchange of prisoners on such a basis as to avoid the constant difficulties and complaints which arise, and to prevent for the future what we deem the unfair conduct of our enemies in evading the delivery of the prisoners who fall into their hands; in retarding it by sending them on circuitous routes, and by detaining them, sometimes for months, in camps and in prisons, and in persisting in taking captives non-combatants.

"Your attention is also called to the unheard-of conduct of Federal officers in driving from their homes entire communities of women and children, as well as of men, whom they find in districts occupied by their troops, for no other reason than because these unfortunates are faithful to the allegiance due to their States and refuse to take an oath of fidelity to their enemies.

"The putting to death of unarmed prisoners has been a ground of just complaint in more than one instance, and the recent executions of officers of our army in Kentucky for the sole cause that they were engaged in recruiting service in a State which is claimed as still one of the United States, but is also claimed by us as one of the Confederates States, must be repressed by retaliation, if not unconditionally abandoned, because it would justify the like execution in every other State of the Confederacy, and the practice is barbarous, uselessly cruel, and can only lead to the slaughter of prisoners on both sides—a result too horrible to contemplate without making every effort to avoid it.

"On these and all kindred subjects you will consider your authority full and ample to make such arrangements as will temper the present cruel character of the contest, and full confidence is placed in your judgment, patriotism, and discretion, that while carrying out the objects of your mission, you will take care that the equal rights of the Confederacy be always preserved."

CHAPTER XXIX.

Retrospect.—Progress of Northern Arms.—Decaying Strength of the South.—Waste of War.—Number of Confederate Troops in the Field.—General Lee's Army.—General Johnston's Army.—Confederate Forces in South Carolina, Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, Alabama, etc.—Military Exhaustion of the South.—Military Acts of the Richmond Congress.—Classes of Persons exempt from Military Service in the South.—Number of Federal Troops in the Field.—Positions of the Federal Armies.—General Inactivity at the Beginning of the Year.—Movements in East Tennessee.—Johnston at Dalton.—Position of Longstreet.—Fight at Strawberry Plains. General Vance's Raid.—Colonel Palmer routs and captures Vance.—Another Fight at Strawberry Plains.—Longstreet at Strawberry Plains.—Advance of General Schofield.—Defeat of General Rhoddy by Colonel Phillips.—Defeat of Rebel Cavalry by General Sturgis at Fair Gardens.—Affairs at Cumberland Gap and Powell's Bridge.—General Palmer's Reconnoissance toward Johnston's Position at Dalton.—Fight near Dalton. General Sherman's Mississippi Expedition.—Force employed.—Generals Smith and Grierson to co-operate.—Object of the Expedition. Big Black River crossed.—Fight at Champion Hills.—Skirmish beyond Baker's Creek.—Rebels driven across the Pearl River at Jackson.—Rebel Stores destroyed at Brandon.—Rebel Force falls back from Morton. Railroad Stock destroyed at Lake Station.—Army encamps at Decatur.—General Chambers on the Big Chunkey River.—Occupation of Meridian.—Destruction of Railroads—No News of Generals Smith and Grierson.—Return of General Sherman from Meridian.—March from Hillsboro to Canton.—Forage Wagons captured by the Rebels near Canton.—Locomotives and Cars destroyed.—General Sherman leaves for New Orleans. Return of the Army to Vicksburg.—Attack on Yazoo City.—Amount of Destruction effected by the Expedition—Co-operative Movements of Generals Smith and Grierson—Fatal Delays.—Arrival at Okalona.—Destruction of Rebel Stores at Okalona and Prairie Station.—General Forrest at West Point.—Generals Smith and Grierson defeated by Forrest near West Point. Retrograde March of the Column of Generals Smith and Grierson.—Fight at Okalona.—Rapid Retreat of the Federal Troops.—Safe Arrival at Colliersville.—Destruction effected.

1864.

At the commencement of 1864, the situation of the Union and rebel forces differed materially from what it had been twelve months before. Though the Army of the Potomac still very properly retained its name and had as yet made very little progress toward Richmond; though Charleston continued to hold out against every effort of the naval commanders; though the blockading fleets had not been able to prevent the landing from Europe and elsewhere of supplies and munitions of war at various points along the Southern seaboard; though the Confederates were still in arms in every Southern State, the victorious columns of the North had nevertheless established themselves in East Tennessee; Vicksburg and Port Hudson had fallen, and the Mississippi had been opened from Cairo to the Gulf; the Confederacy had been cut in two, and the States in rebellion west of the Mississippi separated from those on the east.

But great as had been the apparent progress of the Union cause, that which was not so apparent was still greater. The relative power of the North was rapidly increasing, not only by the actual development of its many sources of wealth and its uninterrupted industry, but by the wasting numerical strength and material exhaustion of the South,

where not only had the production of wealth ceased, and its previous accumulations been almost consumed, and financial ruin become nearly universal, but the fighting material could no longer be found to supply the waste of a gigantic war, a waste almost unfelt in the North, to which immigration alone went far to make up its losses in men.

The number of Confederate troops in the field at the beginning of the year was somewhere near as follows: General Robert E. Lee's army, counting in the forces under Longstreet, and the troops in the neighborhood of Abingdon, Lynchburg, and other parts of southwest Virginia and East Tennessee, numbered about 90,000; besides these there were at Richmond and Petersburg, exclusive of citizens and home-guards, 3,000 troops; between Petersburg and Weldon, 1,000; along the railroad between Weldon and Wilmington, 6,000; under General Pickett, in North Carolina, 8,000; Mosby and Imboden had a guerrilla force of about 4,000 men. The total of rebel troops in East and West Virginia and North Carolina amounted therefore to 112,000 men.

General Johnston's army, comprising all the Confederate forces in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi—except the troops under General Forrest, who had, including the commands of Lee, Chalmers, and Richardson, 6,000 men, with an independent roving commission—and those at Savannah and Mobile, numbered about 54,000 men, composed of two corps, each having six divisions of infantry, amounting to 36,000 men, and several divisions of cavalry, numbering 18,000 men, including the cavalry under Wheeler, Wharton, and Morgan.

The Confederate forces in South Carolina and at Savannah under Beauregard, with those in Florida under McCown, amounted to 10,000. West of the Mississippi—in various parts of Texas under Magruder, and in Arkansas, under Holmes—were about 12,000 men, under the direction of General Kirby Smith. Generals Maury and Claiborne at Mobile had about 8,000 men. Besides these there were 12,000 men engaged in important prison guard, in hospitals, and in commissary and quartermaster's departments; to which ought to be added about 2,000 guerrillas along the banks of the Mississippi.

The total of veterans in the Confederate service amounted according to this estimate to 216,000 men. To these were shortly added 120,000 conscripts, making the grand total of troops in the Confederate armies, 336,000 men.

The military exhaustion of the South was apparent from the measures taken by the Confederate Government to keep up the strength of its armies, and from the acts passed by the Richmond Congress revising the acts by which their armies were formed. On the 28th of December, 1863, it was enacted that no person liable to military service should be permitted to furnish a substitute; on the 5th of January, 1864, it was enacted that no person liable to military service should be exempted by reason of his having furnished a substitute.

In February, a general military act

was passed, according to the provisions of which all white men between the ages of seventeen and fifty were to be in the military service during the war, and all between the ages of eighteen and forty-five were to be retained during the war in the organization in which they were serving at the time of the passage of the act, unless regularly discharged or transferred. All between the ages of seventeen and eighteen were to constitute a reserve corps, not to serve out of their State; but not to be employed in any of the bureaus, departments, or hospitals, all which kind of work was reserved for persons physically disqualified for active service, or between forty-five and fifty years of age. The President was also authorized to make details of artisans, mechanics, and persons of scientific skill, to perform indispensable duties in the different departments. All previously existing exemption laws were repealed, and according to this act, only those were exempt from military service who were incapable of performing it, except the Vice-President, members of the Confederate Congress, State legislatures, etc., Governors, and such other Confederate or State officers as the President or Governors might certify to be necessary for the proper administration of the Confederate or State governments; clergymen regularly employed in the discharge of ministerial duties; superintendents and physicians of asylums; newspaper editors and indispensable journeymen printers; apothecaries, one in each store; physicians over thirty years of age, hospital superintendents, professors, teachers, etc., on certain conditions.

One person, as owner or agriculturist, was exempted on each farm or plantation upon which fifteen able-bodied hands were employed, conditioned on the execution of a bond on the part of the exempt to deliver within twelve months at such place as the Secretary of War might designate, one hundred pounds of bacon or pork and one hundred pounds of beef, for each able-bodied slave on his plantation; also to sell to the government or the families of soldiers all surplus of provisions and grain at the prices fixed under the impressment act. The Secretary of War was also empowered to grant exemptions in certain cases on the ground of public necessity, and to such overseers, farmers, or planters as would be more useful to the country in the pursuit of agriculture than in the military service.

In passing this act the Confederate Congress showed a desperate determination to maintain the war, and at the same time exhibited in a striking manner the exhaustion of the Southern fighting element. Evidently, if the armies thus recruited should fail, the Confederacy must fail also.

The number of Federal troops in the field at the beginning of the year was somewhat less than 600,000 men, with four and a half millions of males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five from which successive drafts might be made, to supply the waste of war, besides a vast annual immigration from Europe.

The positions of the Federal armies

at the beginning of the year were as follows: The Army of the Potomac under General Meade was near Culpepper Court House, Virginia, north of the Rapidan, confronted by the army of General Lee near Orange Court House, south of the Rapidan. Winchester, Martinsburg, and Harper's Ferry, as well as the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in West Virginia, were held by the Federal forces. General Early commanded the Confederate troops in the valley of the Shenandoah; his headquarters at Staunton. General Burnside was still at Knoxville, East Tennessee, confronted eastward by General Longstreet. General Grant's army was at Chattanooga, confronted by the army of General Johnston at Dalton; his lines of communication extending through Stevenson and Murfreesboro. Florence and Corinth were also held by the Federal forces at the beginning of the year. Military posts, consisting of fortifications with heavy guns, garrisoned principally by colored troops, had been established along the Mississippi at Cairo, Columbus, New Madrid, Fort Pillow, Memphis, Helena, Goodrich's Landing, Vicksburg, Natchez, Port Hudson, Baton Rouge, New Orleans, and Forts Jackson and St. Philip. A large force was in New Orleans, under the command of General Banks, with detachments at Brashear City, and at Brownsville on the Rio Grande. General Steele had a considerable force at Little Rock, Arkansas, and General Rosecrans a small body of troops in Missouri. Newbern, Washington, and Plymouth, in North Carolina, were also held by small Federal garrisons.

Little activity was displayed by either the Federal or Confederate forces in the early part of the year; in the north and along the seaboard the severity of the season suspended operations to a great extent. The earliest movements took place in the Southwest. In East Tennessee the enemy had been compelled to retire from attempts on Chattanooga and Knoxville; Bragg had been superseded by Johnston, who had retired with the main body of his army to Dalton, in Georgia, twenty-eight miles southwest of Chattanooga on the line of railroad to Atlanta, at the junction of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad. Longstreet, remaining at the head of his division, had taken up a strong position on the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad about forty miles northeast of Knoxville, in the vicinity of Rutledge and Morristown, a position in which, his communications by the railroad being kept open, he could at short notice retire and rejoin Lee in Virginia, or—in view of the probable inactivity of the Army of the Potomac—receive large reinforcements from him, and make a sudden attack upon Knoxville, or seriously endanger Grant's lines of communication should he advance against Johnston in Georgia.

The main bodies of Grant's, Johnston's and Longstreet's troops remained for some time inactive, the severe weather and the badness of the roads restricting operations mostly to cavalry skirmishing in the region intervening between the armies. From time to time Longstreet's

cavalry made dashes upon the Union lines. One of these resulted, on the 10th of January, in a fight at Strawberry Plains, on the south bank of the Holston, twenty miles east-northeast of Knoxville, in which the enemy sustained serious loss.

The rebel General Vance, on the 14th of January, made a raid toward Temsville, Tennessee, and captured a train of twenty-three wagons, but on his return was pursued and overtaken by Colonel Palmer, who not only recaptured the wagons and took an ambulance loaded with medicines, 150 saddle-horses, and a hundred stand of arms, but made General Vance himself prisoner, together with his adjutant-general and inspector-general.

Another demonstration on the part **Jan. 21.** of the rebels at Strawberry Plains resulted in the Union troops being driven across the Holston and pursued toward Knoxville, with the loss of four hundred head of cattle and four thousand hogs, captured by the rebels within four miles of the city. Shortly afterward Longstreet moved the main body of his force to Strawberry Plains, to which place the railroad had been put in running order, and remained there about a month, when he retired by way of Bull's Gap, and the advance of General Schofield, who had relieved General Burnside, took a position forty miles east of Knoxville.

The Confederate General Rhoddy crossed the Tennessee at Florence, Alabama, a village on the north bank of the river, just below Muscle Shoals, and at the head of navigation, for the purpose of making a raid through Middle Tennessee, but on the 24th of January was driven to the south side of the river again, by Colonel Phillips, who captured all his trains, consisting of over twenty mule teams, two hundred head of cattle, six hundred sheep, and one hundred horses and mules.

The straits to which they were driven for forage led to an attempt to get possession of the rich valley of the French Broad, on the part of the rebel cavalry, a considerable body of which, under General Martin, crossed that river on the 26th of January and advanced toward Sevierville, a village seventeen miles east-southeast of Knoxville, near which General Sturgis was posted with his cavalry. General Sturgis withdrew his force on the Newport road to an advantageous position, and gave **Jan. 27.** the rebels battle the next day at Fair Gardens, seven miles northeast of Sevierville. The fight lasted from daylight till four in the afternoon, when the rebels retreated, leaving two steel rifled guns and one hundred prisoners, besides losing sixty-five killed and wounded.

A battalion of the Eleventh Tennessee Cavalry stationed on the Virginia road, five miles east of Cumberland Gap, were surprised and made prisoners on the 22d of February, and about the same time the Union outposts at Powell's Bridge on the Tazewell road, five miles south, consisting of fifty men under Captain Pickering, were attacked, and having repulsed the enemy three times, were withdrawn.

It having been suspected that General Johnston had sent a large portion of his force to assist General Polk in disputing Sherman's advance into southern Alabama, a reconnoissance in force toward Johnston's position was determined on by General Grant, and a column of infantry of about six thousand men, preceded by cavalry, under the command of General Palmer, moved out of Chattanooga on the 21st of February and advanced toward Tunnel Hill, a village six miles northwest of Dalton, on the railroad, which, after heavy skirmishing, was occupied on the 23d, and the march continued with little opposition to within three miles of Dalton, where the enemy were found strongly posted between two mountains, in a gorge through which run the common road and the railroad. A furious fire of shot and shell from six pieces of artillery compelled the Federal skirmishers to retreat. General Davis advanced with Morgan's and McCook's brigades and took a position at the mouth of the gorge, when night came on and put an end to the combat, and the next day, it having become apparent that Johnston had massed his forces at Dalton, it was thought advisable to retire, and General Palmer's column was back at Ringgold on the 26th. The loss sustained was about thirty killed and two hundred wounded.

Early in February an expedition which General Sherman had been for some weeks organizing, consisting of the sixteenth and seventeenth army corps under Generals Hurlbut and McPherson, comprising a total force of twenty-one thousand infantry and twelve hundred cavalry, forty pieces of artillery, and a train of eight hundred wagons, left camp at Vicksburg, and commenced its march toward Meridian, a village of about three hundred inhabitants, one hundred and twenty miles east of Vicksburg, at the intersection of the Mobile and Ohio and Vicksburg and Selma railroads.

It was intended that Generals Smith and Grierson should move about the same time from Memphis, with a force consisting of about seven thousand cavalry and a brigade of infantry, proceed toward the same point, and effect a junction, when the combined forces, it was confidently believed, would be able to march without fear of successful opposition, either upon Mobile, one hundred and eight miles south, or upon Selma, on the Alabama River and the Alabama and Mississippi Railroad, eighty miles east of Meridian, where were important military magazines and quantities of war material, besides several iron-clads in the stream.

Nothing was to be feared from the inferior force under General Polk, unless he should receive large reinforcements from Johnston in Georgia, in which case the Union armies at Chattanooga and Knoxville would be able to overwhelm Johnston and advance upon Atlanta. As the Confederates could not know what point General Sherman would strike, they would be compelled to divide their forces, and General Polk actually sent back a number of his troops to Mobile, which Admiral Farragut was at that

time threatening. The plan of the expedition was evidently a good one; everything, however, depended on the junction at Meridian of the cavalry force under Generals Smith and Grierson with the infantry under Sherman.

General Sherman's force left camp at Vicksburg on the morning of the 3d of February, in light marching order, without tents, and with only twenty days' provisions, as it was intended the troops should derive subsistence mainly from the country to be passed through. The seventeenth corps crossed the Big Black River at the railroad bridge, twelve miles east of Vicksburg, the sixteenth at Messenger's Ferry, six miles above; and the two corps bivouacked at night on two roads about five miles from the river. About seven o'clock the next morning the march was resumed. About one o'clock the advanced cavalry guard of the seventeenth corps was met at Champion Hills by a superior force of rebel cavalry and compelled to retire, when the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Illinois coming up, the enemy were driven back and retired across Baker's Creek. Both armies then rested for the night, the pickets separated only by the stream, a few yards in width. The rebel force consisted of about seven thousand men under General S. D. Lee.

Feb. 3.

On the morning of the 5th another skirmish took place with the rebel cavalry, about three quarters of a mile beyond Baker's Creek, when the enemy resumed their retreat toward Jackson, during which they lost one hundred and fifty killed and wounded. On the evening of the same day the army entered Jackson, forty miles east of Vicksburg, on the west bank of the Pearl River, and at the intersection of the Memphis and New Orleans Railroad with the railroad leading toward Selma, along which the expedition was moving, and drove the rebels across the river so rapidly that they had not time to destroy the pontoon bridge by means of which their retreat was effected. The 6th was occupied by the Union troops in destroying the stores and arms left by the rebels, in tearing up the Mississippi Central Railroad, and in repairing the pontoon bridge over the Pearl River. From dispatches found on the persons of captured couriers, it appeared that the rebel loss so far had been two hundred and fifty killed and wounded.

On the 7th the army crossed the Pearl River and resumed the march toward Meridian. At Brandon, a village twelve miles east of Jackson, where the army encamped for the night, a large quantity of rebel stores was destroyed. On the 8th the march was continued without any serious opposition, owing, according to the stories of prisoners and deserters, to demoralization and disaffection in the rebel ranks.

On the morning of the 9th the army was in motion at eight o'clock. At Morton, on the railroad, about thirty miles east of Jackson, the rebels were seen drawn up in line of battle; but they fell back as the Union troops advanced, leaving on the road evidences of a precipitate retreat, in the shape of dead horses and mules and large

quantities of stores. At Morton the seventeenth army corps went into camp, in order to allow the sixteenth to take the advance. On the 10th the army marched fifteen miles, and bivouacked. On the 11th, Captain Foster, with cavalry, was sent to Lake Station, twenty miles east of Morton, on the railroad, where he destroyed three steam mills, two locomotives, thirty-five cars, the dépôt, and the machine shop.

On the 12th, about noon, the army encamped at Decatur, north of the railroad and sixty-three miles east of Jackson, and destroyed there a large tannery. Near that town the supply train of the sixteenth army corps was attacked by the enemy's cavalry, and twenty-six mules shot. On the 13th, General Chambers, commanding the Iowa brigade, took the advance and encamped on the Big Chunkey River, sixteen miles west of Meridian, at half-past eight in the evening. On the 14th the army advanced twelve miles, with little skirmishing, the trains having been left on the Chunkey River with a strong guard under General Chambers, and in the afternoon the advance of the sixteenth corps entered Meridian, General Polk's forces having withdrawn about half an hour before, and, having command of the railroad eastward, were soon beyond the Tombigbee, twenty miles distant. The seventeenth corps encamped that night five miles from the town, and entered it in the morning during a heavy storm of rain. The Confederates had removed all their stores and trains.

Feb. 14.

Detachments were immediately sent out to destroy the railroads intersecting at Meridian. For this work General Hurlbut was appointed for the roads running east and north, and General McPherson for those running west and south. The road east of Meridian was destroyed as far as Cuba Station; that leading south toward Mobile had the track torn up as far as Quitman; that leading north, as far as Lauderdale Springs, and that leading west was destroyed all the way back to Jackson. There was, according to General Sherman, "the most complete destruction of railroads ever beheld."

General Sherman remained at Meridian till the 20th, awaiting the arrival of General William S. Smith, who had been ordered to be there by the 10th, of whose movements, however, he could hear nothing; and as any further prosecution of the enterprise would be impracticable without a large body of cavalry to procure subsistence for the infantry, he made preparations to return to Vicksburg; all the Confederate public buildings and property, consisting of an arsenal, extensive dépôts, warehouses, machine shops, hospitals, etc., all new and some unfinished, having been previously destroyed.

The army returned by the route on which it had advanced, as far as Hillsboro, north of the railroad and thirty-eight miles east-northeast of Jackson, when it left the railroad in a northwesterly direction and moved toward Canton, twenty-three miles north of Jackson on the railroad to Memphis,

where it arrived on the 26th, and remained several days, again awaiting news of General Smith's cavalry operations. Near Canton, a train of sixteen forage wagons sent out by the sixteenth army corps was captured by the rebel cavalry. At this place twenty locomotives, a large number of cars, etc., belonging to the rebels, were destroyed.

On the 27th, General Sherman left the expedition under the command of General Hurlbut, and, escorted by Colonel Winslow with the Iowa Cavalry, returned to Vicksburg, whence he sailed for New Orleans on the 28th. The army again took the road for Vicksburg on the 2d of March, and arrived on the 4th. A detachment was sent up the Yazoo River against Yazoo City, but the Confederates held it till reinforced.

In the course of the expedition complete destruction was made of one hundred and fifty miles of railroad, ten thousand bales of cotton, two million bushels of corn, twenty locomotives, twenty-eight cars, sixty-seven bridges, and seven thousand feet of trestle-work. Two hundred prisoners, several thousand horses and mules, and three hundred wagons were captured. Eight thousand negroes also were liberated. Many dwelling-houses were burnt in the towns passed through, the inmates having fired on the troops. The total loss in killed, wounded, and missing did not exceed one hundred and seventy. The destruction wrought in the enemy's country had been enormous, but the main object of the expedition had not been attained.

General Smith's column of cavalry, which should have left Colliersville, a village on the railroad twenty-four miles east of Memphis, on the 3d of February, the day on which Sherman's army left Vicksburg, was detained till the 11th, awaiting the arrival of General Waring's brigade, composed of two regiments. After the column started, other causes of delay arose, so that on the 18th it had not got farther than Okalona, on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, one hundred miles north of Meridian—an average of little more than fifteen miles a day from Colliersville.

On the 19th the march was continued to Egypt, a station on the railroad seven miles south of Okalona, where a large quantity of rebel stores was destroyed. The force was then divided into two columns—one, under General Grierson, marching on the east side of the railroad and passing through Aberdeen, seven miles east of Egypt, where considerable opposition was encountered; the other took the west side of the railroad, and united again about seventeen miles south of Okalona, at Prairie Station, where more rebel stores were destroyed.

On the 20th, General Forrest was reported to be at West Point, thirty miles south of Okalona, on the Octibbeha. General Polk, who with an inferior infantry force had been driven across the Tombigbee by Sherman, had sent orders to Generals S. D. Lee and Forrest to unite their forces, and at any cost prevent the junction of Smith with Sherman. General Lee, whose army had been worn out in continual skirmishing with the army of Sherman, did

not receive the order in time; Forrest, therefore, with a force said not to have exceeded twenty-five hundred mounted men, armed with rifles, advanced alone, and awaited the Union troops on the prairies near West Point. On the 21st the conflict took place. When the Union cavalry made their charge, Forrest's men slipped from their horses, and each taking the best position the ground afforded him, among the bushes and scattered over the prairie, awaited the nearer approach of their adversaries, who had not advanced far before rapidly repeated volleys from over two thousand rebel rifles caused confusion in the ranks of men whose sabres, their chief reliance, were of no avail against an enemy seventy-five or a hundred yards distant. Scores of men and horses fell at the first fire; the onward movement was checked. In vain were attempts made to re-form; volley after volley produced similar effects. The Union cavalry broke in confusion and fled. The dead and many of the wounded were left on the ground, besides three four-pounder steel field-pieces.

General Smith began a retrograde march, Forrest in pursuit. The advantage over the sabre and light carbine which his men possessed in being armed with the rifle, had enabled Forrest to defeat a force of double his numbers. The advantage was retained in the pursuit, which was continued to near Okalona, when Generals Smith and Grierson prevailed on their men to make another charge, but with no better success than before. The line of retreat was again taken up, the rebels, reinforced by State troops under Gholson, moving on each flank, with the design of first reaching the Tallahatchie, where they hoped to form a junction and prevent the Union troops from crossing.

A large number of negroes and refugees accompanied the army in its retreat. "Picture to yourselves, if you can," says an eyewitness, "a living, moving mass of men, negroes, mules, and horses, of four thousand or five thousand, all *en masse*, literally jammed, huddled, and crowded into the smallest possible space; night setting in; artillery and small-arms booming behind us; cavalry all around and ahead; moving on, on, on, over fences, through fields and brush, over hills and across mudholes, streams, and bridges, and still on, on into the night, until the moon rises on the scene and shows us some of the outlines of this living panorama."

The rebels were disappointed in their hope of getting first to the Tallahatchie; by forced marches and marching all night, General Smith succeeded in passing both flanking columns, and crossed the river safely at New Albany, seventy-five miles east-southeast of Memphis. Skirmishing continued on the 23d and 24th, and on the 25th the expedition was safe at Colliersville, having accomplished the retreat in four days, though ten were consumed in the advance. The total loss in killed and wounded did not exceed one hundred and fifty. Much damage had been done to the enemy; every trestle on the railroad north of Okalona was destroyed, besides many

miles of the track; three thousand bales of cotton and one million bushels of corn had been burnt; one hundred prisoners and one thousand mules had been captured, and a large number of negroes liberated.

CHAPTER XXX.

Red River Expedition.—Shreveport.—Fleet of Admiral Porter.—Departure of General A. J. Smith.—The Atchafalaya.—Landing at Simmsport.—March on Fort de Russey.—Capture of Fort de Russey.—Occupation of Alexandria.—Quantities of Cotton obtained. Occupation of Natchitoches.—Departure of the Fleet and Army from Alexandria.—General Banks at Natchitoches.—The March toward Shreveport.—Arrival at Crump's Hill.—Battle of Sabine Cross-Roads.—Retreat to Pleasant Hill.—Battle of Pleasant Hill.—Defeat of the Confederates.—Retreat toward Grand Ecore.—Losses and Gains.—Return of Admiral Porter from Springfield Landing.—Low Stage of Water.—Attack of Infantry repulsed by the Fleet.—Rapid Retreat of the Army to Alexandria.—Battle at Cane River. Fleet left behind.—Gun-boat Eastport blown up and burnt.—Attack on the Cricket by Guerrillas.—Fleet run past a Battery.—Fleet detained at the Falls above Alexandria. Dam constructed by Lieut.-Colonel Bailey.—The Lexington got over the Falls.—Escape of the entire Fleet.—Evacuation of Alexandria.—Burning of the Town.—Distress of the Inhabitants.—Arrival of the Fleet and Army at Simmsport. General Banks superseded by General Canby.—Movements of General Steele's Forces in Arkansas.—Confederate Force in Arkansas. Capture of Camden by General Steele.—Colonel Clayton's Expedition to Mount Elba and Longview. Critical Position of General Steele.—Loss of Wagons and Men by a Foraging Party at Poison Spring.—Large Wagon Train captured by the Rebels near the Saline.—Evacuation of Camden by General Steele. Battle at Saline's Landing.—Retreat to Little Rock.—Abandonment of Federal Posts in Arkansas.—Operations of General Forrest. Surrender of Union City by Colonel Hawkins.—Occupation of Hickman by Forrest's Troops.—Forrest's Attempt on Paducah.—Description of Fort Pillow.—Sudden Attack of Forrest on Fort Pillow.—Threats of Forrest.—Fort Pillow taken by Assault.—Horrible Massacre of Colored Troops.—Savage Policy of the Rebel Government. Rebel Hatred of "Home-made Yankees."—Murder of Major Bradford.—Congressional Committee of Inquiry.—Language of President Lincoln with regard to Retaliation.—Threats of General Buford at Columbus.

THE plans of a formidable expedition were matured early in the year, **1864.** the professed object of which was to obtain control of the cotton-growing region along the Red River in western Louisiana, and throw it open to commercial enterprise. It consisted of about ten thousand men under General A. J. Smith, a division under General Franklin, and a powerful fleet of iron-clads and gun-boats under Admiral Porter; the whole under the direction of Major-General Banks; in addition to which a column under General Steele was to move from Little Rock through Arkansas, to Shreveport, the objective point of all the forces.

The village of Shreveport is the capital of Caddo Parish, Louisiana, one hundred and fifty miles west of Vicksburg and one hundred and fifteen miles northwest of the mouth of the Red River, in direct lines. It is situated on the west bank of the Red River, at the head of navigation for large steamboats, and is the only accessible point on the west side of the river for more than a hundred miles. Before the war forty thousand bales of cotton were annually shipped from Shreveport, besides large numbers

of cattle for the supply of the New Orleans market.

Early in March, General Franklin with his division moved from New Orleans by the railroad to Brashear City, along the Teche Bayou, and by way of Opelousas, toward Alexandria. Admiral Porter had, in the mean time, collected at the mouth of the Red River a powerful fleet of armed steamers: the Ozark, Osage, and Neosho, monitors; the Benton, Carondelet, Pittsburg, Mound City, Louisville, Essex, and Chillicothe, iron-clads; the Price, Choctaw, and Lafayette, rams; the Black Hawk, Ouachita, Champion, and Tyler, smaller and lighter gun-boats, besides other vessels.

On the 10th of March, the force under General A. J. Smith, consisting of the first and third divisions of the sixteenth army corps, and the first and fourth divisions of the seventeenth, embarked at Vicksburg in twenty transports, descended the Mississippi to the mouth of the Red River, and joined the fleet of Admiral Porter on the afternoon of the 11th. On the 12th the fleet moved up the more southerly of the two arms of the Red River, called Old River, and entered the Atchafalaya, a navigable outlet of the Red River, a portion of whose waters flow southward by this channel to Lake Chetimaches, whence they subsequently find their way to the Gulf of Mexico, passing Brashear City.

On the 13th a landing was effected at the site of Simmsport, about ten miles down the bayou, the town having been destroyed during the siege of Port Hudson, and some troops under General Mower were sent to Bayou Glace, where a rebel force, estimated at two thousand, had been encamped in a strongly fortified position. The enemy had disappeared from that point, as well as from Yellow Bayou, where strong though incomplete earth-works indicated an intention on the part of the rebels to use the Atchafalaya as a base of operations —its shallowness during a great part of the year rendering it comparatively safe from naval attacks. General Smith immediately decided to march overland against Fort de Russey, distant about thirty-five miles from Simmsport, leaving the fleet to follow as soon as the obstructions in the river could be removed.

Fort de Russey, situated at Gordon's Landing, on the south bank of the Red River, seventy miles from its mouth, was a formidable quadrangular work with bastions, and bomb-proofs covered with railroad iron, connected with a water battery, the casemates of which appeared to be capable of withstanding the heaviest shot and shell. The position of the fort was such that its guns commanded the approaches by the river both above and below, so that Admiral Porter's gun-boats might have found it a serious obstacle. Fortunately the garrison had been recently reduced from one thousand to little over three hundred; it was important, therefore, that it should be attacked before reinforcements could be thrown into it.

At daybreak on the 14th the army set out in light marching order for the fort, the brigade of General Mower in

the advance. The enemy's cavalry, a part of the force of General Dick Taylor, kept up a series of harassing demonstrations during the entire march, and more than once the rear division had to form line of battle. About three o'clock in the afternoon the advance arrived in the woods surrounding the open space about the fort, from which a fire of shell and shrapnel was opened from four guns. A brisk cannonade was immediately commenced on the fort from two batteries, and continued for two hours; then followed an advance of skirmishers, a heavy fusilade, and a charge led by the Fifty-eighth Illinois and the Eighth Wisconsin. When the ditch was reached the garrison surrendered, and within twenty minutes from the time the assault was ordered, the color-sergeant of the Fifty-eighth Illinois planted the flag of the Union on the enemy's works.

Mar. 14.

In the mean time the fleet had returned to the Red River, demolished a formidable barricade which it had cost the rebels five months to construct, and two vessels, the Neosho and the Eastport, arrived opposite the fort while the attack was going on. The Eastport opened her batteries, but suspended fire when the assault commenced.

The loss was trifling on both sides, that of the Federals being nine killed and thirty-nine wounded; that of the rebels five killed and four wounded. Ten guns were taken, a large number of small-arms, two thousand barrels of gunpowder, and a quantity of ammunition and commissary stores. The immediate destruction of the fort was ordered, but on the 17th it was accidentally blown up.

The capture of Fort de Russey opened the Red River to Alexandria, about a hundred and fifty miles above, on the south bank, and that portion of General Smith's force which had been engaged at the fort was immediately embarked on transports, sent up the river, and occupied the town, shortly afterward followed by the remainder of the troops and the fleet. The enemy's forces retired, as well as several of their gun-boats, toward Shreveport.

Mar. 16.

On the 19th, General Stone, General Banks' chief of staff, arrived at Alexandria, and on the 20th General Lee, with the cavalry of General Banks' division, after marching from Franklin across the Teche country. During the first week after the occupation of Alexandria four thousand bales of cotton were obtained, besides large quantities brought in by negroes. General Banks declaring that the occupation of the country would be permanent, hundreds of citizens, among whom were a number of permanent residents of Alexandria, came forward and took the oath of allegiance to the United States; a recruiting office was opened, and a large number of white men enlisted in the Federal service.

General Mower ascended the river as far as Natchitoches, eighty miles above Alexandria on the west bank of the river, and on the 21st defeated a body of the enemy, captured 282 prisoners and a battery of four guns, and took possession of the town.

On the 26th, General A. J. Smith left Alexandria and commenced a march toward Natchitoches, to be followed by the troops of General Banks as they arrived. Twelve gun-boats and about thirty transports having succeeded, after extraordinary exertions on the part of Admiral Porter, in passing the shoals above Alexandria, also moved up the river, their co-operation with the land force being deemed essential to the success of the expedition. Some of the larger vessels were detained below till the water should rise in the river.

On the 4th of April the column of General Banks reached Natchitoches, and remained there two days, when the march for Shreveport was resumed by the Mansfield road. This road runs south of and at a considerable distance from the river, through pine woods and a barren sandy country, without water or forage; it was desirable, therefore, that the army should spend as little time as possible in traversing it. General Lee, with the cavalry, had the advance, followed by the thirteenth army corps under General Ransom; after which moved the first division of the nineteenth army corps under General Emory, a brigade of colored troops under Colonel Dickey bringing up the rear. A division of the sixteenth army corps, under General A. J. Smith, followed two days later.

On the night of the 6th the cavalry rested at Crump's Hill, twenty-one miles west of Natchitoches, and the infantry four miles in the rear. On the morning of the 7th the cavalry advanced skirmishing till it arrived two miles beyond Pleasant Hill, thirty miles west-northwest of Natchitoches, when about twenty-five hundred of the enemy's cavalry, under General T. Green, were found drawn up in line in the edge of a wood with open fields in front. Heavy skirmishing ensued for two hours and a half. The Confederate troops were finally driven back into the woods, and on the following day, the movement having been continued, and the enemy's advanced cavalry driven about seven miles, their main body, consisting of the united forces of Generals Kirby Smith, Price, and Taylor, was discovered in a strong position, on high ground near Sabine Cross Roads, east of Mansfield, partly concealed in a thick pine wood with an open space in front, the Shreveport road running through their lines. At this time the nineteenth corps, under General Franklin, was in camp nine miles in the rear, and the force under General A. J. Smith twenty miles in the rear.

April 8.

General Lee had in the morning, as well as on the preceding day, deemed the opposition of the enemy such as to warrant his demanding infantry support. He had, however, anticipated no serious attack, and carried with him his supply and artillery trains. In compliance with his request he was reinforced by the fourth division of the thirteenth corps under Colonel Landrum, and later in the day by General Ransom with the remaining brigade of the thirteenth corps —a total of twenty-six hundred men. Colonel Landrum's brigade took a posi-

tion on the right and centre, General Ransom's on the left. With Colonel Landrum's brigade were all the batteries, except Nim's, which was with General Ransom's, supported by Colonel Dudley's cavalry brigade. Colonel Robinson's cavalry protected the wagon train. The skirmishers were driven in by the enemy advancing in force, when the engagement became general on the right and on the centre, to strengthen which the left was weakened ; this being observed by the enemy, they massed their forces against the left, which was soon driven back, and four guns of Nim's battery were lost. The right and centre being then heavily pressed, were soon afterward compelled to give way, when the Chicago and Indiana batteries also were lost. General Cameron, who had come up with a brigade of the thirteenth corps, advanced to the front, but was overpowered.

About two o'clock General Banks and staff had come upon the ground, and found General Lee's cavalry, as well as the infantry, seriously engaged with the enemy, the artillery of little use, and forming rather, with the long supply trains, an encumbrance on the road. Orders were sent early in the engagement to General Franklin to send forward Emory's division immediately ; but before they could arrive a panic had occurred, and the cavalry of General Lee and the infantry of General Ransom had become utterly demoralized, and had fallen into irretrievable rout ; the road had become blocked up with wagons, a train of which, as well as twenty pieces of artillery, was abandoned. This disorderly flight continued more than three miles, when the approach of General Emory's division checked the career of the enemy for the day.

General Banks lost about two thousand men in killed, wounded, and missing—about a fourth of his force on the field. General Ransom was severely wounded in the knee. The loss of the Confederates, who had about twenty thousand men on the field, was estimated at fifteen hundred.

This disaster to General Banks' army, fatal to the expedition as it proved, resulted altogether from its extreme attenuation on the line of march, the advance under General Lee being kept so far ahead of the main body that it could be overwhelmed by a sudden attack before assistance could come up. After mature deliberation General Banks determined to fall back to the better position of Pleasant Hill, at which point General A. J. Smith had arrived with troops of the sixteenth army corps. This movement was one of considerable difficulty, as it was important that it should be concealed from the enemy, who were in such close proximity that the pickets of the opposing forces were in constant conversation. The entire army, however, silently took up the line of march in the night, the rear being intrusted to the care of General Dwight's brigade, and moved off so quietly as to attract no attention from the enemy, and General Dwight brought in the rear-guard safely at Pleasant Hill at nine

in the morning. So well had the retreat been managed, that it was not discovered by the enemy till they commenced, soon after sunrise, shelling the locality abandoned.

Preparations were immediately made at Pleasant Hill to receive another attack from the Confederates, who had received reinforcements, and hoped now to overwhelm the force of General Banks, the whole of which they supposed to have been routed on the previous day. The battle-ground of Pleasant Hill was a field nearly surrounded with woods. The Federal troops were drawn up in expectation of an attack, Emory's division in front on the slope of a hill, General A. J. Smith's out of sight behind the crest of the hill. Skirmishing continued all day, but no large body of the enemy came in sight till about five in the afternoon. At twenty minutes past five the Confederate troops entered the plain at the edge of the woods, and marched to the attack at the double-quick under an artillery fire of case shell.

April 9.

Emory's division received the attack, but being pressed at all points by overwhelming numbers was compelled to fall back toward the lines of General Smith. He allowed the rebels to approach till they were nearly up to the muzzles of his cannon, when he opened a fire of musketry along his whole line, and of artillery with grape and canister. This was immediately followed by an infantry charge of seven thousand men, aided by Emory's division, which was easily rallied, upon the broken and wavering ranks of the Confederates, who were driven rapidly down the hill into the woods, where they broke and fled in confusion, and were pursued till nightfall. Five hundred prisoners were taken. Taylor's battery, which had been lost in the early part of the action, was recovered, as well as two guns of Nim's battery, lost on the 8th.

The troops slept on the field of battle, and early in the morning commenced the march back toward Grand Ecore, a few miles above Natchitoches, on the west bank of the river, to obtain rest and rations, worn out with three days' fighting and heavy marching. The further prosecution of the enterprise was deemed impracticable, especially as the unusually low stage of water in the Red River rendered doubtful the effective co-operation of the fleet.

The losses sustained in the campaign up to this time were 3,400 men, of which 2,816 were lost in the battles of Sabine Cross Roads and Pleasant Hill; 20 pieces of artillery, 130 wagons, and 1,200 horses and mules. Prisoners to the number of 2,300 had been taken, and 25 pieces of artillery, chiefly by the fleet. Five thousand negroes followed the army. The rebels also lost heavily in the battles of Sabine Cross Roads and Pleasant Hill.

Admiral Porter arrived at Grand Ecore with his fleet at the time when the land forces were about leaving Natchitoches on the march for Shreveport. The water was rising so slowly that it was determined not to risk the larger vessels by taking them higher up

the river, and the advance was continued with six only—the Cricket, Fort Hindman, Lexington, Osage, Neosho, and Chillicothe, accompanied by twenty transports, with stores and a portion of General A. J. Smith's division. Springfield Landing, the point at which communications were to have been reopened with the army, was reached on the third day, in accordance with the plan of operations. At that point the enemy had sunk a large steamer across the river, with the ends resting on each bank. Before operations for its removal could be commenced, news came to the Admiral that the army had met with a reverse, and at the same time orders arrived for the immediate return of the troops and transports.

The fleet on its return was much harassed by the enemy on the river banks. The vessels had to be moved slowly and cautiously, to avoid the innumerable dangers from snags and shoals in the river, which had begun to fall again. The rebels were consequently able to keep up with them and choose the time of attack. On the 12th a detachment of rebel infantry, with two pieces of artillery, made a desperate but ineffectual attempt to capture the iron-clad Osage while aground. This affair, which lasted two hours, was decided by a cross-fire of canister from the Lexington. By the time the fleet had got back to Grand Ecore, preparations had been made on the part of the army for the retrograde march toward Alexandria, and it became necessary that the fleet should follow.

The march from Grand Ecore commenced on the afternoon of the 21st of April, and at two o'clock the following morning the entire army silently evacuated its position, General A. J. Smith bringing up the rear. After marching thirty miles the army rested for the night. Next morning, on approaching Cane River, six miles farther, the enemy were found in a strong position, prepared to dispute the passage, but by a movement through a thick wood, the enemy were flanked and driven from their position, and the crossing secured. The army resumed its march, and though harassed by the enemy in pursuit, arrived at Alexandria on the 27th.

The march of the army was so rapid that the vessels were left many miles behind, exposed to constant attacks from the enemy on both banks of the river. Besides these difficulties, the gun-boat Eastport had been badly injured by a torpedo exploding under her bow, which caused her to sink to the gun-deck. Much time was lost in attempts to save this vessel by the use of pumps and taking out her guns, but on the 26th of April, six days having been consumed in towing her sixty miles, the increasing difficulties of navigation, arising from the want of water in the river, made it necessary that the vessel should be blown up and burnt.

Just previous to this, an attack had been made upon the fleet by a body of twelve hundred guerrillas, who appeared suddenly on the river side and made an attempt to board the Cricket, which had been tied up to the bank. The attempt failed, however, the Cricket

moving quickly out into the stream, and the rebels retreated rapidly under her fire of grape and canister and a cross-fire from two other vessels.

Twenty miles below the place where the Eastport was blown up, when rounding a point above Cane River, the vessels in close order and ready for action, a body of the enemy was discovered on the right bank, with a battery of eighteen guns, upon which fire was immediately opened. The Admiral's own vessel was the first to attempt passing the battery, but in doing so received a shower of shot and shell, which cleared the deck in a few minutes. The after gun was struck and disabled, and every man at it killed or wounded; at the same moment the men at the forward gun were swept away by the explosion of a shell, and in the fire-room all except one man were wounded. The chief engineer was killed, and a shot had passed through the pilot-house and wounded one of the pilots. The Admiral himself took charge of the vessel, and ran her past the battery, under a fire which he declares in his report to have been the heaviest he ever witnessed. Before the other vessels got through they suffered severely; the Juliet was badly injured in hull and machinery, and had fifteen men killed or wounded; the Cricket was struck thirty-eight times with shell and solid shot, and had twenty-three men killed and wounded; the Fort Hindman had seven men killed and wounded.

The Admiral was unable to keep up communications with the land forces, whose rapid march toward Alexandria had left him many miles in their rear, and without the protection from guerrillas which their presence would have afforded. On the arrival of his vessels at the falls above Alexandria, the season was so far advanced that there was no hope of resuming offensive operations with any prospect of success, and it was determined by General Banks to abandon the Red River country altogether, although he had on entering it proclaimed his intention and ability to occupy it permanently.

Here, however, was a serious difficulty; ten vessels, the best part of Admiral Porter's Mississippi squadron—the Fort Hindman, Osage, Neosho, Lexington, Mound City, Carondelet, Pittsburg, Ozark, Louisville, and Chillicothe—were lying above the falls awaiting a rise of the river, of which there was no probability. There seemed no help for it but to destroy the vessels to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. The expedition had been already sufficiently unfortunate. Provisions and forage were almost exhausted, and the army would be compelled to leave Alexandria in ten days. In this emergency Lieutenant-Colonel Bailey, acting engineer of the nineteenth army corps, who had had much experience as a lumberman on the shallow rivers and streams in Wisconsin, proposed a plan for building a series of dams across the rocks at the falls, by means of which the water might be accumulated till it was deep enough to permit the passage of vessels. Notwithstanding that other engineers

pronounced against the plan as utterly impracticable, Admiral Porter saw that the project was feasible, and requested General Banks to have the attempt made. Three thousand men and two or three hundred wagons were immediately set to work; two or three regiments of Maine men began to fell trees; all the neighboring steam mills were torn down for materials; flat-boats were built to bring down stones from above, and every one entered heartily into the undertaking, though many had little faith in its success, the falls being a mile in length over a bed of rugged rocks, and six hundred feet wide from bank to bank, the current running nine miles an hour.

The work was commenced by running out three hundred feet from the left bank a dam made of the trunks of large trees, brush, brick, and stone, cross-tied with heavy timber, and strengthened in every possible way. Four large coal barges filled with brick were sunk at the end of it. From the right bank cribs filled with stone were built out to meet the barges. The dam had nearly reached completion in eight days, and the water had risen sufficiently on the upper falls to enable the Fort Hindman, Osage, and Neosho to move down and be held in readiness to pass the dam. In another day all the vessels might have done the same. On the morning of the 9th, however, the pressure of the water increasing with its rise, two of the stone barges were swept away. The water began to fall again rapidly, and the Lexington, lying above the upper falls, was ordered to pass them immediately, if possible, and make the attempt to go through the gap in the dam. The Lexington succeeded in getting over the falls, and steered under a full head of steam directly for the opening in the dam, through which the water was rushing furiously, rolled, hung for a moment on the rocks, and then, swept into deep water by the current, rounded to safely amid the cheers of thirty thousand spectators. The Neosho followed, but did not fare so well as the Lexington, her pilot having become frightened. She disappeared for a moment under water, and it was thought she was lost. She rose, however, and was found to have received but slight injury. The Fort Hindman and Osage also got over safely.

May 9.

Three days later, Colonel Bailey had succeeded in repairing the dam, so that by the 12th of May the remaining six vessels were got through safely, in the presence and amid the cheers of all the troops. For his important services on this occasion, Lieutenant-Colonel Bailey was voted thanks and a medal by Congress, and was made a brigadier-general.

A further difficulty anticipated in crossing bars in the lower part of the river, where the depth of water was reported as being only five feet, was fortunately obviated by a rise in the Mississippi, which caused a back-water of several feet in the Red River.

Alexandria was evacuated on the 13th. About ten in the morning, fires broke out in several places at once, and spreading with great rapidity, in spite of

the utmost efforts of Generals Banks and Smith, consumed a large part of the town. To add to the distress of the inhabitants, the protection which had been guaranteed to them by General Banks was about being withdrawn. Many of the citizens had entered the Federal service, and had been sent off toward Simmsport. Their wives and children, now helpless and homeless, begged in vain for passage in the transports to New Orleans.

The army and fleet both began to arrive at Simmsport on the 16th. On the next day the Atchafalaya was bridged by means of twenty-two steamboats lashed together side by side, and by the night of the 20th the last of the division of General Smith, who brought up the rear, had passed over. Some opposition, easily overcome, was met with on the march to the Mississippi. General Banks with his troops returned to New Orleans, and was soon afterward superseded by Major-General Canby in the command of the Trans-Mississippi Department. The fleet resumed its station on the Mississippi.

The withdrawal of the army of General Banks from the Red River country left the Confederate forces, amounting to about twenty-five thousand men, at liberty to march into Arkansas, where General Steele, in accordance with the general plan of the campaign, had been operating in the endeavor to reach Shreveport, and unite there with the forces of Generals Banks and Smith.

General Steele, in command of the seventh army corps, left Little Rock on the 23d of March, with a force of twelve thousand infantry, and three thousand cavalry under General Carr. General Thayer, with the Army of the Frontier, consisting of about five thousand men, advanced on the 24th from Fort Smith, on the Arkansas, opposite Van Buren, with the intention of forming a junction with General Steele, and about the same time Colonel Clayton, with a small force, left Pine Bluff, on the south bank of the Arkansas, forty miles south-southeast of Little Rock, on an expedition against Mount Elba and Longview, on the Saline. It was intended that the commands of Generals Steele and Thayer should unite at Camden, on the south bank of the Washita, eighty-seven miles south by west of Little Rock and about ninety-six miles north-northeast of Shreveport, and at the head of navigation on the Washita, which flows south-southeast to the Red River, and which might therefore afford a means of communication with the forces in Louisiana.

The main body of the Confederate forces in Arkansas opposed to General Steele consisted of about twelve thousand men under General Price, who held a line extending from Camden to Washington, in Hampstead County, about forty miles west of Camden. On the 14th of April, General Steele had advanced as far as the Little Missouri, sixteen miles west of Camden, when he encountered a column of cavalry under General Marmaduke, and on the 16th was joined by General Thayer. In order to conceal his real object, which was the capture of Camden and to draw off the enemy

from the defence of that place, which was well fortified, General Steele crossed the Little Missouri and advanced some distance on the Shreveport road, passing the point at which it is intersected by the road leading to Camden. Acting on the belief that he was marching for Shreveport, the Confederates took up a strong position in advance of Steele on the Shreveport road. From this they were driven by a flank movement, and pursued for some distance, when General Steele turned suddenly and marched directly for Camden, pursued and harassed by the cavalry of the enemy, who, having discovered their error, hoped to detain the Federal troops long enough to permit their own infantry to regain the town. In this, however, they were disappointed ; General Steele succeeded in getting possession of Camden.

Colonel Clayton's expedition from Pine Bluff to Mount Elba, on the north bank of the Saline River, twenty-five miles south, was successful ; he destroyed the pontoon bridges at Longview, sixty miles south ; burnt a train of thirty-five wagons loaded with camp and garrison equipments, ammunition, stores, etc., and took over three hundred prisoners ; routed General Docking at Mount Elba, with twelve hundred men from Monticello, pursued him ten miles, and took many wagons, three hundred horses and mules, and two colors.

As soon as General Steele received information of the ill success of General Banks, he became aware that his own position was full of danger, and made preparations for a retrograde march to Little Rock. On the day following his occupation of Camden, a Confederate force appeared six miles to the south. A body of the enemy's cavalry crossed the Washita thirty miles below, and began to intercept his supplies. Trees were felled and thrown across the stream. A foraging party, sent out by General Steele on the 21st to a point sixteen miles west, with a hundred and fifty wagons and an escort of nearly a thousand men, were attacked at Poison Spring, twelve miles west of Camden, on their return, and after a fight of several hours' duration, lost all the wagons, four guns, and two hundred and fifty men.

Another train, of two hundred and fifty wagons and six ambulances, with an escort of two hundred cavalry and twelve hundred infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Drake, sent on the 23d of April to Pine Bluff for supplies, was attacked on the 25th, within six miles of the Saline River, by a force of Confederate cavalry under General Fagan, and captured, together with nearly the entire escort and four brass guns ; two hundred and fifty men being killed or wounded, as well as most of the officers.

Under these circumstances General Steele determined to evacuate Camden at once. Before daylight on the 27th of April, the army crossed to the north side of the Washita and pushed forward as rapidly as the ill condition of the roads would permit; on the 28th encamped at Princeton Crossing, and on the next day at Salines Crossing. During the night the enemy were found to

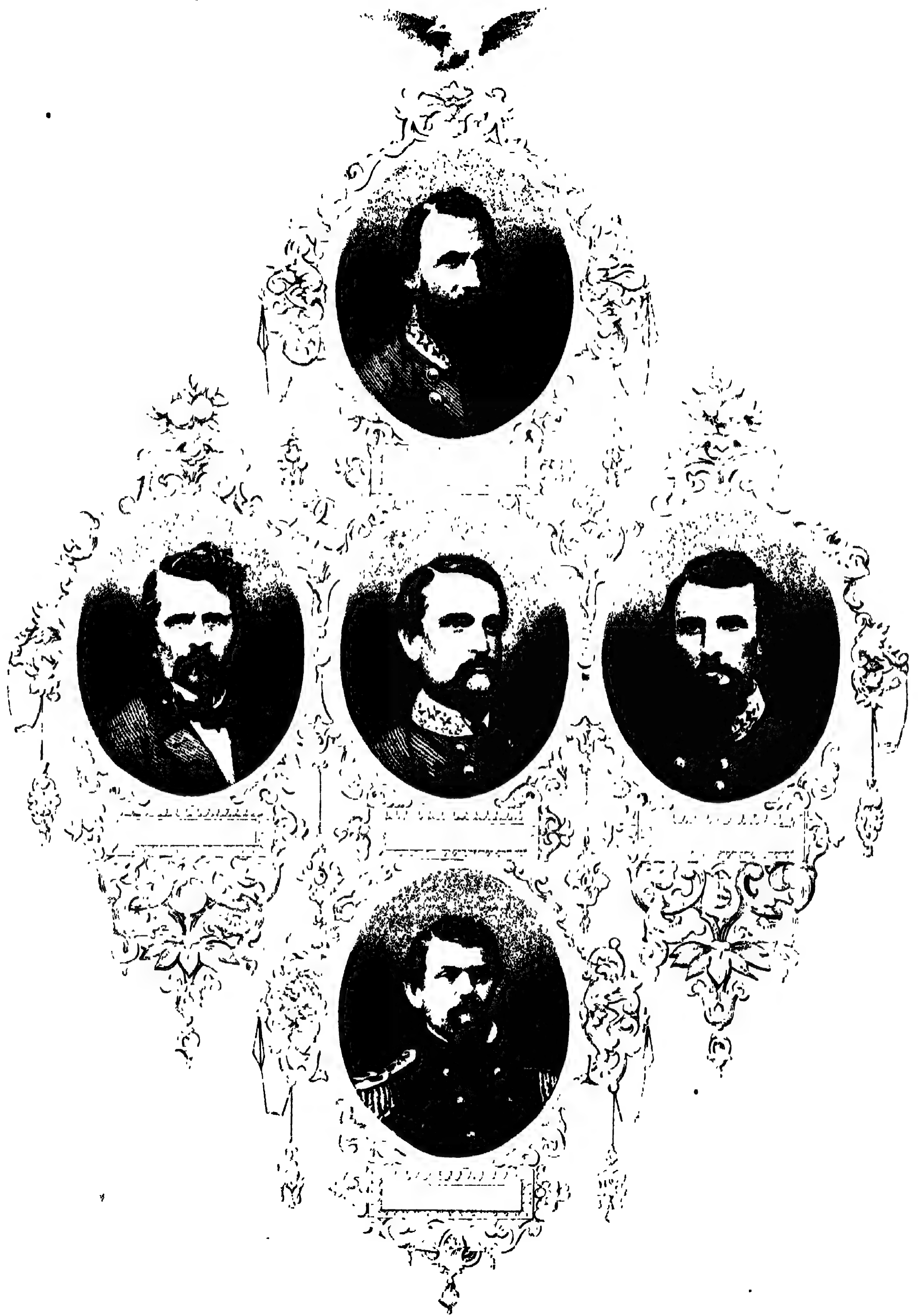
be immediately in the rear, and General Steele made preparations to withstand the attack of a large force. Heavy rain, the badness of the roads, and the darkness made the crossing of the Saline impracticable during the night. The pontoon bridge, however, was laid and a few troops passed over, the great body encamping on the bottom land by the river. In the morning heavy rain still poured down. Soon after daylight skirmishing began in the rear, quickly followed by a general engagement, in which were united, on the part of the enemy, all their forces in southwestern Arkansas, with some from Louisiana, commanded by Generals Kirby Smith, Price, Churchill, Walker, and others. On the side of the Federals the commands engaged were those of Generals Saloman, Thayer, Rice, Ingleman, and Colonel Benton.

The contest lasted about seven hours, and resulted in the repulse of the enemy, though with a loss to the Federals of seven hundred killed and wounded; notwithstanding which several colors were captured, besides three pieces of artillery. The Confederate forces also sustained severe losses. General Steele secured a safe retreat to Little Rock, and arrived at that point on the 2d of May. The Federal posts held within the State were successively surrendered, except Little Rock, Pine Bluff, Duvall's Bluff, and Fort Smith. An opportunity was thus afforded, by the gradual withdrawal of the Federal troops, for the invasion of Missouri by General Price.

April 29.

The absence from Mississippi and West Tennessee of a large part of the forces of General Sherman, withdrawn to take part in the Red River expedition, left the rebel forces in those States at liberty to concentrate and move north into Kentucky, for the purpose of surprising the Federal posts there as well as in West Tennessee. On the 23d of March, General Forrest having gathered a force of about five thousand men at Jackson Station, seventy-five miles east-northeast of Memphis, on the railroad leading north to Columbus, moved rapidly toward Union City, also on the railroad, and fifty-six miles north of Jackson, and from which branch railroads extend to Hickman on the Mississippi and to Paducah on the Ohio. The garrison of Union City consisted of four hundred and fifty men of the Eleventh Tennessee Cavalry, under the command of Colonel Hawkins. After several ineffectual attempts upon the works, Forrest, whose time was precious, demanded a surrender, threatening bombardment as the alternative. General Brayman was in the mean time marching from Cairo with a large force to the relief of the garrison, and had arrived on the 24th within six miles of the town, when Colonel Hawkins, against the wishes of the officers and soldiers, surrendered, only one man having been wounded in the defence. General Brayman then retired.

General Forrest, immediately after the surrender of Union City, took possession of Hickman, ten miles northwest. Then continuing his march rapidly northeast, appeared on the afternoon of the 25th of March before Paducah, at the confluence of the Tennessee with the



Ohio, thirty miles east of Cairo, and demanded its immediate surrender. This was refused by Colonel Hicks, the officer in command, who had withdrawn with his troops into Fort Anderson, and an attack was at once commenced. The garrison consisted of the Fortieth Illinois Infantry, a battalion of two hundred and twenty negroes, and some other troops, aided by the guns of the two tin-clads Peosta and Pawpaw. This force proved sufficient for the repulse of the assaulting troops of General Forrest, who then again demanded a surrender, stating that his force was fully adequate to the reduction of the works, but that in order to avoid the effusion of blood, he would be willing, in case of immediate surrender of the fort, troops, and stores, to treat the garrison as prisoners of war, but that if he took the fort by assault no quarter might be expected. Colonel Hicks having again refused to surrender, the attack was renewed. In the course of the contest a large part of the town was destroyed, partly by the enemy and partly by the Union troops, who burnt a number of houses to prevent their being used as cover by the rebel sharpshooters; also, while the fight was in progress, many stores in the town were plundered by the enemy's troops. Four successive assaults having proved unavailing, Forrest retired from the town in the evening, but on the following morning sent a request for an exchange of prisoners, which being declined by Colonel Hicks, he marched off in the direction of Columbus, having sustained a loss of about a hundred and fifty in killed and wounded. The Union loss, besides the injury sustained by the town and the destruction of a steamboat on the marine ways, was fourteen killed and forty-six wounded.

April 12.

On the 12th of April an attack was made by General Forrest on Fort Pillow, on the Mississippi, seventy miles above Memphis. This fort was situated on the First Chickasaw, a bluff which descends precipitously one hundred feet to the river's edge. The ridge of the bluff toward the river was covered with trees, bushes, and fallen timber. Above and below the bluff ravines run down to the river, in the lower of which were several private stores and dwellings, and down by the river's edge some government buildings with commissary stores; the ravine above the fort was known as Cold Bunk Ravine, the ridge of which was covered with trees and bushes. On a piece of high level ground near the fort were some log huts occupied by white troops, used also for hospital or other purposes. Tents had been erected within the fort itself for the colored troops. The armament of the fort consisted of two six-pounder and two twelve-pounder howitzers and two ten-pounder Parrotts. The troops which had formerly constituted the garrison had been withdrawn to accompany General Sherman in his expedition to Meridian, and their place had been supplied by others from Memphis. At the time of Forrest's attack the garrison consisted of nineteen officers and about six hundred men; of whom about three hundred were colored. The officers in

command were Major L. F. Booth, who had charge of the fort, and Major W. T. Bradford, of the Thirteenth Tennessee Cavalry.

The first intimation the garrison had that the attack was about to take place was that the pickets were driven in just before sunrise. About nine o'clock all the troops were retired within the fort from advanced intrenchments previously occupied. Forrest extended his columns till the works were invested from river to river. The rebels had obtained no decisive advantage up to two o'clock in the afternoon. The Federal troops, both black and white, fought well and cheerfully; and a tin-clad gun-boat, the New Era, commanded by Captain Marshall, took part in the contest, shelling the rebels as opportunity offered, but no important assistance was derived from its fire, as the enemy, when exposed to it in one of the ravines, immediately transferred their operations to the other. About one o'clock the fire had slackened on both sides, and the gun-boat, from which had been fired nearly three hundred rounds of shell, shrapnel, and canister, moved out into the river to cool and clean her guns, her supply of ammunition also being nearly exhausted.

General Forrest then sent a flag of truce with a demand for unconditional surrender. To this Major Bradford replied—Major Booth having been killed—and asked to be allowed an hour to consult with his officers and those of the gun-boat. A second flag of truce from Forrest soon returned, with a demand for immediate surrender, accompanied with the threat, that if in twenty minutes the troops did not evacuate the fort, an assault would be ordered. Immediately after the return of the second flag of truce with the announcement of Major Bradford's refusal to surrender, the assault was made on opposite sides of the fort by two bodies of the enemy, one headed by Forrest, the other by General Chalmers, from advantageous positions gained while the flags of truce were passing.

The two assaulting parties entered the works at the same time, raising the cry of "No quarter." Little resistance was made. The fort was carried by assault; there was no formal surrender; an indiscriminate slaughter took place; many of the Federal troops threw down their arms; most sought to escape by running down the sides of the bluff to the cover of the gun-boat, or by hiding in the brush and among trees and logs, and some in the river itself, leaving their heads only above water. All power or disposition to resist was gone, but the slaughter was continued. Three hundred Union troops, mostly colored, were killed after the rebels got possession of the fort, many of them in the most deliberate manner; numbers were gathered together in lines or groups and shot; others were shot in the river, or hunted out of their places of concealment and made to stand up and be shot at. A number of negroes were buried alive. The huts and tents, in which wounded men had sought refuge, were set on fire, and those of their inmates whose wounds prevented their getting out without

assistance, perished in the flames. Some were shot or had their brains beat out while escaping from the burning huts. On the morning after the massacre, search was made by the rebels among the bodies of the dead for any that gave signs of life; all such were killed, and their remains in some instances horribly mutilated. Six guns were taken in the fort and a quantity of stores. The loss of the Confederates was about seventy-five killed and wounded. They soon afterward abandoned the fort, which had little strategic value for either side.

The Confederate Government had intimated its determination to deal severely with negroes found in arms, as well as with any white men acting as their officers. At Fort Pillow the rebel troops had but carried out the threats of their government, while savagely acting on the plan of sparing no negroes or "home-made Yankees," as they called the Southern Unionists. The intensity of their dislike to this latter class is illustrated in the fate of Major Bradford, who though a Southerner by birth remained loyal to the Union. He was made prisoner, and while on the march with other prisoners in charge of two companies of rebel troops, was led about fifty yards from the line of march by five soldiers, one of them an officer, and deliberately shot. He died almost instantly, three balls having entered his body.

The massacre at Fort Pillow was made the subject of inquiry by a special Congressional committee, who proceeded to the scene and made thorough investigation into every attendant circumstance, and examined many witnesses, but without any other result than to establish beyond question that the published accounts of the horrid cruelties and murders perpetrated had a fearful foundation in fact. Retaliation was out of the question. There was nothing to be done but to let the narrative go forth to the world and excite in the minds of Christian and humane men everywhere a detestation of the cause that could require, and of the men who could adopt, such measures for its support. To those who urged wholesale retaliation, President Lincoln said: "Would it be right to take the life of prisoners in Washington, in Fort Delaware, or elsewhere, in retaliation for acts in which they had not shared? Would it be right to take the prisoner captured say at Vicksburg and shoot him for acts of which he was not guilty, and which it will probably be found were the ordering of only a few individuals, or possibly of only one man?"

After the capture of Fort Pillow, a party of rebels under General Buford marched against Columbus. Buford on the 13th of April summoned its garrison to surrender, declaring his ability to take the place by force, promising in case of unconditional surrender to return the negroes found in arms to their masters, but threatening that if he took the place by assault he would give them no quarter—evidently intending a repetition of the Fort Pillow massacre. The demand was refused, and the Confederates retired without making any attack. About

the same time a body of rebels appeared in a threatening manner in the vicinity of Paducah. Their entire forces, however, soon afterward withdrew to the neighborhood of Bolivar, Trenton, and Grand Junction.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Proposed Reorganization of Florida.—General Gillmore's Plans.—Florida as a source of Supplies for the Confederates. —Occupation of Jacksonville by General Seymour.—Blockade Runner St. Mary's sunk.—Advance of Colonel Henry. —Arrival at Baldwin.—Capture of Prisoners, Artillery, etc.—Fight near Barber's Station.—Advance to Sanderson and Lake City.—Forces withdrawn to Baldwin.—Advance of General Seymour.—Recall of General Seymour.— March into the Interior.—Battle of Olustee.—Death of Colonel Abbott.—Behavior of Negro Troops.—Death of Colonel Fribley.—Artillery lost.—Charge of the Rebels.—The Retreat.—Destruction of Stores by General Seymour. —Losses.—Arrival of the Army at Jacksonville.—Federal Posts in North Carolina.—Capture of Bachelor's Creek. —General Pickett's Advance toward Newbern.—Siege of Plymouth.—Attack on Fort Gray.—Defences of Plymouth. —Attack on Forts Wessels and Williams.—Defence of Plymouth by General Wessels.—Sudden Appearance of the Ram Albemarle.—Plans for capturing the Albemarle.—Gun-boat Southfield sunk by the Albemarle.—Death of Lieutenant-Commander Flusser.—Flight of the Gun-boats.—The Ram remains Monarch of the Waters.—Fall of Plymouth.—Evacuation of Washington.—Condition of the Inhabitants of Washington.—Marines and Soldiers fire the Town.—Great destruction of Property and Stores.—Garrison of Newbern reinforced.—"Double-enders" to look after the Ram Albemarle.—Appearance of the Ram.—Fight with seven Gun-boats.—Contest between the Sassacus and the Albemarle.

1864. MAJOR-GENERAL GILLMORE, in command of the Department of the South, who had been urged by President Lincoln to do all in his power to promote some attempts about being made to reorganize the State of Florida, and who had been authorized by General Halleck as early as the 22d of December to undertake such operations in his department as he might deem best, wrote on the 15th of January to the War Department proposing the occupation, with an adequate military force, of the west bank of the St. John's, and recommending the establishment there of small dépôts, preliminary to a series of movements into the interior of the State. The reply of the General-in-Chief left the matter discretionary with General Gillmore; at the same time General Halleck said that he was unable to see the advantages of the proposed expedition, and expressed his doubts of its practicability; adding, with regard to such expeditions in general, that "if successful, they merely absorb troops in garrisons to occupy the places captured, but have little or no influence upon the progress of the war." General Gillmore urged in reply, that the occupation of Florida would also afford an outlet for its cotton, lumber, timber, etc.; that it would enlarge the recruiting ground for his colored regiments; and would at the same time cut off an important source of commissary supplies from the Confederates.

The belief that the vast droves of half-

wild cattle on the glades in the interior of Florida were becoming a main dependence for the supply of the Southern armies, was in a measure confirmed by a curious circular subsequently found there, addressed by Major P. W. White, chief commissary in Florida, to his subordinates throughout the State, in which he urged the positive necessity of gathering together as many cattle as possible and forwarding them promptly to the respective Confederate armies, in which, according to the circular, the utmost scarcity was beginning to be felt. It was also known that the quartermasters throughout the Confederacy had been compelled to slaughter milch cows and working oxen.

On the 5th of February, General Gillmore directed Brigadier-General Truman Seymour to proceed to Jacksonville, on the west bank of the St. John's near its mouth, effect a landing there, and push forward his mounted men to Baldwin, a village twenty-four miles west of Jacksonville, on the railroad to Tallahassee, at the point where it is intersected by the railroad from Fernandina to Cedar Keys. On the next day the expedition, consisting of about forty-five hundred infantry and four hundred cavalry, left Hilton Head in twenty steamers and eight schooners, convoyed by the gunboat Norwich, arrived in the St. John's River on the 7th, and on the afternoon of the same day effected a landing at Jacksonville. At this time the Confederates had no force in East Florida, except the scattered fragments of General Finnegan's command, who had lost all his artillery. The town was deserted except by a few rebel pickets, who rapidly disappeared, and about twenty-five families, consisting chiefly of women and children. On the approach of the expedition to Jacksonville, an iron steamer, the St. Mary's, loaded with cotton ready for a run to Nassau, was scuttled and sunk in a creek about eight miles above the town, the cargo, two hundred and seventy bales, having been previously put on shore and burnt.

On the night of the 8th the advance of the army, under Colonel Guy V. Henry, pushed forward into the interior, passed a small body of the enemy drawn up in line of battle at Camp Vinegar, seven miles from Jacksonville, surprised and captured a battery three miles in the rear of the camp about midnight, and reached Baldwin at sunrise. In the evening General Gillmore and staff and General Seymour arrived. Up to this time one hundred prisoners had been taken, eight pieces of artillery, and a large amount of other property, without any loss on the part of the Federals. Next day Colonel Henry continued his advance toward Sanderson, and encountered a small body of Confederate troops at the crossing of the South Fork of the St. Mary's, a little beyond Barber's Station and twelve miles west of Baldwin. The bridge had been destroyed, and about one hundred and fifty rebels, concealed in the woods, opened fire upon the advance of the cavalry, but were soon driven from their position; not, however, till several had been killed and wounded on both sides.

Sanderson, a village and railroad station twenty-three miles west of Baldwin, was reached about four o'clock in the afternoon. The rebels had set fire to large quantities of turpentine and rosin, and about three thousand bushels of corn. Here the column rested for a part of the night, and at half-past two in the morning the march was resumed, and continued to within a short distance of Lake City, where the enemy were found in greatly superior force, and Colonel Henry, after a skirmish with their cavalry, returned to Sanderson.

Telegraphic communication was established between Jacksonville and Baldwin on the 11th, and on that day General Gillmore telegraphed to General Seymour not to risk a repulse by advancing on Lake City, but to hold Sanderson, and in case his advance met with any serious opposition, to concentrate there and at the South Fork of the St. Mary's, near Barber's Station. On the 12th, General Gillmore telegraphed to General Seymour to bring all his advanced forces back to Baldwin. With these directions General Seymour complied, sending Colonel Henry, however, to capture some trains on the Fernandina and Cross Keys Railroad, and joined General Gillmore at Jacksonville on the 14th.

After giving general directions for the construction of defences at Jacksonville, Baldwin, and the South Fork of the St. Mary's, General Gillmore on the 15th left Jacksonville for Hilton Head, supposing it well understood by General Seymour that no offensive movements should be undertaken till the proposed defensive works were well advanced, and having received a letter from General Seymour on the 18th, stating that he intended to advance without supplies to destroy the railroad near the Suwanee River, one hundred miles west of Jacksonville, immediately dispatched General Turner with a letter to General Seymour to stop the movement. Owing to bad weather, however, the steamer which conveyed General Turner did not reach Jacksonville till after considerable delay, and General Turner learned on his arrival that a battle was actually in progress at Olustee.

Feb. 20.

In the mean time General Seymour had been making preparations for his proposed expedition, and on the 20th advanced with his entire force from Barber's Station at seven in the morning, by the main road, hoping to reach Lake City on the following day. The army marched in three columns, keeping near the railroad, thick pine woods on both sides; reached Sanderson about noon, and immediately pushed on toward the little village of Olustee, ten or twelve miles west of Sanderson, at which point a considerable force, subsequently discovered to be largely superior to that of General Seymour, and variously estimated at from ten to fifteen thousand men, had been concentrated by General Finnegan. The right column of the Union army was led by Colonel Barton; that in the centre by Colonel Guy V. Henry; the left by Colonel Montgomery; the cavalry moved in advance, the artillery being distributed along the line of infantry.

The enemy's pickets were met about five miles east of Olustee, and immediately fell back on their main body, which occupied a position admirably chosen, their right resting on a slight earth-work protected by rifle-pits, their centre defended by an impassable swamp, their cavalry on the left, drawn up on a rising ground with a grove of pines in front; their camp intersected by the railroad, which was commanded by a rifled gun mounted on a truck, and by a battery so placed that it might be turned against either the left or centre of General Seymour.

To attack this strong position and greatly superior force, the Federals were compelled to occupy a piece of ground with swamps in front and rear, the artillery in a position within a hundred yards of the enemy's line of battle and exposed to a deadly fire from the rebel sharpshooters. After some skirmishing the troops advanced to the attack. The Seventh New Hampshire, of Colonel Hawley's brigade, led by Colonel Abbott, was the first to come under fire. Many men of this regiment were inexperienced soldiers, and a portion of them, those composing the left flank, had been recently deprived of the rifles with which they had been previously armed, and had received instead inferior muskets, without bayonets, some of them so defective that they could not be fired at all. As they advanced the rebel sharpshooters poured into their ranks a rapid and destructive fire. In less than twenty minutes Colonel Abbott fell, and three hundred and fifty of his men were killed or wounded. The left flank, unable to return an effective fire, gave way and could not be rallied. The men composing the right flank, armed with the Spencer repeating rifle, stood their ground till their ammunition was exhausted.

The Confederates now made persistent and vigorous attacks on the right and centre, and leaving their position pushed down toward the Federal line in great force, a regiment of cavalry moving on each flank. Colonel Barton's brigade and the artillery, with the Eighth United States Volunteers, a colored regiment, received them with firmness, and for a little while held them in check. The colored troops, though they had never been under fire before, behaved well, till Colonel Fribley, their commander, and several other officers fell, when, suffering severely from the concentrated fire of a superior force, and about three hundred out of five hundred and seventy being killed or wounded, they fell back in confusion, and in doing so exposed the artillery to a heavy flank fire on the left. The artillerymen were shot down at their guns, and those who stepped forward to fill their places quickly shared their fate. The batteries of Captains Hamilton and Langdon suffered severely, and toward the close of the engagement were compelled to suspend firing. Most of the horses were killed and two of the guns had to be abandoned.

When Barton's brigade began to waver in consequence of their ammuuition giving out, the First Carolina, a colored regiment, was sent to the front, and succeeded in holding the enemy in check

though suffering severely; Lieutenant-Colonel Reid was mortally wounded and Major Boyle killed. An attempt was made by the enemy to flank the retiring force on both sides with cavalry, but in this they were thwarted by the dispositions of Colonel Henry. The centre held its ground till a new line was formed in a position about a hundred yards in the rear, soon after which the enemy advanced in double column, closed *en masse* with cheers, and were about to deploy in line and crush the centre, when Elder's battery opened upon them with canister at short range. Three times the colors of the rebels went down and three times they were raised again; but the fire was too much for them, cutting lanes through their masses before they had time to deploy. They fell back in confusion and advanced no more in force. About sundown their fire suddenly ceased. But the numerical superiority of the Confederates had become evident, and the Federal line was gradually withdrawn, the dead and badly wounded being left in the hands of the enemy.

The retreat was conducted for a time in successive lines of battle, but as the enemy seemed indisposed to follow, was changed into a movement in column, and proceeded in an orderly manner, with no stragglers except the footsore and wounded, though the troops were much fatigued with their long march and a battle of three and a half hours' duration. The retreat was continued as far as Barber's Station that night, and the next morning to Baldwin, where the enemy again appeared in pursuit. Many of the wounded were sent on to Jacksonville from that place in cars drawn by mules. General Seymour ordered the destruction of about sixty thousand dollars' worth of commissary stores, and the army resumed its march to Jacksonville, where it arrived on the afternoon of the 22d of February, having sustained a loss of not less than twelve hundred men and five pieces of artillery besides the stores destroyed, while that of the enemy, according to the statement of General Finnegan, did not exceed two hundred and fifty men killed and wounded.

General Finnegan took up a position at Camp Finnegan, about eight miles from Jacksonville on the road to Baldwin. General Seymour with all his forces occupied Jacksonville, whither reinforcements soon began to arrive in such numbers as to make the town perfectly secure against any force that was likely to be brought against it.

A small Federal force remained several months at Jacksonville, but no important military operations took place. All attempts at the reorganization of the State ceased after the battle of Olustee. On the 1st of April the stern-wheel transport Maple Leaf was blown up on the St. John's by means of a torpedo while on her way down the river from Pilatka, as was also the General Hunter on the 15th in the same locality. Pilatka, an advanced post up the St. John's, about fifty miles south of Jacksonville, was evacuated, everything of value being carried away.

To the history of reverses sustained by the Northern arms in Louisiana, Florida, and elsewhere, must now be added details of those which occurred in North Carolina. The three important seaports on the east coast of North Carolina—Newbern, Plymouth, and Washington, which had been held by Federal garrisons since their capture by General Burnside in 1862—became in the spring the objects of a series of operations on the part of the Confederates. The presence of Union troops in these towns had been for some time operating on public opinion to the prejudice of the authority of the Confederate Government, and it was therefore considered by the rebels of great importance to restore them without delay to the Confederate flag.

Batchelor's Creek, a Union outpost eight miles from Newbern, was attacked on the 1st of February by a force under General Pickett, and captured. Pickett then advanced to within a mile and a half of Newbern, where every preparation was made to receive an attack, but soon afterward retired to Kinston. The gun-boat Underwriter, however, was captured. She was at the time lying aground in such a position as to cover a portion of the fortifications between Forts Anderson and Stephens, near Newbern, and was attacked by the rebels at three o'clock in the morning, in barges, which they had brought overland from Savannah by railroad, and which the commander of the Underwriter allowed to approach under the supposition that they were a boat's crew returning, which had been sent out a short time before on a reconnoissance. As the rebels could not get the Underwriter afloat, they set her on fire, and she blew up.

On the 17th of April, General Hoke, with about ten thousand men, appeared in the vicinity of Plymouth, and on the same day, about half-past five o'clock, commenced the siege by an attack on Fort Gray, on the Roanoke River, about a mile above the town. This was one of the four forts which with some smaller redoubts had been erected, during the Federal occupation, for the defence of Plymouth; the other three, Forts Williams, Wessels, and Comfort, were in the immediate vicinity of the town. In addition to these defences were five gun-boats, the Bombshell, Southfield, Whitehead, Miami, and Ceres. Upon these gun-boats the town depended also for the preservation of its communications, and for reinforcements should they be needed.

Fire was opened upon Fort Gray from a battery of six guns, planted on a sand-bank in the Roanoke, one thousand yards above the fort. At early dawn on the morning of the 18th, two desperate assaults were made on the fort, but both were repulsed with heavy loss to the enemy. The Bombshell, a small gun-boat, steamed up the river to communicate with the fort, but received several shots from the rebel battery, which damaged her badly, so that on her return to Plymouth she sunk at the wharf.

Later in the day the enemy appeared

in force in rear of the town, and Forts Wessels and Williams were vigorously attacked near sunset, but in three successive charges the rebels were repulsed by the garrison, aided by the gun-boats, from which shells were thrown into the rebel columns. The defence promised to be successful. General H. W. Wessels, a West Point officer who had seen much service, was in command, with twenty-five hundred men. He had for some days been expecting the enemy, and sent away a number of non-combatants to Roanoke Island. The rebels had sustained severe loss in the several attempts to take the forts by storm, and though four times as numerous as the garrison, would easily have been kept at bay till the arrival of reinforcements, which were already on their way. These were not destined to arrive, however.

April 19. At three o'clock in the morning of the 19th the rebel ram Albemarle, accompanied by the sharpshooter battery Cotton Plant, when the moon had disappeared, quietly left her moorings and stole down along the left bank of the river, in the shadow of the trees, using no steam, but, floating down with the stream, slipped through the piles and other obstructions which had been placed six miles up the river, passed the batteries, and suddenly made her appearance on the scene. This vessel was built on the plan of the Merrimac, one hundred and fifty-two feet long, forty feet in breadth of beam, twelve feet in depth of hold, and heavily iron plated, moved by an English-built low-pressure engine, with two screws. Her armament consisted of only two guns, twenty-pounder Whitworths, the chief dependence on her power for mischief being placed in her ability to run an antagonist down, for which purpose she was provided with a beak fifteen feet long under the water line. She was commanded by Captain James S. Coke, formerly a lieutenant in the United States navy.

The approach of the ram had been expected, and preparations had been made for a contest with her by Lieutenant-Commander Flusser, who commanded the Federal vessels, by lashing together two gun-boats, the Miami and Southfield, in the hope of attacking her in such a way as to get her between the bows of his vessels and thus run her aground. In the working of this plan he was disappointed; his arrangements were only partially complete when the ram appeared within a hundred yards. The united boats were nevertheless advanced at full speed against the ram. The result was, instead of the capture of the Albemarle, the sinking of the Southfield, which received the beak of the ram in her starboard bow and went to the bottom in fifteen minutes. This vessel had formerly been employed as a ferry-boat between New York and Staten Island. A part of her officers and crew were picked up by the Miami; some were made prisoners, and a few were lost.

Both vessels had been shortly before engaged in shelling the troops on shore, and the guns had been left loaded with

shell, which there had been no time to draw. On approaching the ram, Lieutenant-Commander Flusser fired the first gun from the Miami. The shell exploded on striking the ram, making no impression on it, however; but, upon its bursting, some fragments, either from this or the Southfield's shells, rebounded, and instantly killed Lieutenant-Commander Flusser, pieces of shell piercing his chest face, and skull, besides wounding several officers and six or eight men. The Miami herself received no injury, and as soon as she was disentangled from the Southfield, retired, firing solid shot at the ram.

The surrender of Plymouth was a necessary consequence of the superior power of the rebel ram; two out of the five gun-boats, the Bombshell and the Southfield, had been sunk; the other three were compelled to withdraw or be sunk also. The ram remained monarch of the waters, and not only shelled the town and forts, and thus materially aided in bringing about the final surrender, but would have sunk any vessel bringing reinforcements from Newbern or elsewhere.

Prolonged resistance on the part of General Wessels would have had no other result than to swell the lists of killed and wounded; accordingly at half-past ten on the morning of Wednesday, the 20th of April, he pulled down the flags from Forts Williams and Comfort. Fort Wessels had been evacuated the day before. Fort Gray held out for a time. The rebels took possession of Plymouth, together with twenty-five hundred prisoners, thirty pieces of artillery, among which was a two-hundred pounder Parrott gun, subsequently transferred to the Albemarle, several hundred horses, a large amount of provisions, stores, etc. The Federal loss in killed and wounded was about a hundred and fifty, that of the Confederates about five hundred.

The fall of Plymouth was followed by the evacuation of Washington, a beautiful little town at the mouth of the Tar River, thirty-two miles north of Newbern. The place was strongly fortified, and had a garrison of four thousand troops commanded by General Palmer. This step was taken for strategic reasons; for though under ordinary circumstances the place might have been held against any force the Confederates could afford to send against it, its communications by sea were now liable to be interrupted at any moment by the appearance of the ram Albemarle, against which the gun-boats were supposed to be totally unable to contend. In addition to these considerations, the garrison was needed to reinforce that of Newbern, which it was determined to hold at all hazards. Accordingly, on the 28th of April, the evacuation was commenced, and was so well managed that no information of the movement was received by the enemy, who were in the neighborhood, though in greatly inferior force.

April 28.

Though Washington was of little importance in a strategic point of view, its abandonment was much to be regretted on account of its inhabitants and those of the surrounding district; a great

portion of whom were sincerely attached to the Union, or, having been assured that the Federal occupation would be permanent. had returned to their allegiance. All these were under the necessity of leaving their property behind them, if they went away, or, if they remained, were in danger of becoming the objects of rebel vengeance.

But this was not all: when the evacuation was nearly completed, some straggling marines and soldiers fired the town; and it would appear that this was done for purposes of plunder, for in the language of General Palmer, their commander, "the vandals did not even respect the charitable institutions, but bursting open the doors of the Masonic and Odd Fellows' lodges, pillaged them both, and hawked about the streets the regalia and jewels." A number of stores, both public and private, were plundered, and much property was wasted and destroyed. The fire spread rapidly, and got beyond control. The entire town was laid in ashes. Vast quantities of naval, commissary, ordnance and quartermasters' stores were destroyed, besides private property, the whole estimated at a value of several millions of dollars. As in the case of Alexandria, abandoned by General Banks under a similar bitter military necessity, their sufferings were without remedy; in the midst of the great storm of war they could obtain no hearing for the story of their wrongs.

The abandonment of Washington set at liberty a number of troops, and made it possible to strengthen the garrison of Newbern to such an extent that the Confederates were deterred from making any attack on that town. By this time, too, the war was beginning to take such a shape in Virginia that the Confederacy could ill spare troops for North Carolina.

The disasters caused by the ram Albemarle, and the fact that she was supposed to be about going round to Pamlico Sound, to aid in an attempt upon Newbern, called for vigorous measures to restore the Federal naval supremacy in the North Carolina sounds. Several double-enders were added to the fleet in Albemarle Sound, with directions to attack the ram at all hazards, and to use every means to destroy or disable her.

On the afternoon of the 5th of May the three side-wheel gun-boats, Mattabesett, Sassacus, and Wyalusing, were lying at anchor in Albemarle Sound, twenty miles below the mouth of the Roanoke, watching an opportunity to make an attack upon the ram, which was lying a little distance up the Roanoke, to the mouth of which river several smaller gun-boats had been sent, with the design of provoking an attack from the ram, and decoying her into the open waters of the sound. The plan succeeded. Soon after three in the afternoon, signals were made that the ram was out; the "double-enders" had already got under way; at four o'clock the picket-boats were seen retreating before the Albemarle, and soon afterward she was discerned, accompanied by the Cotton Plant, cotton-clad and manned by two hundred sharpshooters and boarders, and the Bombshell, a small

one-gun vessel which had been attached to Burnside's expedition, and which had fallen into the hands of the Confederates at the surrender of Plymouth. The Cotton Plant soon put back hastily for Plymouth. The ram came on, accompanied by the Bombshell. The latter, after receiving a broadside from the Sassacus, surrendered, and was ordered to drop out of fire and anchor, which she did.

The contest was now between the ram alone and a fleet of seven vessels of various sizes. Owing, however, to the rapid and indiscriminate fire of the smaller vessels, and their neglect of signals from the flag-ship, it became impossible for the larger ones to take up advantageous positions. Their round shot rebounded from the armored sides of the ram like "dried peas" and "India-rubber" balls. The ram threw one-hundred pounder Brooks rifle shot and shell. About five o'clock the commander of the Sassacus, finding his position favorable for the attempt, ordered his vessel, then about eight hundred yards from the ram, to be headed directly for her, with the design of running her down or disabling her. While going nine or ten knots, the Sassacus struck the iron-plated monster fairly amidships. The stem of the Sassacus was forced over the side of the ram, and headway being kept up, the ram was pushed on and careened down under the weight of her antagonist till the water rushed over her deck and casemate. The two vessels remained in this position for about ten minutes, the crew of the Sassacus throwing hand-grenades down the deck-hatch of the Albemarle and trying to throw powder into her smoke-stack. Could another of the gun-boats at this juncture have attacked the ram, she might have been disabled or caused to surrender. Shots were being constantly exchanged, but without much effect, till a hundred-pound ball pierced the starboard boiler of the Sassacus, when the vessel became enveloped in steam and many of the crew were badly scalded. The contest nevertheless continued for a few minutes between the two vessels, the consorts of the Sassacus fearing to fire lest they should injure their friends. When the cloud of steam lifted, the Albemarle had got clear of the Sassacus, and begun to retire up the sound toward the Roanoke—but kept up a general engagement with the gun-boats till half-past seven.

Though not destroyed or disabled, the ram was to some extent injured. She had her boats knocked to pieces, her smoke-stack riddled, and one of her guns partially disabled, but her machinery remained intact, and the rifle projectiles of her antagonists, even when fired at short range, rebounded harmlessly from her sides. The result of the contest was, that she was prevented from leaving the sound for Newbern, and that she was no longer considered invincible or even very formidable. She remained idle in the Roanoke till sunk the following October by Lieutenant Cushing.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Inactivity in Virginia.—Position of the Armies of Generals Meade and Lee.—Camp Life.—Desultory Operations.—Loss of Supply Trains in Western Virginia.—Fight near Williamsport.—Evacuation of Petersburg, Hardin Co., by Colonel Thoburn.—Rebels driven back.—Reoccupation of Petersburg.—Plan for the Surprise of Richmond.—General Sedgwick crosses the Rapidan.—General Lee deceived.—General Wistar's March up the Peninsula.—Retreat of General Wistar.—Alarm and Confusion in Richmond.—Another Plan for taking Richmond by Surprise.—Movements of Generals Sedgwick, Birney, and Custer.—March of General Custer toward Charlottesville.—Stuart's Cavalry encountered. —Retreat of General Custer.—Pursuit by Stuart's Cavalry.—Return to Madison Court House.—General Kilpatrick's Raid.—Colonel Dahlgren sent toward Frederickshall.—Destruction of Railroads, Mills, Bridges, etc.—Narrow Escape of General R. E. Lee.—Destruction of Railroads, etc., effected by Kilpatrick.—Kilpatrick's Force near Richmond. —First Line of Defences taken.—No News of Dahlgren.—Retreat of Kilpatrick.—His Camp shelled.—Colonel Dahlgren misled by his Negro Guide.—Negro Guide hung.—Destruction of Mills, etc., on the James River and Canal.—Dahlgren near Richmond.—Fight with Rebel Infantry.—Death of Dahlgren.—Co-operative Force sent too late by General Butler.—Papers said to have been found on Dahlgren's Body.—Life of Colonel Dahlgren.—General ill success of Northern Arms in the early part of the Year.—Drafts of March and April ordered by President Lincoln.

1864.

In Virginia the armies remained inactive through the winter; rain and mud made the movement of large bodies of troops impracticable. The Federal forces were no nearer Richmond than they were at the same date in the preceding year. The headquarters of the Army of the Potomac, commanded by General Meade, were at Culpeper Court House, on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, north of the Rapidan, seventy miles north-northwest of Richmond in a direct line; the headquarters of General Lee, at Orange Court House, south of the Rapidan, on the same railroad. The pickets of the respective armies, if they did not hold much friendly intercourse, made no hostile demonstrations on each other. Some of the officers built themselves comfortable log houses; the Masons in the army held their meetings in regular form, and the soldiers were permitted to amuse themselves in any way not inconsistent with their military duties. Neither army feared an attack in force, or a surprise, the roads being in such a condition as to make the movement of large bodies of infantry, and especially of artillery, utterly impracticable. Nevertheless military vigilance was not relaxed, as parties of guerrillas from time to time made dashes upon exposed points of the Union lines.

This inactivity of the armies in Virginia continued till the appointment of General Grant to the position of Lieutenant-General, broken only by a few desultory operations which had little effect on the general course of the war. Among these was an attempt, on the part of General Early, in Western Virginia, in the department of General Kelley, to cut the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in the early part of January, in which he failed, as well as in another to capture

the Union garrison at Petersburg, in Hardin County, which was surrounded on the 8th by a force of three brigades under General Fitz Hugh Lee. A supply train consisting of thirty-five wagons, mostly empty, was captured by his forces on its return from Petersburg, in Hardin County, to New Creek. On the 28th of January a train of eighty wagons, sent from New Creek, heavily laden with commissary stores for the garrison at Petersburg, with an escort of eight hundred men under Colonel Snyder, was suddenly attacked about three miles south of Williamsport by a superior force, under General Rosser, with four pieces of artillery. A severe fight ensued, which lasted from three in the afternoon till dark, when the contest was given up, and the rebels got possession of the train. This event rendered it necessary that Petersburg should be evacuated. This was so quietly managed by Colonel Thoburn, in command of the forces there, that he got off with all his men, guns, and stores, unknown to the enemy, who cautiously approached and shelled the town on the following morning, made regular approaches, and finally charged, to find nothing more offensive than a few dead mules and the remains of a camp. The Union troops retreated northward, toward the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, closely followed by the rebels, who advanced as far as Burlington and some distance toward New Creek, but were soon afterward driven back by Colonel Mulligan, and Petersburg was again occupied by Federal troops.

In the early part of February a bold attempt was made to surprise Richmond, which it was supposed had been rendered temporarily defenceless by the withdrawal of a large part of its garrison to reinforce General Pickett in North Carolina. The scheme originated with General Butler, and for a time promised to be a brilliant success. It was a part of the plan that General Lee should be induced to withdraw his reserves from Richmond, and in order to accomplish this, a large body of troops under General Sedgwick, as well as cavalry under General Kilpatrick, crossed the Rapidan on the 6th of February, as if preliminary to a movement of the entire Army of the Potomac, which some pleasant weather and the temporarily good condition of the roads seemed to make practicable. General Lee appears to have been actually deceived, and ordered up his reserves from Richmond and other points to await the expected attack. A little fighting occurred at Morton's Ford and elsewhere, but the whole of the Federal troops had recrossed the Rapidan on the 7th.

In the mean time a large force of cavalry and mounted infantry under General Wistar moved rapidly up the peninsula. Leaving New Kent Court House on the 5th, Wistar's force arrived at Bottom's Bridge, on the Chickahominy, about ten miles east of Richmond, at half-past two on the morning of the 6th, having marched forty-seven miles in sixteen and a half hours. The obstructions at the bridge, however, and the force defending it, were such as in the opinion of General

Wistar could not be overcome, and after waiting till noon he determined to return, and at once commenced his retreat. A large infantry force had in the mean while come up to his support, but the retreat was nevertheless continued. The enemy made an attack on the rear, but were easily beaten back. Great alarm prevailed for some time in Richmond when the approach of General Wistar's force became known. The alarm bells were rung; the Home Guard was assembled and marched out of the city to the defences. The liberation of the Union prisoners was apprehended, and the excitement and confusion were such that there can be little doubt had General Wistar succeeded in crossing the Chickahominy and dashed on at once, he might have succeeded in capturing the city and holding it till large reinforcements came up and made its possession secure.

The most important movement of this comparatively inactive period was the cavalry expedition of General Kilpatrick from the Army of the Potomac to the vicinity of Richmond. This was made in furtherance of another attempt to capture that city by surprise, by means of combined movements of cavalry from General Meade's army and a body of infantry to move up from the peninsula, so arranged that the co-operating forces, it was hoped, would fall from different directions at the same time upon Richmond, which it was believed was still comparatively defenceless.

The portion of the forces to be detached from General Meade's army commenced moving on the 25th of February. On the 27th a body of infantry, under General Sedgwick, left camp near Culpeper Court House for Madison Court House, fifteen miles southwest of General Meade's headquarters, followed on the 28th by a division under General Birney. Madison Court House was occupied, but the main body encamped on the heights along Robertson's River, from which position pickets were sent out to the right and left. General Birney's division occupied James City, a village west of Culpeper Court House. A force consisting of fifteen hundred cavalry, with two guns, under General Custer, was pushed forward on the 28th, by way of Madison Court House, toward Charlottesville, at the junction of the railroad from Lynchburg with the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, thirty-six miles south-southwest of Culpeper in a direct line. The capture of this place, and the destruction of the railroads centring there, would have broken Lee's communications with the west, and in conjunction with the destruction of other railroad tracks effected by Kilpatrick and Dahlgren, would have completely isolated his army, the common roads being at that time not in a condition to permit the movement of wagon trains.

General Custer arrived within four miles of Charlottesville in ten hours, and at that point surprised a camp of General Stuart's cavalry with horse batteries. These were charged upon at once, all the camp equipage destroyed, and six caissons blown up. The cannon were not spiked, for want of the necessary implements. In the mean time the



enemy rallied rapidly. It soon became evident that they were in greatly superior force, and several pieces of artillery were turned upon the assailants. The enemy also telegraphed to Orange Court House for assistance, which came toward evening by railroad in the shape of five car loads of infantry. Speedy retreat on the part of General Custer's command became a matter of prudence. The Ravenna was recrossed about sunset and the bridge burned. Several mills in the neighborhood were also destroyed. General Steedman, with five hundred men, took the advance in the retreat. The night was very dark and much rain fell mingled with sleet. General Custer, with his thousand men and two cannon, missed his way and came upon a deep and muddy ravine through which the cannon could not be taken; he therefore determined to bivouac in the woods. General Stuart in the mean while, with two thousand men, was approaching his rear. The next morning, about nine o'clock, the right road was found, and pursued to near Stannardsville, about fifteen miles southwest of Madison Court House, when the hostile cavalry were seen drawn up across the road. General Custer ordered a charge, which he led himself, and the two guns opening upon the rebels, they fled hastily. General Steedman, on hearing the firing, turned to the relief of Custer. The whole command got back to Madison Court House on the 29th without the loss of a man, bringing in about fifty prisoners, a large number of negroes and some three hundred horses.

Gen. Kilpatrick left Culpeper Court House on the 28th of March at the head of about eight thousand cavalry and horse artillery, for the Rapidan, by way of Stevensburg, crossed at Germania and Ely's fords, pursued the road toward Robertson's Tavern, and encamped eight miles south of the Rapidan, at Old Verdiersville, on the Fredericksburg and Orange Court House plank road. At three o'clock in the morning of the 29th, General Kilpatrick took up the line of march toward Spottsylvania Court House, and arrived in the evening about dark.

At this point Colonel Dahlgren was detached with about five hundred men, to proceed in a southwesterly direction toward Frederickshall, on the Virginia Central Railroad, about midway between Sexton's Junction and Gordonsville, where a large number of guns were in store, and which it was hoped he might succeed in destroying or spiking. But finding the position defended by a large body of infantry, and his orders prohibiting all but defensive fighting, he contented himself with tearing up the railroad track, demolishing bridges, burning mills, etc. About an hour before Colonel Dahlgren's arrival at this point, General Lee had passed over it on his way to headquarters. Colonel Dahlgren then pushed on, with the design of arriving in the vicinity of Richmond in time to co-operate with Kilpatrick in the attack on that city.

General Kilpatrick made his way, wasting and destroying as he went, mills, forage, stores, and everything that might be made available by the enemy

in the way of supplies, from Spottsylvania Court House to the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railroad, which he struck near the bridge over the Mattapony, and from that point as far as the Pamunkey tore up the railroad track. He then moved along the railroad by way of Ashland toward Richmond, still continuing the destruction of railroad and telegraph, mills, etc., and early in the morning of the 1st of March arrived in the vicinity of Richmond, on its west side, by the road running along Brook Creek. The authorities there had, however, received warning by telegraph from an operator south of Sexton's Junction, and had made such good use of their time as to throw up a new intrenchment and put a dozen pieces of artillery in position.

Mar. 1.

As the spires and houses of the city came in view, cheer after cheer went up from Kilpatrick's men, who dashed through the first line of defences, making prisoners of the troops there; but on approaching the second line found such an array of artillery as would have made persistence on the part of the attack a mere waste of life without any hope of a favorable result. Kilpatrick then withdrew his men, and hearing nothing of Dahlgren, marched round the north side of the city toward Mechanicsville, not, however, before throwing a few shells into the city, and learning from the loud whistle of approaching locomotives, that reinforcements for the enemy were rapidly arriving by the railroad, from Bottom's Bridge and elsewhere. At Mechanicsville he was not allowed to rest; his camp was shelled by the rebels, and he was compelled to move away during the night.

In the mean time misfortune had overtaken Colonel Dahlgren, upon whose co-operation General Kilpatrick had largely counted. Moving rapidly across the country, but, misled by his guide, Dahlgren arrived, not in the vicinity of Richmond, but at Goochland Court House, on the James River and Canal, twenty-five miles west of Richmond. On the discovery of his treachery the negro was immediately hanged on the nearest tree. Resuming his march, Colonel Dahlgren moved along the river road toward Richmond, destroying a vast amount of property on the canal, including six grist-mills in full operation, a saw-mill, six canal boats loaded with grain, several canal locks, and the coal works at Manakin's Bend. Everything in the shape of stores, supplies, or storehouses was left in flames.

Colonel Dahlgren arrived within three miles of the city late in the afternoon of the day on which Kilpatrick had left for Mechanicsville, and found every one on the alert since Kilpatrick's attack. After a brisk skirmish with a body of rebel infantry, which he found too strong for him, he turned back in search of Kilpatrick's column. But in the fight he, with Major Cook and about a hundred men, had become separated from the main body of his command, and in attempting to make his way to Gloucester Point, fell into an ambush on the night of the 2d of March, at a point on the Mattapony between Mantua

Ferry and King and Queen Court House, where he was killed, and the greater part of his comrades made prisoners. The main body of his command rejoined Kilpatrick's force in safety.

On Sunday, the 29th, a day too late, General Butler received orders to send out a force to meet Kilpatrick and assist him if necessary. A large body of infantry with cavalry was immediately sent forward to New Kent Court House, and on the morning of the 3d was joined by Kilpatrick's command, and the entire force retired down the peninsula. The total loss sustained by the expedition was about a hundred and fifty men killed and wounded.

Subsequently the newspaper press of Richmond published an "address" and "special orders and instructions," said to have been found on the body of Colonel Dahlgren, according to which, if Richmond should be captured, the released Union prisoners were to be exhorted to "burn the hateful city." "Once in the city," also said the pretended order, "it must be destroyed, and Jeff. Davis and his cabinet killed." The friends of Colonel Dahlgren denied in the most positive manner his connection with these papers. They were not in his handwriting, and his father, the Admiral, pronounced them forgeries.

Colonel Ulric Dahlgren, son of Rear-Admiral John A. Dahlgren, was born in Pennsylvania in 1842. He entered the navy as a midshipman before the outbreak of the rebellion. At the time of the attack on Fort Sumter he was travelling in the Southwestern States, and efforts were made on the part of his Southern friends to induce him to adopt the cause of the rebellion. Hastening home, he found employment for a time with his father in the ordnance department. The Admiral having received orders to place a naval battery on Maryland Heights, at the time when General Saxton was in command at Harper's Ferry, sent his son, who had received thorough instructions in gunnery, to place the pieces in position and take charge of the battery. When General Sigel relieved General Saxton, he took young Dahlgren upon his staff, and subsequently obtained his appointment as aide-de-camp, with the rank of captain. In this capacity he served also some time with Fremont in his mountain campaign, and distinguished himself at Cross Keys. He served also through Pope's campaign, and acted as chief of artillery under General Sigel at the second battle of Bull Run. In the autumn of 1862 he served under General Stahel in his reconnoissances and raids; was with the Army of the Potomac in that year, when it moved toward the Rappahannock; and for gallantry displayed at the head of General Sigel's body-guard, he was detailed by General Burnside as special aid upon his staff. When the army went into winter quarters he rejoined General Sigel, and when that General was relieved of his command, was transferred to the staff of General Hooker. He distinguished himself at the battle of Chancellorsville; was with General Pleasonton in numerous cavalry fights in the Bull Run

mountains and Aldie, and joined General Stahel's expedition to Warrenton as a volunteer. When General Meade succeeded General Hooker in command of the Army of the Potomac, he requested Captain Dahlgren to come upon his staff. Before the battles at Gettysburg, having obtained from General Pleasonton a hundred picked men, with a roving commission, besides rendering other important services, he captured a bearer of dispatches from President Davis to General Lee, together with his escort, and succeeded, though not without considerable difficulty, in reaching the tent of General Meade with these important papers, after the first day's battle. He subsequently, when the rebels were retreating, led a charge into Hagerstown, in which he received a severe wound in the leg, which made amputation necessary. For his gallantry on this and other occasions he was made colonel. His wound proved to be more than usually dangerous, inflammation setting in to such an extent as to make five operations necessary before the limb would heal; and even when he joined Kilpatrick's expedition he was not in a proper condition to take the field. His commiseration, however, for the unfortunate Union soldiers confined in the Libby and Belle Isle prisons at Richmond, many of them his comrades, whom he hoped to liberate, induced him to enter with enthusiasm into the plans of Kilpatrick, who intrusted to him the execution of the most difficult part of the enterprise. It has been seen how this expedition ended in failure.

Thus far in 1864 the war had been little more than a series of failures or serious disasters. Sherman's Mississippi expedition had not attained its object; in Florida, the zeal of General Seymour had led him to tempt fortune in the swamps and pine forests of the interior, far from his base, and a disastrous reverse had been the result; in Louisiana and North Carolina the Union arms had been disgraced not only by defeat, but by the abandonment of large numbers of loyal people to whom protection had been guaranteed. The whole country and the world had been horrified by the Fort Pillow massacre. Two attempts to surprise Richmond had failed only through mismanagement. Nevertheless there had been great waste of men. It was necessary that the strength of the armies should be not only kept up but increased, otherwise the work of putting down the rebellion would apparently be indefinitely drawn out, or the Union arms be disgraced by disasters still more serious. Recruiting went on but slowly; and on the 1st of February the President issued the order for another draft of five hundred thousand men, in case that number should not be procured by voluntary enlistment by the 10th of March; and on the 14th of March still another draft was ordered, of two hundred thousand men, in case that number should not have volunteered by the 15th of April.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

New Military Policy.—Revival of the Grade of Lieutenant-General.—Grant made Lieutenant-General —General Halleck relieved.—Sherman assigned to the Military Division of the Mississippi —Grant assumes Command of all the Armies.—Grant joins the Army of the Potomac.—Consolidation of Corps. Preparations for the Campaigns against Atlanta and Richmond.—Corps Commanders of the Potomac Army. - Butler's Command.—Foster assigned to the Department of the South.--Hundred Days' Men offered.—Movements against the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad and Lynchburg. -Proposed Occupation of Petersburg. The Army of the Potomac crosses the Rapidan.—Positions of the Corps south of the Rapidan.--Grant's Plan of the Campaign.—Lee sets his Army in Motion.—General Griffin feels the Enemy.—Battle of the 5th of May.—Burnside's Corps called up.--Battle of the 6th.—Disaster to Grant's Right Wing.--Heavy Losses of Men.—Cavalry Fight.—Retreat of General Lee from Mine Run. —Fredericksburg occupied.—Pursuit of Lee to Spottsylvania Court House.—Battle at Alsop's Farm.—Death of General Sedgwick.—General Wright succeeds Sedgwick in the command of the Sixth Corps.—Life of General Sedgwick.—Battle of the 9th —Battle of the 11th.—General Rice killed.--Grant's famous Dispatch.—Losses.

1864.

It now became obvious that a new military policy must be inaugurated; the small, desultory, indecisive, and fruitless operations which had so long prevailed over the whole theatre of the war, it was now acknowledged, must cease. Instead of this system, so expensive in men and material, and contributing so little toward the great ends of the war, a system of concentration and combination was resolved upon. To carry on the war with unity of design; to carry it on so that all army movements, however widely separated, should form parts of one grand scheme of war, and should each be calculated so that it might contribute to the grand result, as do the distinct parts of a complicated piece of mechanism, it was necessary that one mind should control all the armies. Instead of the lamentable looseness which had heretofore prevailed in the supreme management of army operations—the directing power being exercised sometimes by General Halleck, sometimes by the Secretary of War, sometimes by the President, and sometimes by the generals in the field, so that it might be safely said no one knew exactly what was being done—it was wisely determined that one master mind should direct the whole, and be absolutely supreme in everything relating to the conduct of the war.

On the 29th of February an act to revive the grade of Lieutenant-General received the approval of the President. He immediately named Major-General Grant for the office, and sent his nomination to the Senate for confirmation. It was confirmed by that body on the 3d of March. General Grant was at that time in command of the Army of the Tennessee; he was at once sent for, and arrived in Washington on the 8th. On the afternoon of the 9th the President formally presented to him his commission as Lieutenant-General, in the presence

of the entire cabinet, Generals Halleck and Rawlins, General Grant's staff, Colonel Comstock, General Grant's son, Mr. Lovejoy, and Mr. Nicolay.

The President said: "General Grant —The nation's appreciation of what you have done, and its reliance upon you for what remains to be done in the existing great struggle, are now presented with this commission constituting you Lieutenant-General in the army of the United States. With this high honor devolves upon you a corresponding responsibility. As the country herein trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you. I scarcely need to add that with what I here speak for the nation, goes my own hearty personal concurrence."

Mar. 9.

General Grant said, in reply: "Mr. President — I accept the commission with gratitude for the high honor conferred. With the aid of the noble armies that have fought on so many fields for our common country, it will be my earnest endeavor not to disappoint your expectations. I feel the full weight of the responsibilities now devolving on me, and I know that if they are met, it will be due to those armies, and above all to the favor of that Providence which leads both nations and men."

On the 11th of March, General Grant returned to Nashville. On the 12th an order was issued from the War Department at Washington, according to which Major-General Halleck was, at his own request, relieved from duty as general-in chief, and assigned to duty as chief of staff of the army, under the direction of the Secretary of War and the Lieutenant-General. By the same order Major-General Sherman was assigned to the command of the military division of the Mississippi, comprising the departments of the Ohio, the Cumberland, the Tennessee, and the Arkansas; and Major-General McPherson to the command of the Department and Army of the Tennessee.

On the 17th of March, General Grant issued, at Nashville, an order in which he assumed command of the armies of the United States; his headquarters to be at Washington and with the army in the field, and, till further orders, with the Army of the Potomac. With the appointment of General Grant there was an end of desultory operations, and of great disasters, except such as resulted from expeditions before undertaken. The "scatteration" policy was reversed, and with it the results of campaigns.

On the 19th, General Grant left Nashville for Washington, whence he proceeded to his headquarters with the Army of the Potomac. On the 24th, General Meade issued an order according to which the five corps composing the Army of the Potomac were consolidated into three—the second, fifth, and sixth—and the troops of the first and third corps distributed among them. The staff and officers of the second corps were to be assigned to vacancies in the other corps. Those for whom there were no vacancies were to cease to be considered as officers of the general staff of army corps. Several general officers were detached from the Army of the

Potomac, with instructions to report for orders to the adjutant-general. These were Major-Generals Sykes, French, and Newton, and Brigadier-Generals Kenly, Spinola, and Meredith. According to General Meade, the reduced strength of all the regiments rendered this consolidation of five corps into three imperatively necessary.

The month of April was passed in the work of reorganization, and in making preparations and concentrating for the campaigns to be undertaken against Richmond by the Army of the Potomac, under General Meade, and for that against Atlanta by the Army of the Tennessee, under General Sherman. Both these commanders were under the direction of the Lieutenant-General, whose presence, however, with the Army of the Potomac, naturally led to his exercising a more direct supervision of its movements, though his orders to General Meade were of the most general character, the manner of carrying them out being left to that General's own skill and judgment. Nine months had elapsed since the Army of the Potomac had fought a general battle, and seven since the Army of the Tennessee had marched into Chattanooga.

About the middle of March, Major-General Sherman assumed command of the military division of the Mississippi, and the command of the Department of the Tennessee was soon afterward assumed by Major-General McPherson. General Sherman went to work vigorously to strengthen and improve his communications between his primary and second bases, Nashville and Chattanooga, accumulating in the latter large supplies of provisions and military stores. By the end of April this preliminary work had been completed, and the army of General Sherman was ready, in accordance with the plans of General Grant, to move simultaneously with the Army of the Potomac, whose reorganization and preparations had also been completed.

The Army of the Potomac, as before stated, had been rearranged into three corps, the second, fifth, and sixth, each when full numbering about forty thousand men; the second corps under the command of Major-General Hancock; the fifth corps under Major-General Warren, and the sixth under Major-General Sedgwick. The cavalry corps was placed under the command of General Sheridan, General Kilpatrick having been transferred to the command of the cavalry in the Army of the Cumberland under Sherman. The ninth army corps at Annapolis was filled up, partly with colored troops, and restored to the command of Major-General Burnside. About the 23d of April this corps was moved to Washington, passed in review before the President, and then marched to Culpeper Court House to join the Army of the Potomac.

Large additions were made to the forces under Major-General Butler at Fortress Monroe. The eighteenth corps was placed under the command of Major-General W. F. Smith, from the Western army, and the tenth corps under Major-General Gillmore, from the De-

partment of the South, to which department was assigned Major-General Foster, previously commanding in North Carolina.

The Governors of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin, in order to favor the concentration of veteran troops with the armies of Grant and Sherman, offered to the President the services of one hundred thousand men for one hundred days, to occupy forts and garrison towns which it was necessary should be held, but for which experienced soldiers could be ill spared; the troops so furnished to be "clothed, armed, equipped, subsisted, transported, and paid, as other United States Infantry Volunteers, and to serve in fortifications, or wherever required within or without their respective States." This proposition was accepted by the President on the 23d of April.

General Grant's plan of the campaign embraced other movements than that of the Army of the Potomac upon Richmond. One of these was to be made by General Sigel, with nearly twelve thousand men, up the Valley of the Shenandoah toward Staunton, in the endeavor to get possession of the Virginia Central Railroad; another was to be made by General Averill, with twenty-five hundred cavalry, from northwestern Virginia toward the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, so as to strike it, if possible, near Salem or Wytheville; another was to be made toward Dublin Dépôt, on the same railroad, by General Crook, with four thousand men, from Charleston, on the Lower Kanawha; yet another movement was to be made along the east side of the Big Sandy River, by General Burbridge, with twelve thousand men, toward Abington, on the same railroad. These forces, amounting in the aggregate to more than thirty thousand men, it was intended should strike the Virginia Central and Virginia and Tennessee railroads about the same time, and then unite and march upon Lynchburg, of which the strategic value was very great, situated as it is on the James River and at the intersection of the Virginia and Tennessee and Orange and Alexandria railroads. It was another part of General Grant's plan, that General Butler, with an adequate force, should march against Petersburg, on the railroad leading south from Richmond to Wilmington. The occupation of these two positions would in a great measure cut off General Lee from his communications with the south and west, and leave him almost isolated.

On Tuesday the 3d of May, the Army of the Potomac broke up its camp, and was put in motion in light marching order, carrying only six days' rations. General Gregg with his cavalry division and a portion of the canvas pontoon train, marched toward Ely's Ford, on the Rapidan, and was engaged till late at night mending the roads to facilitate the movement of the infantry, soon to follow. A little after midnight two pontoon bridges were thrown across the stream. About the same time, General Wilson, with the third division of cavalry, moved toward Germania Ford, about six miles above, and threw pon-

May 3.

toon bridges across. Just before midnight Major-General Hancock, with the second corps, moved out of camp and down the Stevensburg and Richardsville road to Ely's Ford, and crossed soon after daybreak. Nearly at the same time General Warren with the fifth corps moved toward the Germania Ford, followed four hours later by General Sedgwick with the sixth corps. The entire army had crossed the Rapidan without opposition by Wednesday night, except the ninth corps under General Burnside, which was retained in reserve on the north side of the river. The wagon trains also remained on the north bank for the present. The road leading toward Fredericksburg having been first examined by General Gregg, and that in the opposite direction leading toward Parker's Store and Orange Court House, the headquarters of General Lee, by General Wilson, the three corps took up positions—the sixth at Germania Ford and the Old Wilderness Tavern, the fifth at the Old Wilderness Tavern, and the second on the old battle-ground near Chancellorsville.

The region now entered upon, known as "the Wilderness," is a broken, sterile tract of country in Spottsylvania County, commencing a little south of the Rapidan and extending ten or fifteen miles in a southerly direction, and about the same distance westward from Chancellorsville. It is intersected in every direction by gullies and ravines, with swamps interspersed, and covered with a thick growth of stunted pines, dwarf oaks, and underbrush, so dense as to be in many parts almost impenetrable, the roads traversing it being a labyrinth of mere straggling paths, impracticable for wagons and converted into quagmires by a few hours' rain. The whole tract is almost without inhabitants; here and there may be seen, at the intersection of the roads, a tavern or a store, with half a dozen rude dwellings grouped around it. It will be readily seen that neither cavalry nor artillery could be brought into play on this ground.

Early in the morning of Thursday the 5th of May, the army again took up the line of march. The plan of General Grant in his advance upon Richmond was, not to march directly upon General Lee's strong position at Orange Court House and the intrenchments on Mine Run, but to move in a southerly direction, to the east of General Lee, who would thus be compelled to come out of his intrenchments and fight a force supposed to be superior, or run a race with General Grant toward Richmond.

May 5.

General Warren with the fifth corps proceeded along the Orange Court House roads toward Parker's Store, about twenty miles east of Orange Court House; General Sedgwick with the sixth followed him on the plank road; General Hancock with the second corps took a position on the Pamunkey road, extending from Chancellorsville in a southwesterly direction toward Shady Grove Church, and General Sheridan was directed to effect a reconnoissance on the left, in search of Stuart's cavalry. General Lee, however, was not willing

to be outflanked. He had already set his columns in motion, and before Generals Hancock, Warren, and Sedgwick had completed their dispositions, the enemy was found to be approaching in great force. The corps of General Ewell was moving along the turnpike from Old Verdiersville, and that of General A. P. Hill alor · the same plank road on which General Warren was advancing. The Fifth New York Cavalry, skirmishing on the plank road in the advance, was soon driven back with considerable loss. The Federal line was to have extended about five miles in a direction approaching to northwest and southeast, the corps of General Warren in the centre on the plank road east of Parker's Store, that of General Sedgwick on his right, General Hancock's on the left. About noon General Griffin was ordered to push his division out on the left and right of the road to feel the enemy. Within a mile he came in contact with a part of Ewell's force well posted on a wooded hillside, and a sharp engagement ensued, which lasted about an hour, when the Federal troops were compelled to fall back, leaving two guns in the hand of the enemy, besides sustaining a loss of about one thousand in killed and wounded.

About three in the afternoon the enemy endeavored to press in between the corps of Warren and Hancock, but the latter by a rapid march succeeded in closing the dangerous gap which existed between the two corps, though he completed the movement only just in time. Lee was repeating his favorite movement of hurling his troops in masses upon what appeared to be the weakest part of his antagonist's lines. A contest of the most terrific character ensued; the massed troops of the enemy poured in a deadly hail of musketry. The second corps, however, held its ground for two hours, when reinforcements came up, and an advance of the whole Federal line was ordered. The fighting continued far into the night, and the battle closed without decisive results. The losses in killed and wounded were about equal. The Confederates had taken about a thousand prisoners and had lost three hundred. The troops lay on their arms on the field of battle. General Grant had, however, learnt that the force of General Lee was all before him, and had no longer any doubt as to the policy of calling up Burnside from the north side of the Rapidan.

May 5.

Early in the morning of Friday the 6th, fighting was resumed. General Sedgwick had been ordered to attack at five in the morning, but the enemy, who had been strengthened by Longstreet's corps, were upon him fifteen minutes earlier. They repeated the tactics of the preceding day, in which they were favored by a more intimate knowledge of the ground, making repeated attacks with large masses of men, as did also Grant's troops upon the Confederates, and the lines of the two armies swayed hither and thither, with the shifting fortunes of the fight; if either army gained a little ground, it was soon lost again, or if, after a desperate struggle, an advance was made, it was only to

May 6.

come upon lines of intrenchments which it would be rashness to attack. The last and most successful of these efforts was made by the enemy just at nightfall, upon the extreme right, where were posted the brigades of Generals Seymour and Shaler, which for several hours had been comparatively at rest. Such was the suddenness and impetuosity of the attack, that notwithstanding all was done by General Seymour that could be expected of skill and daring, both brigades were swept off and made prisoners, together with their officers. The whole right wing, and indeed the whole army, was for a little while in imminent peril. The enemy then retired without perceiving the advantage they had gained. A little perseverance with the same energy would have enabled them to cut off the Army of the Potomac from Germania Ford. The loss sustained by the right wing during this day was little short of six thousand, of which four thousand occurred in the last assault. The losses of the second corps came near three thousand. The total loss in the two days' fighting was about fifteen thousand. There was in these "wilderness" battles an unusual proportion of wounded, owing to the absence of artillery. Among the Federal officers killed were Generals Hays, Wadsworth, and Webb; among those of the Confederates, Generals Jones, Jenkins, and Pickett. Generals Longstreet, Pegram, and Hunter were severely wounded. The contest of this day, like that which had preceded it, was indecisive. The rebels passed the night within their formidable intrenchments in the edge of the woods; the Federal troops lay along their hastily constructed line of rifle-pits, while the intervening space was left to the dead and wounded of both armies. During Thursday and Friday the cavalry of Generals Wilson and Gregg had held an important point known as Todd's Tavern, at the intersection of the Brock and Carparthin roads, and had rendered valuable service in preventing flanking demonstrations on the part of the enemy's cavalry.

At daybreak on Saturday the 7th, the fighting was recommenced on the part of the Federals by a fire of shot and shell from artillery planted the night before for the protection of the right wing, which had been drawn back and strengthened. The cannonade calling out no reply, skirmishers were thrown out and a general movement followed. About noon it became apparent that General Lee had abandoned his intrenchments at Mine Run, and was retreating toward Spottsylvania Court House and his second defensive line on the North Anna. Pursuit was at once ordered by General Grant. A cavalry engagement occurred about three in the afternoon at Todd's Tavern, in which each side sustained a loss of about two hundred and fifty men. General Lee retired in perfect order, and turned again and again on Saturday and Sunday when pressed by the Union forces. About this time Fredericksburg was occupied by Union troops, and a dépôt established there for supplies and for the reception of wounded men.

May 7.

Generals Burnside and Sedgwick moved on the old Chancellorsville road and arrived near Spottsylvania Court House about noon on Sunday; General Warren, after marching all night, arrived in the same vicinity, and about the same time the corps of General Ewell and a portion of that of Longstreet. A sharply contested action ensued here in a field extending eastward from the Brock road toward the Spottsylvania and Fredericksburg road. The country was rolling, with here and there thick groves of cedar and pine. Shells were thrown at the advance of General Warren as it passed down the Brock road, but the enemy soon fell back. Their artillery was found posted at Alsop's Farm, a triangular clearing of about a hundred acres, beyond which was Ny Run, one of the four small head-streams of the Mattapony, but forming no obstacle to the passage of troops. The Union artillery having been stationed to the right, so as to command that of the rebels, the infantry advanced through the clearing and came upon three lines of the enemy, the last of which was behind earth-works, and a fierce struggle took place, which continued some hours, and it was not till a brigade of the sixth corps came to his assistance that General Warren succeeded in driving the rebels from their position. The Federal loss was about thirteen hundred men, among whom was General Robinson, shot in the knee. Several brigades lost their commanders. The Fourth Michigan at the close of this engagement was commanded by a first lieutenant, and the First Michigan, which went into action two hundred strong, came out with only twenty-three men unhurt.

May 8.

On Monday the 9th of May there was, in the early part of the day, comparative quiet, followed by cannonading and skirmishing, but no general battle. On this day General Sedgwick was killed by a rebel sharpshooter while superintending the mounting of artillery, and General Wright succeeded to the command of the sixth corps.

May 9.

Major-General John Sedgwick was born in Connecticut about the year 1815, and graduated at West Point, the twenty-first in a class of fifty, among whom were Hooker, Arnold, and French, and Bragg, Early, and Pemberton. He served in the Mexican war as first lieutenant, and was brevetted successively captain and major, for gallant conduct at Contreras, Churubusco, and Chepultepec. He also distinguished himself at the San Cosmo gate, in the capture of the city of Mexico. At the outbreak of the rebellion he was lieutenant-colonel of the Second United States Cavalry, became colonel of the Fourth Cavalry April 25th, 1861, and on the 31st of August was commissioned brigadier-general of volunteers, and received a brigade in the Army of the Potomac, which at the reorganization of the army was assigned to the second corps under General Summer, and General Sedgwick was placed in command of the third division of that corps. He took part in the siege of Yorktown, and in the pursuit up the peninsula, distinguished himself at the battle of Fair Oaks, took part



in all the seven days' battles—prominently at Savage Station and Glendale—and was twice wounded at Antietam. On the 23d of December, 1862, he was nominated major-general of volunteers by the President, and in the following February assumed command of the sixth army corps, at the head of which he carried Marye's Heights, in the rear of Fredericksburg, in the Chancellorsville campaign. He commanded the left wing of the Army of the Potomac during the movement from the Rapidan into Maryland in June, 1863, also at the battle of Gettysburg in the second day's fighting. During the passage of the Rapidan in November, 1863, he captured an entire rebel division and a number of guns, of which brilliant achievement mention was made by General Meade in a general order. Always remarkable for gallantry and courage, he never allowed the consideration of personal safety to interfere with the performance of duty, and at times exhibited a hardihood approaching to recklessness. One of the oldest and ablest soldiers of the Army of the Potomac, both officers and men had the most entire confidence in his judgment and skill, and he several times held command of the army during the temporary absence of General Meade.

During the 9th an attack directed on Wilson's division of the ninth corps was repulsed. The position of the three corps had now changed, so that the fifth corps was in the centre, the second on the right, and the sixth under General Wright on the left. Late in the day another advance was ordered by General Grant. The right, with the divisions of Generals Birney and Gibbon in the advance, followed by General Carroll's brigade, crossed to the south bank of a branch of the Po. Another severe battle ensued, in which both artillery and infantry were engaged, Federals and Confederates alternately charging. At the close of the engagement General Hancock's corps, which had fought so well and suffered so severely in the "wilderness" battles, had sustained heavy loss and the enemy still held Spottsylvania Court House.

On Tuesday the 10th occurred the fiercest battle of the campaign. **May 10.** The Federal army occupied nearly the same position as on Monday. On the preceding night Hancock's corps had crossed the Po, and now held a line nearly parallel with the road from Shady Grove Church to Spottsylvania Court House; Warren's corps held the centre on the east side of the Po, and the sixth, under Wright, the left, facing the town; farther on the left was the ninth corps; batteries covered the right and the left centre; in front was a dense forest. The Confederates held the village and the region north of it; their left resting on Glady Run and extending with a curve northward, sheltered by strong works; as did also the right from the Ny, well supported by breast-works made long before in anticipation of this emergency. In front of their centre was the strip of forest and underbrush.

The battle was opened with a heavy fire of artillery, now for the first time in this campaign brought into full

operation, and continued through the forenoon, directed against the advancing lines of the Confederates. The ninth corps then skirmished cautiously for a time on the extreme left. Mott's fourth division of the second corps was transferred to the left and the advance continued for some distance. A vigorous attack was then made by the fifth corps, and by the divisions of Generals Gibbon and Birney from the second corps, on the centre of General Lee's army, and repeated charges were made, lasting several hours, in which the enemy was driven to his rifle-pits. In one of these charges General Rice was killed. The enemy attacked and turned General Barlow's division of the second corps, but its withdrawal was effected without great loss. Toward the close of the day a vigorous assault was made along the whole line, in the course of which General Upton's first brigade of the first division of the sixth corps, with General Russell's third brigade of the third division, moving steadily forward through a destructive fire without firing a shot, scaled the enemy's works and took more than a thousand prisoners and several guns, but General Upton, finding himself far in advance, had to fall back, taking his prisoners with him, however. Night closed as usual, on a bloody but indecisive field. Each army had lost ten thousand men in killed and wounded. It was on this occasion that General Grant wrote his famous dispatch: "We have now ended the sixth day of very hard fighting. The result to this time is much in our favor. Our losses have been heavy as well as those of the enemy. I think the loss of the enemy must be greater. We have taken over five thousand prisoners in battle, while he has taken from us few except stragglers. I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer."

Up to this time the Federal losses in this campaign amounted to not less than thirty-five thousand men. The enemy had lost about as many; brave and skilful officers had fallen on both sides, but neither army had lost much in guns or trains, or in military ardor.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Position of the Armies.—Sheridan's Raid.—Dépôt at Ashland Station burned.—Cavalry Fight near Richmond.—General Stuart mortally wounded.—Famous Charge of Hancock's Corps.—Battle of the 12th of May.—Heavy Rain and Muddy Roads.—Wounded sent to Fredericksburg.—Reinforcements.—Torbert at Guinney's Station.—Another Flank Movement.—Attack of Ewell repulsed by Tyler's Division.—Grant at the North Anna.—Taylor's Bridge carried by Assault.—Battle at Jericho Ford.—Strong Position of the Enemy.—Grant recrosses the North Anna.—Hanover Ferry and Hanovertown occupied.—Lee at Hanover Court House.—Battle near Mechanicsville.—Grant reinforced by the Eighteenth Corps. Battle-fields of 1862 again occupied.—Battle of Cold Harbor.—Attempt to drive the Enemy over the Chickahominy.—Strength of the Enemy's Works.—Friendly Intercourse.—Reorganization.—Parallel Lines of Earth-works.—Attack on the Ninth Corps.—Armistice.—Both Armies moving Eastward.—Army of the Potomac transferred to the South Side of the James.

1864.

On the morning of Wednesday the 11th of May, the position of the Army of the Potomac and of that of the Confederate army was nearly the same as at the close of the battle of Tuesday. Hancock's corps was on the Federal right; to the left of Hancock's was Warren's corps, then Wright's, then Burnside's. Ewell's corps held the central position of the enemy's line, A. P. Hill's the right, Longstreet's the left. Their centre was very strong, having rifle-pits in front, and covered by a strip of forest, guarded by lines of skirmishers, and with artillery posted wherever it could be used to advantage. Sharp skirmishing occurred during the forenoon. Assaulting columns from the sixth and second corps were prepared, but no attack was made; this preparation, however, induced the enemy to shift artillery from the right to the left, to protect the point threatened. About noon the skirmishing died away; in the afternoon there was occasional artillery and infantry firing. The first rain since the commencement of the campaign fell during the afternoon; and the news of Sheridan's raid came and was received by the Union troops with enthusiastic cheers.

General Sheridan, in command of the cavalry of the Army of the Potomac, had rendered important service during the late movements of the main army, in establishing the crossing at Germania and Ely's fords, making reconnoissances, and scouring the roads in various directions. He had also twice fought with the cavalry of Stuart, who was threatening Chancellorsville and Fredericksburg, which it was essential should be covered to protect the trains and ambulances there. The sudden departure of Lee, however, to his defences near Spottsylvania Court House, relieved General Sheridan to a great extent of the duty of protecting the rear; and he was able to undertake a raid on the enemy's communications with Richmond.

At daylight on the morning of Monday

the 9th, his column moved, first toward Fredericksburg, but when within about three miles of the town, turned down and followed the road leading to Childsburg, passed round the enemy's right flank at Spottsylvania Court House, went through Childsburg, and about dusk crossed the North Anna at Anderson's Bridge, two miles below Beaver Dam Station, on the Virginia Central Railroad, which was occupied by General Custer's brigade. Here a train of cars was captured, containing nearly four hundred wounded men and prisoners, on their way to Richmond and the Libby Prison. Two locomotives and three heavy trains were destroyed, together with a large quantity of bacon, meal, flour, and other supplies for Lee's army. The railroad was also destroyed for eight miles, the rails being twisted and the ties and bridges burned. While this was going on in the advance, the rebel cavalry got in the rear and roughly handled the Sixth Ohio, but were soon driven off when the First New Jersey came up. The column bivouacked on both sides of the North Anna. In the morning the enemy began to shell the camp, and Sheridan's force moved off toward the south. The advance was continued, annoyed more or less by the enemy, across Little River and the South Anna, where Ground Squirrel Bridge was destroyed. The troops rested for the night at Goodall's, somewhat molested by the enemy's sharpshooters. At three o'clock in the morning the brigade of General Davies was dispatched to Ashland Station, seven miles east, on the Fredericksburg and Richmond Railroad, arrived there at daylight, fired the dépôt, burnt a considerable quantity of stores, tore up six miles of railroad, destroyed three culverts, several government buildings, a locomotive, and three trains of cars. On their return they were fired upon from houses in the town, and lost about thirty men.

May 9.

The advance had pushed on farther on the same road toward Richmond, and tore up more of the railroad track. Approaching Richmond, the column met with a more resolute opposition. The advance was attacked at Yellow Tavern by a body of cavalry under General J. E. B. Stuart, and a severe contest ensued till support came up, when the enemy were driven toward Ashland.

Meanwhile a force led by General Custer, moving down the Brook Run road, penetrated the outermost defence of Richmond, where about one hundred prisoners were taken and a section of artillery. Here the noted Confederate General Stuart was mortally wounded, as was also Colonel Pate. Next morning the column turned and marched toward Meadow Bridge, on the Chickahominy. The bridge had been destroyed, but was rebuilt under a galling fire. The march was then continued to Mechanicsville, Cold Harbor, and Gaines' Mills, where the command encamped for the evening. On the 13th of May, the column arrived at Bottom's Bridge, and proceeded thence to Turkey Bend, where supplies were obtained from General Butler, four miles distant, at Haxall Landing.

May 13.



General Grant having determined to assault the enemy's lines before Spottsylvania Court House on the morning of the 12th, the second corps was selected to make the attempt on the left, and not long after midnight, favored by storm and darkness, was shifted from the extreme right to the left, to occupy a space between the corps of Wright and Burnside, commanded by the enemy's batteries, and from which consequently an advance would have to be made with the utmost celerity. At dawn, therefore, under cover of a thick mist, the second corps moved from its position and quietly approached the enemy's lines. Barlow's and Birney's divisions formed the first line, Gibbon's and Mott's the second. As they made their way over the rough and wooded intervening ground without being discovered, the enthusiasm of the men rapidly rose, till finally they broke into a run, leaped the intrenchments with loud cheers, charged with the bayonet, and surrounded and made prisoners of an entire division, officers and men, including two generals, Major-General E. Johnson, commanding the division, and Brigadier-General G. H. Stewart, besides thirty or forty guns. The surprise was so complete that the officers were still at breakfast when the Federal troops came upon them.

May 12.

This charge of Hancock's corps was followed by a heavy artillery fire from the whole line of Grant's army, which quickly moved up to support the second corps. The ninth corps pressed in on the extreme left and succeeded in joining its right to Hancock's left. The sixth and fifth corps became also actively engaged, and the contest raged along the whole line, notwithstanding the commencement of a heavy rain storm. About nine o'clock the enemy began to make efforts to recover the lost position, and made repeated desperate charges with this view on the second and ninth corps. For three hours the rebel columns continued to rush against Grant's lines, exposed to cross and enfilading fires of cannon and musketry. About noon they desisted from further attempts to recover their lost ground; but they could not be driven any farther, and the captured artillery they so covered with a fire of sharpshooters that the guns could not be carried off. Their right had been charged with great gallantry by Grant's right and centre, but their front was found to be impregnable, every approach to it being swept by artillery.

Early in the afternoon, with the view of turning the enemy's right, Grant began massing his troops against it. General Lee also massed troops on his right. Stubbornly the rebels resisted; and all afternoon and till nightfall the carnage went on. Neither the heavy rain nor the mire to which the battlefield had been changed, abated the fury of the combatants. When night fell the battle had lasted fourteen hours, and with a severity unsurpassed in the war. Each army had lost ten thousand men in killed and wounded. Of the large number of cannon captured, only eighteen were actually brought in.

On the morning of Friday the 13th, it was discovered that the enemy, whose reduced numbers had made the contraction of their lines necessary, had withdrawn their right to a new position, which thus was hard at work fortifying. The ground they had abandoned was occupied by Grant's troops; but the continued heavy rains had rendered the ground impracticable for wagons and artillery. Both armies rested a little on Friday. Another attempt to turn the enemy's right was determined on, in the hope of another success like that which had attended Hancock with the second corps. Accordingly at nine o'clock in the evening of Friday, the march of the two corps on the Federal right was begun, and was continued all night, through mud ankle-deep and in some places knee-deep, with the intention of placing them before morning opposite the enemy's right, and accomplishing another surprise; but the troops could not be got through the mud to their new position till too late. The line, as now established, stretched continuously at right angles across the Fredericksburg and Spottsylvania Court House road from the Ny to the Po—Hancock's corps on the right, Burnside's on the right centre, Wright's on the left centre, and Warren's on the left. About eight o'clock Generals Grant and Meade removed their headquarters to Gaile's House, about two miles from Spottsylvania Court House, on the Fredericksburg road, and at about the centre of the line of the army. Field-works were commenced, and the army of General Grant went to work industriously with the spade, as did also that of General Lee. There was some fighting on the extreme left in the latter part of the day, however, and General Meade narrowly escaped capture.

During the 15th, 16th, and 17th of May, both armies remained comparatively inactive, the late heavy rains having rendered the roads impassable. The troops also needed rest. The opportunity was taken to clear the camp of wounded; long trains of ambulances passed daily and nightly along the Fredericksburg road, and multitudes of the less seriously wounded marched slowly and painfully in the same direction. Very large reinforcements also came in, as well as supplies of commissary stores and ammunition. Rations were full; bands played in the evening, and news of successes in Georgia and elsewhere contributed to raise the spirits and improve the health of the men.

General Lee's army also benefited much by the respite from incessant marching and fighting; he also had his wounded to care for, and his commissary department to attend to, Sheridan's raid having caused some interruption to his supplies. He constructed also new rifle-pits and abattis, and added to his already almost impregnable fortifications around Spottsylvania Court House.

An attempt was made on the morning of the 18th to turn the enemy's left. About five o'clock the three corps in the right of Grant's army made the assault; the ninth corps also attacked. The whole line was so massed that the corps closely joined each other; but in

May 18.

whatever direction the enemy were approached, an impenetrable abattis presented itself. By eleven o'clock the assault was abandoned and all the troops recalled to their original position. Corcoran's Irish Legion, a part of the late reinforcements from Washington, behaved well and lost heavily, but every effort to pierce the enemy's chain of earth-works and abattis was in vain. A loss of twelve hundred killed and wounded was sustained in this affair.

General Grant, now satisfied that direct attempts on the enemy's position were too costly to be continued, put other measures in train. On Wednesday night, General Torbert, with a force of cavalry, was sent to Guinney's Station, on the Fredericksburg and Richmond Railroad, about ten miles southeast of Spottsylvania Court House, and destroyed buildings, supplies, telegraph apparatus, etc., and on Thursday the 19th a portion of the right of Grant's army was quietly moved to the left, preliminary to a grand movement of the entire force. Meanwhile both camps were unusually quiet, and the opposing lines of skirmishers ceased to fire upon each other; friendly conversation was even ventured upon, and tobacco and coffee were exchanged as well as jests. A little past noon, however, General Ewell marched a part of his corps over the Ny River, passed the Federal right, and about five o'clock got in the rear of the Federal right flank, on the Fredericksburg road, on which trains of wagons with ammunition and commissary stores were passing. Fortunately General Tyler's division of heavy artillery, lately arrived from Washington, was at hand, and the enemy's progress was bravely arrested, though Tyler's troops were mostly for the first time under fire. When the whole of his division arrived on the ground, the enemy were soon driven from the road into the woods, and reinforcements coming up, Ewell's force recrossed the Ny and retreated to their camp.

May 19.

The movement toward Guinney's Station of Torbert's division of cavalry, spoken of above, was followed on Friday night by that of the second corps, which, as before stated, had been moved to the Federal left. The fifth corps followed on Saturday morning at ten o'clock; the sixth and ninth corps then also broke camp, and the entire army left the vicinity of Spottsylvania Court House. The movement had been anticipated by the enemy, and it soon became apparent that General Lee also had left his position and was moving as fast as possible toward Hanover Court House. Grant pushed his army forward at a rapid rate, and on Monday at two in the afternoon reached the North Anna, the second corps at Taylor's Bridge, the fifth at Jericho Ford. The bridge was commanded at its entrance by a redan, and its flank swept by artillery in field-works on the opposite bank, as well as by infantry in rifle-pits. A broad, open space, which an assaulting column would have to cross under fire, intervened between the redan and the Federal troops. About six o'clock the second corps prepared to assault. Birney's

division was placed in the advance, supported by Barlow's and Gibbon's divisions, Tyler's division being held in reserve. In face of a galling fire from artillery and rifles, Birney's division rushed on the works and carried them at the point of the bayonet. A part of the second corps was immediately thrown across the river by the bridge, to menace the retreating enemy—a part of McLaw's division of Longstreet's corps. Only a portion of Hancock's corps crossed that night. A part of the fifth corps had crossed the river several hours before, at Jericho Ford, wading through the water waist deep; pontoons also had been thrown across, and preparations made to intrench, when, about five o'clock, the enemy, who had been bringing up forces from points lower down on the river, attacked furiously with musketry and artillery, but were finally compelled to retire. The Federal loss at the bridge and at the ford was about one thousand men, that of the enemy not so great, probably, in killed and wounded, but greater in prisoners, of which they lost several hundred. On the 24th, in spite of considerable further opposition from the enemy, the entire army had crossed the North Anna. On the morning of Wednesday the 25th, all the troops were in good position, and during the day General Sheridan with his cavalry rejoined the army.

May 23.

Reconnoissances now showed that the enemy were strongly posted within two miles of Grant's lines. The ground they occupied was in the form of a triangle, with the apex approaching the North Anna between Taylor's Bridge and Jericho Ford. The position, naturally strong, was so fortified with elaborate intrenchments, to which others were being rapidly added, that it soon became evident an attempt to carry it by assault would prove disastrous in the extreme. General Grant's determination was soon taken. He decided to recross the North Anna and march eastward. The swelling of the stream from the recent rains made it advisable to carry out this design without delay. To cover the movement, a demonstration was made on Thursday on the enemy's left, while the third division of Sheridan's cavalry moved up the Virginia Central Railroad and began to tear up the track. In the evening the sixth corps quietly withdrew to the north bank of the river, followed by the other corps in quick succession, and marched toward the Pamunkey, the rear protected by General Hancock, a strong line of skirmishers being left to lull suspicion.

At nine o'clock on the morning of Friday the 27th, Sheridan's cavalry took possession of Hanover Ferry, and Hanovertown on the south side of the Pamunkey, fifteen miles northeast of Richmond and sixteen miles from White House, which was now to become the base of the army, and toward which transports with army supplies were already on their way. The whole army followed during the 28th, and on the 29th had crossed the Pamunkey. A portion of General Lee's army had in the mean time occupied Hanover Court House, whence his lines extended south-

ward, his centre in front of Atlee's Station on the railroad to Richmond, his extreme right holding Shady Grove and Mechanicsville. The right of General Grant's army, consisting of General Wright's corps, extended in the direction of Hanover Court House, General Hancock's held the right centre on the Shady Grove road, General Warren's the left centre on the Mechanicsville road, and General Burnside's held the left a little in the rear. The right and rear were covered by the third division of cavalry under General Wilson; the cavalry of Generals Torbert and Gregg was advanced on the left flank. General Torbert held the Old Church Tavern Cross Road, with a picket force extending on the road toward Cold Harbor. About noon his pickets were driven in, and a brisk engagement followed, in which the enemy were driven back on the Cold Harbor road. About five in the afternoon, Warren's corps, which was moving out to the left on the Mechanicsville road, was suddenly attacked by a portion of General Ewell's corps, with two brigades of cavalry. For some time General Warren's flank was in danger, and General Meade ordered an attack along the whole line. General Hancock alone received the order in time to attack before dark, and advanced upon the enemy's skirmish line, captured their rifle-pits, and held them all night. General Warren held his position near Mechanicsville, about seven miles from Richmond. General Lee at once moved down troops to prevent any further concentration of force on his right.

On Tuesday the 31st of May, General Grant's force was increased by the arrival of the eighteenth corps under General W. F. Smith, a part of the army under the command of General Butler. This corps had been embarked on transports at City Point and conveyed rapidly down the James River and up the York to White House. About the same time the army of Lee was reinforced by the troops of Generals Beauregard and Breckinridge. At this date the headquarters of General Grant were about five miles southeast of Hanover Court House; his line extending six miles across Tolopatamay Creek, facing west on its right and southwest on its left, the position of the several corps being, from right to left—Wright's, Hancock's, Burnside's, and Warren's. The enemy's line closely followed that of General Grant: General A. P. Hill held their right, Longstreet the centre, and Ewell the left, covering the Chickahominy—the outer line of defence for Richmond—and the Virginia Central Railroad, with cavalry thrown out on their left toward Hanover Court House and on their right toward Bottom's Bridge. The armies again occupied the battle-fields of 1862. All through the day there was desultory firing along the whole line. General Grant now made preparations for a movement by the left upon the enemy's right, and sent General Torbert with the first division of cavalry to reconnoitre in the vicinity of Cold Harbor, with directions to hold his ground there at all hazards for the occupation of infantry. A fight ensued

with a body of the enemy's cavalry, but General Torbert remained master of the position.

On Wednesday the 1st of June, an attempt was made by the enemy to get possession of Cold Harbor. Sheridan's orders were to hold it, and Hoke's division sent to make the attack was repulsed by Sheridan's cavalry, who were dismounted and fought with carbines. Hoke was then reinforced by McLaw's division and other portions of Longstreet's corps. Soon after this, Wright's corps, which had been marched from its position on the right the night before, arrived at Cold Harbor Cross Roads and deployed into line, and about three o'clock General W. F. Smith, with the eighteenth corps, for whose arrival Wright had been waiting, came upon the field, after a march of about twenty-five miles, having made a detour by mistake. The line of battle was formed with the eighteenth corps on the right of the sixth, and without giving the men any time to rest, a charge was ordered. In front was a field two-thirds of a mile wide, beyond which the enemy were intrenched in a strip of pine woods. About six o'clock the line dashed forward on the run, Deven's brigade of the eighteenth corps and Rickett's of the sixth corps in the centre. A heavy musketry and artillery fire was directed upon them, but the men rushed over the rebel earth-works, took the first line of rifle-pits, and captured about six hundred prisoners. Farther to the right also, a lodgment was effected in the enemy's lines, but the position proved to be completely commanded by a redoubt in their second line, and was given up. During the night desperate efforts were made on the part of the enemy to recover their position, but without success. The Union loss in this engagement was over two thousand; that of the enemy must have been much less in killed and wounded, as they fought under cover.

June 1.

Grant's line now extended from Bethesda Church to Cold Harbor, the several corps being in the order, from right to left, of Hancock's, Burnside's, Warren's, Smith's, and Wright's. The whole line was not less than eight miles in length. Fighting had been going on all day along the entire line. Several charges were made by the enemy, but were repulsed. The losses on both sides were heavy. The result of the day's fighting was the acquisition by General Grant of the position of Cold Harbor, valuable as commanding the road to the White House, and as facilitating the crossing of the Chickahominy. On Wednesday night it was determined to make an attempt to drive the enemy across the Chickahominy, and establish a fording place; with this end in view the second corps was marched from its position on the right to the extreme left, where it arrived at noon on Thursday. The attack was to have been made the same evening, but was deferred, on account of a thunder-storm, till the morning of Friday, at dawn. There had been heavy skirmishing all day.

On the morning of Friday, the 3d of June, the Union line extended from

Tolopatamay Creek across the road from Cold Harbor to the Chickahominy, Burnside's corps being on the right, Warren's, Smith's, and Wright's in the centre, and Hancock's on the left, the Confederate lines still being in a strip of woods parallel with the river. At half-past four the skirmishers of Grant's army advanced, and very soon the whole line was engaged. The brigades of Generals Gibbon and Barlow, from Hancock's corps, under a fire of shot and shell, moved up to and ascended the acclivity in their front, where the enemy had concentrated their men and artillery, gained the position, and had actually captured and turned against the enemy one of the batteries, but being much in advance of their line, were exposed to a most destructive enfilading fire, and the second line of the enemy approaching rapidly, they were compelled to withdraw, but not till they had secured and sent to the rear a color and three hundred prisoners. They then intrenched themselves under partial cover of a ridge about fifty yards from the enemy's breast-works, and in this position remained all day. Smith's and Wright's corps had assaulted at the same time with their entire force, and succeeded in carrying the first line of intrenchments, but to no purpose; exposed to an enfilading fire, though long obstinately contending for the position, they were ultimately compelled to retire with great loss, but nevertheless held and intrenched a position near the enemy's works. The fifth and ninth corps also, on the right, made a charge about noon. The entire line had advanced close to that of the enemy, a great portion of it within fifty yards, in which perilous proximity both armies kept close to their breast-works. About eight o'clock an assault was made by the enemy upon the troops of Gibbon and Barlow on the extreme left, and on the cavalry beyond them, but the attacking columns were raked with a fire of musketry and artillery as effective as that which had driven back the Union troops in the morning, and with the same result. On the extreme right there was severe fighting between General Wilson's division of cavalry and the command of General Hampton, but without important results. Firing broke out at various times during the day. The works of the enemy were found too strong to be carried, and it became apparent that the attempt to cross the Chickahominy at that point must be given up. Grant's loss during the day was not less than seven thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The loss of the enemy, who fought behind their defences for the most part, was not so great.

June 3.

The positions gained on Friday were held, and on Saturday, June 4th, they were strengthened by the construction of breast-works. At nine o'clock at night the enemy made an attack on the corps of Hancock, Smith, and Wright, but were repulsed. Pretty constant skirmishing occurred for a week after the great assault on Friday, the hostile lines being separated only by a distance varying from fifty to two hundred yards.

The picket firing was more than usually fatal, and many a man who had come unhurt out of numerous pitched battles, fell by the bullet of a sharpshooter. Staff officers, the signal corps, artillery men, and others whose peculiar service made exposure necessary, were frequently hit. Nevertheless here and there along the lines a tacit agreement to suspend useless and indecisive firing occurred among the men, indicating the absence of animosity, notwithstanding they had so often met in bloody strife. This suspension of arms led occasionally to an intercourse not unfriendly, in which salutations were exchanged, and tobacco, a drug with the Virginians, was gladly bartered for coffee, which, thanks to the blockade, was scarce among them, but which was abundant in the well-provided camps of the Federal troops. It was found, however, that the intercourse was becoming a means of exchanging intelligence of movements intended to be kept secret, and was finally prohibited altogether. The comparative quiet afforded opportunity for the transportation of the wounded from the camp to hospitals, for bringing up reinforcements of new troops and convalescents, and for the consolidation and reorganization of divisions, brigades, battalions, and regiments, reduced by the unusual fatality of the campaign. New. earth-works were constructed along the line of the Chickahominy toward White House, everywhere followed up by parallel lines constructed by the enemy at only a few hundred yards, distance.

On Tuesday the 7th there was an attack on the ninth corps on the right. About four o'clock several batteries of the enemy opened from concealed positions; the skirmishers were driven in, but when the attacking column approached, it was soon repulsed by a rapid fire of musketry and artillery. At six o'clock in the evening an armistice, which had been arranged for the purpose of removing the dead and the wounded, took place, to last two hours. Only surgeons and their attendants, pioneers, and stretcher-bearers, were allowed upon the field. Before dawn in the morning, Griffin's and Cutter's divisions of the fifth corps had moved rapidly down toward Sumner's Bridge, on the Chickahominy, nearly south of Cold Harbor. The enemy, however, were not to be taken by surprise, and opened with heavy artillery as the column approached. The Eighteenth Massachusetts carried the bridge, but the rebels still commanded it with artillery. During Wednesday and Thursday there was no change of position, except that the cavalry of Generals Gregg and Torbert was pushed farther toward the left. During Friday and Saturday, the work of intrenching going on, both armies worked slowly eastward, the enemy carefully confronting General Grant's army as far as Bottom's Bridge. On Friday, the railroad to White House, which had lately been so carefully repaired, was again subjected to the tearing-up process, and the rails conveyed back to White House. This and the other late operations were only preparatory to

June 7.

another grand movement, or change of base, of the entire army to the south side of the James—another "flank movement in the face of the enemy."

On the night of Sunday the 12th of June the army began its march along the Chickahominy. The enemy's line extended as far as Bottom's Bridge. There were two other bridges—Long Bridge, about six miles below Bottom's Bridge, and Jones' Bridge, ten or twelve miles below. Wright's and Burnside's corps marched to Jones' Bridge, crossed, and moved rapidly to Charles City Court House, near the James and about nine miles from Jones' Bridge; at the same time Hancock's and Warren's corps moved to Long Bridge, crossed, and took the road to Wilcox's Wharf, on the James, about twelve miles south, by road, and a little west of Charles City. Smith's corps marched to White House, took transports to Fortress Monroe, and without delay proceeded up the James to Bermuda Hundred. On Tuesday the crossing of the James commenced, and the entire army was on the south side of the river on Wednesday the 15th of June.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Co-operative Movements against Petersburg and Lynchburg.—General Butler's Movement up the James.—Kautz's Raid from Suffolk.—Colonel West's Operations.—Movement against the Petersburg and Richmond Railroad.—Operations against Fort Darling.—Kautz's Expedition against the Danville Railroad.—General Butler on the Defensive at Bermuda Hundred.—Searching for Torpedoes.—Destruction of the Commodore Jones.—Movement of General Foster.—Butler attacked at Bermuda Hundred.—Attack on Wilson's Wharf. General Sigel's Operations.—Inaction of General Burbridge.—Movements of Generals Averill and Crook.—General Sigel superseded by General Hunter.—Condition of the Army at Cedar Creek.—March of Hunter from Cedar Creek toward Staunton.—Confederate Force in Western Virginia.—Defeat of General Jones.—Occupation of Staunton.—Sheridan's co-operative Movement.—Battle near Lynchburg.—Retreat of General Hunter.—Morgan's Raid in Kentucky.—Defeat of General Hobson.—Burning of Cynthiana.—General Early in the Shenandoah Valley.—Retreat of General Sigel from Martinsburg.—Panic in Maryland and Pennsylvania.—Hagerstown ransomed.—Call for Militia.—Contribution levied on Frederick.—Battle of Monocacy.—Movement on Washington.—Arrival of the Nineteenth and Sixth Army Corps.—Railroads cut.—Governor Bradford's House burnt.—Washington isolated.—Rebels recross the Potomac.—Battles at Island Ford and Ashby's Gap.—Battles at Winchester.—Another Panic in Maryland and Pennsylvania.—Chambersburg fired.—Mosby's Raid.—Governor Curtin convenes the Pennsylvania Legislature. March of the Sixth Corps.—Rebel Raid toward Cumberland.—Defeat of the Raiders by General Averill.—General Hunter superseded by General Sheridan.

1864.

THE two great simultaneous co-operative movements, essential parts of General Grant's plan of campaign—that of Sigel and others against Lynchburg and the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, and that of General Butler against Petersburg and the southern railroad communications of Richmond—were only partially successful, and large bodies of rebel troops under Breckinridge and Beauregard, which Grant had hoped would have been at least kept employed in the vicinity of Lynchburg and Petersburg, were set at

liberty to join the army of Lee after his retreat from Spottsylvania Court House.

The army of Major-General Butler, consisting of the eighteenth corps under Major-General W. F. Smith, and the tenth corps under Major-General Gillmore, had been moved from Fortress Monroe and concentrated at Yorktown and Gloucester, as if a design were entertained of moving up the York River. Still further to deceive the enemy and to strengthen the impression that he was about to operate in that direction, General Butler sent a brigade up to West Point, where the construction of wharves was commenced. In the mean time transports had been collected and complete preparations made to move the entire army, and on the 4th of May, in accordance with General Grant's plan for the simultaneous movement of all the armies, General Butler's force was embarked on the transports, which, after dark on the 5th, steamed down the York River, passed around Fortress Monroe, and began the ascent of the James River, preceded by three army gun-boats under the command of General Graham, the double-enders Eutaw, Mackinaw, and Osceola; the four monitors, Tecumseh, Canonicus, Saugus, and Onondaga; the iron-clad Atlanta, and seven smaller gun-boats, the Commodore Morris, Hunchback, Commodore Jones, Dawn, Delaware, Putnam, and Shoshonee.

May 4.

A regiment of General Wilde's negro troops was landed at Wilson's Wharf, on the north side of the river a little below Charles City Court House, to aid in securing communications by water; and with the same object two regiments of the same brigade were landed on the south side of the river at Fort Powhatan Landing, a little above. The expedition then pushed on to City Point, where the division of General Hinks and a battery were landed. The remainder of General Butler's force was put on shore at Bermuda Hundred, a little above the mouth of the Appomattox, on the south side of the river. So far no opposition had been experienced. The troops on landing immediately intrenched, in a position covered by the guns of the fleet.

On the 5th of May, General Kautz, with three thousand cavalry, left Suffolk, forced a passage over the Blackwater, advanced to the Petersburg and Weldon Railroad, and burnt the bridge over Stony Creek. His further progress toward Petersburg was prevented by a portion of Beauregard's troops, just arrived, on the way to Richmond. Kautz then made his way through Surry and Prince George counties to City Point, where he arrived on the 8th.

On the 5th of May also, Colonel West, with two regiments of colored cavalry, made a demonstration from Williamsburg, advanced to White House on the Pamunkey, and returned to Williamsburg on the night of the 6th. On the 7th he went over the same ground again. His force was subsequently put on transports and added to Butler's main body at Bermuda Hundred.

On the 7th, General Butler, having on the day before had reconnoissances made toward the enemy's position, sent

forward five brigades under General Brooks to cut the Petersburg and Richmond Railroad. When within about two miles of the road, the advance cavalry came upon the enemy in a strong position, and fell back to the infantry line, which, deploying as skirmishers, slowly advanced with a strong support in line of battle. The enemy were driven back to their main line in front of the railroad, where a sharp contest took place. But large reinforcements coming up for the enemy, General Brooks was finally compelled to retire with a loss of 250 men, leaving his dead and wounded on the field, not, however, before a portion of the railroad had been torn up, and a railroad bridge, over a small stream flowing into the Appomattox, set on fire and totally consumed. About the same time General Heckman, with one brigade, had made an unsuccessful attempt to reach the railroad.

Another advance was made on the railroad on the 9th. The troops formed on the battle-field of the 7th, Gillmore's on the right, General Smith's on the left, and at four o'clock in the morning began to feel their way cautiously through the woods. Contrary to expectation, they made their way to the railroad without opposition, and struck it simultaneously about nine o'clock, General Smith at Walthall, six miles from Petersburg, and General Gillmore at Chester, three miles farther north. Several miles of the railroad were destroyed before noon, and the column began to move toward Petersburg. The enemy were met five miles west of the railroad at Swift Creek, and an action ensued in which artillery was used, and which resulted in the enemy being driven across the creek to their batteries. The Federal troops retained possession of the north bank of the stream, where they were attacked in the night by a rebel column, as well as on the right and left flanks, in the morning and afternoon of the following day. About this time General Butler learned that General Lee was retreating before General Grant toward Richmond, and drew back all his forces within their intrenchments.

May 9.

On the 12th, General Butler moved out with a heavy force under Generals Gillmore and Smith, ostensibly to cover a cavalry expedition under General Kautz against the Danville Railroad, but really to undertake the siege of Fort Darling. Leaving a force under General Ames to watch the enemy at Petersburg, General Gillmore advanced on the left up the railroad toward Richmond. General Smith, taking the same direction on the right, along the turnpike between the railroad and the James, met the enemy's skirmishers near Werbottom Church, and drove them back about a mile to a strong position, from which, after a sharp engagement, they retired to a new position; but from this they also fell back. The skirmishing continued till dark, by which time General Smith had advanced to Proctor's Creek, within about three miles of Fort Darling. General Gillmore had in the mean time advanced as far as Chesterfield Court House, west

of the railroad, on the right of the enemy. Continuing his advance still farther on the enemy's right, he came upon a formidable earth-work, stretching across the railroad eastward nearly to the James River. This was the outer line of defence of Fort Darling. The enemy having concentrated on their left to oppose General Smith, General Gillmore found that the part of the works before him was inadequately defended, and, occupying the enemy's attention in front with sharpshooters and skirmishers, and several pieces of artillery, sent the brigade of Colonel Hawley through the woods to take the earth-work on the right flank. This movement succeeded. The position of the enemy was turned, and on the morning of the 14th they abandoned the whole line of works and retired to a second and stronger line about three quarters of a mile distant. The redoubts into which the enemy retired commanded the outer line of works, and in order to make secure the ground already gained, intrenchments should have been thrown up, but this precaution was neglected by General Butler, though he succeeded in silencing the enemy's guns by means of his artillery aided by sharpshooters. About nine at night the enemy advanced on the portion of Butler's line near the Petersburg turnpike, but withdrew after a short engagement. The next day they again advanced and attacked General Heckman's brigade, but after a musketry fight which lasted about an hour, again withdrew.

Early on the morning of the 16th of May, under cover of a thick fog, a sudden attack was made by the enemy, with cavalry, artillery, and infantry, on the right of Butler's line, held by the corps of General Smith, in which Heckman's brigade was on the extreme right, next the James River. General Gillmore's corps held the left and left centre of the line. The line of battle extended along the captured earth-works, and for some distance beyond them on the extreme right toward the river. Next the river were two squadrons of colored cavalry, on their left the Ninth New Jersey, then the Twenty-third, Twenty-fifth, and Twenty-seventh Massachusetts regiments. Favored by the fog and darkness, the advance of the enemy got in the rear of the Ninth New Jersey Regiment before the attack was made. General Heckman finding his position untenable began to fall back. A terrific contest ensued. Borne down by overwhelming numbers, Heckman's brigade was broken and driven from the field, and he himself made prisoner. The right of the eighteenth corps having been thus broken, a heavy attack was made along its whole line, and after several hours' severe fighting the entire corps was driven back. The enemy then massed their forces and directed them against the tenth corps under General Gillmore, but in repeated charges they were repulsed at all points. Then, abandoning their dead and wounded, they again massed on the front of General Smith's line and attacked his left. General Gillmore immediately ordered General Turner to attack the

May 16.

enemy on the flank, but the attack had hardly been commenced when an order came from General Butler to retire and strengthen General Smith's corps by forming in his rear. The troops fell back slowly and in order. About half-past two o'clock the fighting ceased, and General Butler prepared to withdraw his forces from the field. The ambulances loaded with wounded, and the supply trains, were dispatched to the rear. Soon afterward the entire army fell back, and reached its intrenchments at night, having sustained a loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners of about five thousand men.

General Kautz's expedition was successful. Its object was the destruction of the stations and bridges and as much as possible of the track of the Richmond and Danville Railroad. His command arrived about ten o'clock on the night of the 12th, the day on which the expedition set out, at Coalfield Station, on the railroad, about twelve miles west of Richmond, and destroyed there the dépôt building and water tank, pulled down the telegraph wire, and tore up several hundred feet of the railroad track. Thence he advanced to Powhatan Station, on the railroad, twenty-two miles from Richmond, where he arrived at eight o'clock on the morning of the 13th. Here also the water tank and dépôt were destroyed. The iron bridge over the Appomattox, between Mattoax Station and Chula, was found strongly guarded, and the column made a circuit eastward, crossed by Goode's Bridge, about four in the afternoon, and arrived at Chula Station, thirty miles from Richmond, at ten o'clock at night, after destroying as much as possible of the enemy's stores and other property. The column on the morning of the 14th returned, and recrossing by Goode's Bridge, approached Mattoax; but the enemy being found in a strong position, after a fight, in which Kautz sustained trifling loss, he retired southward, and crossing the Appomattox at Bevil's Bridge, a part of the command proceeded to the junction of the South Side and Danville railroads, and the main body moved on to Wellville and Wilson's Station on the South Side Railroad, where considerable damage was effected. The column arrived at Blacks and Whites at ten o'clock at night, where large supplies of forage and rations were found, and the railroad track and government property destroyed. At seven in the morning of the 15th the column set out in a southerly direction for Lawrenceville, in Brunswick County, and passing through Jonesboro and Edmonds, arrived there at dusk. Much property was destroyed there, and at daylight on the morning of the 16th the march was resumed, with the intention of striking the Petersburg and Richmond Railroad at Hicksford, about forty miles south of Petersburg, but finding a large force at Stony Point, turned northward, and at five in the afternoon arrived at Jarrett's Station, where the railroad track was again torn up and the water tank destroyed. Freeman's Bridge was reached at midnight, and, moving by way of Belcher's

moved on the 31st of May, and marching by way of Lewisburg and White Sulphur Springs, had struck the Virginia Central Railroad at Gaston Dépôt on the 5th of June, and had torn up the track for ten miles, destroying the bridges and culverts. Thence they made their way over North Mountain to Staunton.

After a cavalry demonstration toward Waynesboro, which was repulsed by Imboden, and the destruction of several millions' worth of property at Staunton, including railroad buildings and government factories, the consolidated force under General Hunter, now about sixteen thousand strong, General Crook in the advance, moved out from Staunton by the road leading through Middlebrook to Lexington, the capital of Rockbridge County. A small force of the enemy under McCausland retreated before the advance as far as the North River, where, having burnt the bridge at Lexington, they took a position on the south bank. From this they were driven off with artillery, and McCausland, finding his force inadequate to a successful defence of the place, fell back toward Balcony, on the James, near the Natural Bridge. The river was forded and the town occupied by the troops of General Hunter on the 11th of June. Next day the Military Institute and the dwelling of Governor Letcher were burned; a number of canal-boats and a quantity of ammunition were seized, and a bronze statue of Washington was taken down. This was subsequently transferred to Wheeling.

General Hunter remained at Staunton till the 13th, waiting for the promised co-operation of Sheridan from Gordonsville. General Sheridan, whose object was the destruction of the railroad between Gordonsville and Charlotteville—a very important link in Lee's communications with Staunton and Lynchburg—had crossed the Pamunkey on the 7th of June, marched rapidly by way of Childsburg and New Market, crossed both branches of the North Anna, and was approaching the Virginia Central Railroad, when he encountered the enemy's cavalry at Buck Childs, three miles northeast of Trevilian Station. On the morning of the 11th, after an obstinate contest, the enemy were driven from successive lines of breast-works, back upon Trevilian Station. In the mean time General Custer with his brigade proceeded by a country road so as to reach the station in the rear. On his arrival the enemy broke into a complete rout, leaving their dead and many of their wounded, and a number of prisoners. Sheridan encamped at Trevilian Station, seven miles southeast of Gordonsville, and on the 12th destroyed the railroad southeastward, as far as Louisa Court House. An advance was then made on the enemy's position toward Gordonsville, but it was found too strong to be assaulted. Next day Sheridan learned that heavy reinforcements were advancing for the defence of Gordonsville; he therefore gave up the expedition, and withdrew his command over the North Anna, taking with him 370 prisoners, but

June 11.

having sustained a loss of 575 men, of whom 490 were wounded. Some of these he was obliged, for want of ambulances, to leave in the enemy's hands.

Nothing being heard of Sheridan's movements, General Hunter's advance, under Averill, marched to Buchanan, followed on the 14th by the entire force. Liberty was reached on the 16th, and seven miles of the railroad destroyed. At ten on the morning of the 17th, the advance under General Crook arrived within eight miles of Lynchburg, and halted till three o'clock, awaiting the arrival of the main body. The entire force then moved on about two miles, when the first position of the enemy was reached. They were driven back two miles farther, to a line of breast-works, both sides sustaining considerable loss, when General Hunter rested for the night.

In the mean time reinforcements were rapidly arriving at Lynchburg from the east. All night the whistles of locomotives bringing troops from Richmond warned General Hunter that Lynchburg was a prize the value of which was well understood by General Lee, whose advantage in holding the "interior lines" was once more made apparent. On the 18th the enemy appeared in force and attempted to turn General Hunter's right, but were driven back to their breast-works. Their numbers, however, appeared to be so great, and their defences so strong, that General Hunter became convinced his force was entirely inadequate to operate with success against Lynchburg. A retreat was therefore determined on, and by the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, instead of by the Shenandoah Valley by way of Staunton.

June 18.

General Hunter's reasons for this course were, that if he should attempt to move toward Staunton, the enemy would get there in superior force before him, having railroad communications between that place and Lynchburg by way of Waynesboro; that his ammunition was nearly exhausted; and that he was entirely out of supplies, which he would not be able to replenish from the country passed through, in the presence of the enemy, and that therefore he might sustain disastrous defeat, or be compelled to surrender his entire army. On the other hand, retreating by the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, it was hoped that the army would be able to obtain supplies at Meadow Bluff, more than a million of rations having been left there by Generals Crook and Averill, under the charge of two regiments of Ohio militia.

On the night of the 18th, at nine o'clock, the army began its march along the line of the railroad, General Crook bringing up the rear, and the enemy in close pursuit. Bonsack's Dépôt was reached at nine in the morning of the 20th. The march was continued through the whole of the following night. On the 21st several pieces of artillery were captured by the pursuers. On the night of the 25th the retreating army arrived in great destitution at Meadow Bluff, to find that the stores left there had been destroyed; but on the 27th, rations

were obtained, and on the following day General Hunter arrived at Loup Creek, his command in great need of rest and reorganization, and soon afterward at Charleston, on the Kanawha, whence his force subsequently returned by another route and took part in the contest with Early's force in Maryland and the Shenandoah Valley.

General Burbridge was to have coöperated in the movements against Lynchburg, by preventing any advance of forces from the extreme southwest of Virginia. To divert him from this, the rebel General Morgan undertook a raid into Kentucky with two thousand cavalry, and entering the State by way of Pound Gap, advanced successively to Paintsville, Hazel Green, Owingsville, Flemingsburg, Maysville, and Mount Sterling, destroying railroads and bridges, and gathering as he went, horses, forage, provisions, money, and every kind of portable plunder. On the 11th of June he attacked, defeated, and captured the entire force of General Hobson, consisting of two entire regiments, numbering sixteen hundred men, at Cynthiana, on the railroad from Lexington to Cincinnati, and burnt a large part of the town. The next day, however, General Burbridge, who had followed him rapidly from southwestern Virginia, attacked Morgan near Cynthiana, and routed him after an hour's sharp fighting, with a loss of three hundred killed and wounded and as many prisoners. A thousand horses and a hundred men of Hobson's command were recaptured. Burbridge reported that Morgan's command fled in all directions, throwing away their arms and becoming utterly demoralized. General Burbridge was however of no further service in southwestern Virginia, which by his absence was secured to the enemy—the rest and reorganization required by his command detaining him in Kentucky.

June 11.

When the enemy in Western Virginia had succeeded in driving General Hunter's army over the mountains, the Valley of the Shenandoah was left open to them. General Lee could at that time, thanks to his impregnable earthworks, very well spare a considerable number of troops from the defence of Richmond and Petersburg. Accordingly, a force of fifteen thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry, comprising two corps—that of Breckinridge, including the divisions of Echols and Ramseur, and that of Rhodes, including his own division and Gordon's—together with Ransom's division of cavalry, including the brigades of McCausland, Imboden, Jackson, and Johnson, and three batteries of artillery, was placed under the command of Major-General Early, who marched rapidly down the valley.

On Saturday, the 2d of July, the Confederate force suddenly made its appearance at North Mountain, west of Martinsburg, where Sigel was in command. Sigel determined immediately to evacuate the town and fall back upon Harper's Ferry. He succeeded in removing a part of the stores, including the rolling stock of the railroad and heavy trains of supplies intended for

General Hunter. At Leetown he was attacked and driven from his position. At Harper's Ferry he united his force with that of General Stahel, but soon afterward retired to Maryland Heights, which he held. From Martinsburg and North Mountain the main body of the enemy marched for the Potomac in the direction of Hagerstown. Leaving about five thousand men to guard the rear, Early crossed the Potomac with the remainder. An extraordinary panic spread over the invaded region, and the inhabitants fled eastward toward Baltimore. The roads were filled with pedestrians, droves of cattle, and every species of wagon laden with household valuables. At Frederick, on the 5th, the railroad trains were loaded with government stores, and preparations made for immediate evacuation. Hagerstown was visited by the enemy's cavalry, the stores plundered, and a requisition made on the town for the sum of $20,000, which was paid, and the raiders went elsewhere. On the same day the President issued a call for militia—12,000 from New York, 12,000 from Pennsylvania, and 5,000 from Massachusetts. General Hunter's forces were returning from Western Virginia. The sixth corps was also sent for from the lines before Petersburg, to aid in the defence of Washington. It was supposed that one of the principal mötives which actuated General Lee in planning this invasion of Maryland, was the hope of inducing General Grant to retire with his whole army from before Richmond to protect the Federal capital. General Grant considered one corps enough for the purpose.

In the mean time General Lewis Wallace, commanding the Middle Department, had collected what force he could, and having been joined by Ricketts' division of the sixth corps, moved out from Frederick southward to Monocacy Junction, and at sunrise on the following morning, the 9th, the enemy, fifteen thousand strong, under Early, entered the town and levied a contribution of $200,000 on the inhabitants. About nine o'clock they advanced against General Wallace, who had taken up on the east side of the Monocacy River a position in which his guns protected the railroad and the turnpike. His left, under General Ricketts, was first attacked, and after a contest of some hours' duration was compelled to give way. The right was at the same time outflanked and about six hundred men and officers swept off, including General Tyler, who subsequently escaped. General Wallace then drew off his force toward Ellicott's Mills, pursued for some distance by the enemy, having sustained a loss of about twelve hundred men and six guns. The enemy immediately sent a column of about ten thousand men southeastward toward Washington. After the defeat of Wallace they had everything their own way till they chose to return to Virginia. Small plundering parties traversed the country in any direction without opposition, collecting forage, grain, and army supplies of all sorts. Great alarm was caused in Washington and Baltimore by the defeat of

July 9.

General Wallace. Washington appeared to be in imminent peril. Fortunately the nineteenth army corps, which had been sent round by sea from New Orleans to reinforce General Grant, had just arrived in the Chesapeake, and was at once ordered up to Washington. The remainder of the sixth corps also arrived from Petersburg.

Immediately after the battle of Monocacy, a party of the enemy tore up a portion of the railroad leading to Baltimore, and a detachment of cavalry was sent to cut the railroad leading northward from that city, twenty-five miles of which they destroyed. A small party burned the house of Governor Bradford, in retaliation for the destruction of Governor Letcher's house by Hunter at Lexington. On the 11th, a detachment of cavalry, about a hundred men in all, appeared on the railroad running northeastward from Baltimore, and captured and set on fire several trains at Magnolia Station, eighteen miles northeast of the city. In one of these General Franklin was captured, but subsequently escaped. This small party of cavalry, on returning, approached within six miles of Baltimore, and then moved southward to join the main body, which had proceeded in that direction after the battle of Monocacy. Railroad and telegraphic communication between Washington and the North was suspended, and the national capital was for a short time isolated. Provisions began to rise in price. Every able-bodied man in the city was required by proclamation to turn out and serve as militia. Men employed in the government workshops and departments, who had been previously organized and drilled, formed a body several thousand strong. To these were added three thousand convalescent soldiers from the hospitals. In the mean time the numbers of the veteran troops were constantly increased by fresh arrivals.

On the 12th, the skirmishers of the enemy approached within four miles of the north side of the city, immediately in front of Forts Stevens and De Russey, and toward evening their sharpshooters became so annoying and their audacity so humiliating, that General Augur dispatched a brigade of veterans by the Seventh Street road to drive them off. They were soon completely routed, and moved away, leaving about a hundred dead and wounded on the field. In the mean time the main body of the enemy's force had retreated, and had already begun to cross the Potomac, carrying off a large amount of spoils, including many hundred head of cattle and not less than five thousand horses. The invasion had ended.

General Wright began the pursuit on the 13th, with the sixth corps and Emory's division of the nineteenth corps. Moving northwestward from Washington to Poolesville, he crossed the Potomac just below Edward's Ferry, and marched to Leesburg, where he was joined by General Ricketts. In the mean time Duffie's cavalry, of General Crook's command, had overtaken and captured a portion of the enemy's train at Snicker's Gap, near the Shenandoah, and

Crook himself coming up soon afterward, the enemy were driven through the gap after a sharp fight. They held the ferry, however, on the west side of the river, where they planted two guns and put a stop to the pursuit for a while. On the 18th, the whole of Wright's and Crook's forces had passed through Snicker's Gap, except Duffie's cavalry, sent northward to Ashby's Gap to guard against an attempt of the enemy to flank the Federal right. A little after noon the infantry crossed at Island Ford, two and a half miles below Snicker's Ferry, the Thirty-fourth Massachusetts in the advance and driving the enemy. Crook's force also was soon over the river, and line of battle was formed, Colonel Wells with the Thirty-fourth Massachusetts on the left and Colonel Thorburn's brigade on the right. A sharp engagement ensued. The sixth corps also had commenced crossing, when the enemy, under Breckinridge, finding the rear attacked, returned quickly, and charged and drove back Colonel Thorburn's brigade, compelling it to recross the river. Colonel Wells then withdrew his force in good order, and the enemy retained possession of the west bank. Duffie had no better fortune at Ashby's Gap. He had driven Imboden through the gap and across the river, but had been himself compelled to retreat by the enemy returning in force. A loss of about five hundred was sustained in these two fights, and some of the wounded were left in the hands of the enemy, who was then allowed to pursue his way leisurely toward Winchester and Strasburg. The column under General Wright crossed the river, but soon returned and marched back to Leesburg, where it was divided, General Crook with his portion of the force going to Harper's Ferry, and General Wright with the sixth corps to Washington.

July 18.

On the 19th, General Averill, moving up the Shenandoah Valley from Martinsburg on the turnpike road leading toward Winchester, encountered and drove back a body of cavalry at Darkesville. Next morning he continued his march in the same direction. On his approaching Winchester, General Early came out of his old intrenchments there to meet him. The battle which ensued lasted three hours, when the rebels, after losing about three hundred men in killed and wounded, retired to their intrenchments, leaving Averill master of the field, with four cannon, several hundred small-arms, and about two hundred prisoners captured. Averill's loss was about 250.

July 19.

Soon afterward General Averill was rejoined by General Crook with his infantry, just returned from the unfortunate affair at Island Ford. The force under General Crook was now about ten thousand men, consisting of Averill's and Duffie's cavalry and two divisions of infantry. On the 23d, after some skirmishing at Kearnstown, four miles south of Winchester, the cavalry was driven back by the enemy on the main body, and on the following day was driven through Winchester in confusion toward Bunker Hill, completely uncovering the flanks of the

July 23.

infantry. General Crook had drawn up his force in line of battle, but was compelled to retreat when his cavalry broke. The enemy, who had received reinforcements, and were in much superior force, were able completely to outflank General Crook's line. The retreat continued on the Bunker Hill road till night. The Federal loss was not less than twelve hundred, including prisoners. Among the killed was Colonel Mulligan, the defender of Lexington, Missouri, whose brigade covered the retreat.

On the 25th, General Crook halted at Martinsburg, to gain time for getting off his trains by road and railroad, but after a sharp artillery engagement again fell back, and on the following day crossed the Potomac into Maryland, and the Confederates obtained possession of the west bank of the river from Williamsport to Shepherdstown. Another panic seized the people of Maryland and southern Pennsylvania. Fugitives again hurried northward and eastward with what valuables they could carry off. On the 28th, General Kelley crossed the Potomac and reoccupied Martinsburg, which the rebels had already evacuated. On the morning of the 30th, a force of two or three hundred cavalry under McCausland crossed the Potomac and marched toward Chambersburg. The inhabitants having obtained warning of his approach, packed up and sent off their valuables and merchandise. McCausland on his arrival offered to allow the ransom of the place for the sum of $500,000, but as this was not forthcoming, set fire to the town, and two-thirds of it were laid in ashes. Notwithstanding Chambersburg had a population of six thousand, no resistance was made to this handful of raiders. McCausland withdrew about eleven o'clock, and immediately afterward Averill with his cavalry rode into the town, and set out rapidly in pursuit. He had been retreating from Hagerstown toward Carlisle, but on the night of the 29th the enemy left pursuing him and proceeded by another road toward Chambersburg, and Averill in his turn became the pursuer; but the small body of rebel raiders easily escaped him, as they were well mounted, and his horses were badly jaded from their late rapid marches.

On the 1st of August another panic occurred in the neighborhood of Frederick, Monocacy, and Poolesville. Mosby with about fifty men crossed the Potomac at Cheat's Ferry, galloped up the towpath to Adamstown, drove away the picket force of thirty or forty cavalry, cut the telegraph wire, robbed a few stores, and retired. The alarm caused by this irruption did not subside so easily; all the railway trains in the neighborhood were stopped, and a report obtained circulation that Early had invaded Pennsylvania with forty thousand men. General Couch telegraphed to Pittsburg: "It is believed Breckinridge is marching west;" and a great public meeting was held there on Sunday, the 2d of August, with a view to taking measures for the defence of the city. Pennsylvania was at last thoroughly aroused. Governor Curtin convened the Legislature for the 9th of August.

In the mean time the sixth corps was marching rapidly from Georgetown to the points supposed to be threatened. On the 31st it had reached Halltown, three miles west of Harper's Ferry. On the following day, orders were received to move in pursuit of Early, who was said to be ravaging Pennsylvania, and the whole force, now consisting of the sixth corps, part of the nineteenth corps, and the infantry of General Crook's command, with a great wagon train, marched for two days during weather so hot that some men were lost by sunstroke, in the direction of Frederick, where the army rested, no enemy having been found.

The light brigade of General Johnson, which was the only portion of the enemy's force actually in Maryland, had in the mean time been raiding on the road from Hancock toward Cumberland, unpursued by Averill's command, which had been obliged to remain a while at Hancock to rest. On the 1st of August, at four in the afternoon, General Kelley, who was protecting Cumberland with his cavalry force, was attacked at Folck's Mill, three miles from the town. Skirmishing continued till after dark, but about eleven at night the enemy retreated to Oldtown, where Colonel Stough, who had been posted there with five hundred men, was attacked and routed, himself captured, and his force driven toward Cumberland. On the 4th, the Confederate force marched against New Creek, where there was a Federal garrison of about a thousand men, who made good their defence; and at about eight in the evening the enemy retired southward by the Romney road toward Moorefield, where General Averill overtook them on the 7th, and routed them, taking all their artillery, four pieces, many wagons and small-arms, and five hundred prisoners, and kept up the pursuit for many miles, till the enemy were driven over the mountains.

A panic occurred on the 4th at Harrisburg, occasioned by another report of an invasion by Early in force, and Governor Curtin issued a proclamation calling out thirty thousand militia; but the alarm soon subsided.

Thus ended Early's "second invasion." During its progress he had with the whole of his infantry remained quietly in the Valley of the Shenandoah getting in the crops.

On the 7th of August, General Hunter was superseded by General Sheridan, to whom was assigned the command of the Middle Military Division, comprising the departments of Washington, the Middle Department, and the departments of the Susquehanna and southwestern Virginia.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Sherman's Atlanta Campaign.—Numbers of his Armies.—General Johnston's Army.—Description of Atlanta.—Operations against Dalton.—Buzzard Roost.—Snake Creek Gap.—Kilpatrick wounded.—Johnston evacuates Dalton.—Operations against Resaca.—Johnston crosses the Etowah.—Occupation of Rome.—Johnston falls back on Allatoona Pass.—The March upon Dallas.—Battles of Pumpkin Vine Creek and New Hope Church.—Allatoona Pass turned.—General Blair joins Sherman with the Seventeenth Corps.—Garrisons left.—March to Big Shanty.—Kenesaw, Pine, and Lost Mountains.—Rebel Defences.—Georgia Militia.—Operations against Pine Mountain.—Death of General Polk.—Lost Mountain taken.—Continuous Rain.—Battle of Kulp House.—Assault on Kenesaw Mountain.—Death of General Harper.—Johnston abandons Kenesaw Mountain.—Occupation of Marietta.—Nickajack Creek.—Advance to the Chattahoochee.—Johnston's Position again turned.—His Defences on the Chattahoochee.—Mills destroyed at Roswell.—Sherman crosses the Chattahoochee.—Johnston retires upon Atlanta.

1864.

In accordance with General Grant's grand plan of operations, General Sherman had got ready in the beginning of May to move from Chattanooga simultaneously with General Meade from Culpeper Court House. The total force under his command, numbering 98,797 men of all arms, with 254 guns, was composed as follows:

1. The Army of the Cumberland, commanded by Major-General Thomas, comprising the fourth corps under General Howard, the fourteenth corps under General Palmer, and the twentieth corps under General Hooker, and containing 60,773 men, including 3,828 cavalry.

2. The Army of the Tennessee, commanded by Major-General McPherson, comprising the fifteenth corps under General Logan, the sixteenth corps under General Dodge, and later in the campaign the seventeenth corps under General Blair, and containing 24,465 men, including 624 cavalry.

3. The Army of the Ohio, commanded by Major-General Schofield, comprising the twenty-third corps, and containing 13,559 men, including 1,679 cavalry.

On the morning of the 6th of May the position of the three armies was as follows: the Army of the Cumberland was at Ringgold, on the Western and Atlantic Railroad, twenty-three miles southeast of Chattanooga; the Army of the Tennessee was at Gordon's Mill, on the Chickamauga, eight miles west of Ringgold; and the Army of the Ohio near Red Clay, about ten miles northeast of Ringgold.

The Confederate army, commanded by Lieutenant-General Joseph E. Johnston, lay in and about Dalton, fifteen miles south of Ringgold, on the railroad, his advance at Tunnel Hill, about midway between Ringgold and Dalton. The force under Johnston, consisting mostly of veteran troops, comprised the corps of Generals Hardee, Hood, and Polk, and General Wheeler's division of about 10,000 cavalry, numbering in all not more than 60,000 men.

In some respects the campaign before



General Sherman resembled that of General Grant from the Rapidan against Richmond. Its objective point was Atlanta, the possession of which it was believed was hardly of less importance to the Confederacy than the capital of Virginia. Atlanta had been before the war an important centre of railroad communication for the Western, Atlantic, and Gulf States, and a principal manufacturing town of the South, with a population of about fifteen thousand. Laid out in a circle two miles in diameter, in its centre was the passenger dépôt of four railroads, radiating to Chattanooga, Augusta, Macon, and Montgomery. Here also were railroad machine-shops, an extensive rolling mill, foundries, manufactories of gun-carriages, pistols, tents, caps, cartridges, shot and shell, shoes, clothing, and other military supplies, under the direction of the Confederate government. The population had risen during the war, by the accession of persons employed under the government and the arrival of refugees, to not less than twenty thousand. It was supposed that the capture of Atlanta, with its vast military stores and costly machinery, would be a blow to the resources of the Confederacy hardly less fatal than the capture of Richmond.

The utmost efforts were put forth by the Confederate authorities to make Atlanta secure. The line of approach was made as difficult for Sherman as the nature of the country—in itself easy of defence—and the resources of Johnston would admit. Should Sherman succeed in making his way over the mountain region and in crossing the rivers, both of which afforded many strong defensible positions for Johnston's army, he would still have his hardest task before him in the formidable works around Atlanta, with an army depleted by many battles and the necessity for leaving garrisons at various points; his line of communication at the same time lengthened and exposed, while Johnston in falling back upon Atlanta would be approaching his base and his supplies.

A reconnoissance of General Johnston's position at Dalton satisfied General Sherman that it could not be carried by an attack in front, even should the enemy abandon their works at Tunnel Hill. Immediately south of Tunnel Hill is a valley about three miles long and about three-quarters of a mile wide, bounded by Rocky Faced Ridge, a thickly wooded, steep, and rugged mountain, which commands the railroad and other approaches to Dalton, and extends southward many miles on the west side of the railroad and of the Oostenaula. A narrow mountain pass called Buzzard Roost, about midway between Tunnel Hill and Dalton, is the outlet to the valley, and through this pass runs the railroad to Dalton. By means of abattis, formidable batteries, and a line of rifle-pits at its northern entrance, this pass had been rendered impregnable, so that Dalton was absolutely secure against attack from the northwest; on its northeast side the town was protected by strong works on Mile Creek. General McPherson was therefore directed to move rapidly south-

ward with the Army of the Tennessee from his position at Gordon's Mill, by way of Ship's Gap, Villanow, and through Snake Creek Gap—a pass in Rocky Faced Ridge farther south—upon Resaca, a station about eighteen miles south of Dalton, where the railroad from that place crosses the Oostenaula. The object of this movement was to compel General Johnston to evacuate his position at Dalton, when McPherson would be in a position to harass his flank, while the main body of the Federal army pushed him southward. While McPherson's flanking movement was in progress, General Thomas was to make a show of attacking in force in front of Buzzard Roost, and Schofield with the Army of the Ohio was to close up with Thomas' left. Accordingly on the 7th, General Thomas advanced from Ringgold to Tunnel Hill, which was easily carried by the fourteenth corps under General Palmer, the enemy retiring to their stronger position at Buzzard Roost. The same evening the Federal line was established about a mile south of Tunnel Hill. A demonstration in force was made on the 8th against Rocky Faced Ridge and Buzzard Roost. The fourth corps under Howard succeeded in carrying the ridge, but its crest was found too narrow to permit of an attack being made from it on the pass with any prospect of success. General Schofield in the mean time brought up the Army of the Ohio and closed with the left of Thomas, which was held by Howard.

On the same day McPherson succeeded in passing through Snake Creek Gap, surprising a force of rebel cavalry there, and approached within a mile of Resaca, which, however, proved too strong to be carried by assault. He therefore fell back to a strong position at the west end of Snake Creek Gap. General Sherman finding that McPherson's flank demonstration had failed of its intended effect, set the whole of his army in motion for Snake Creek Gap, with the exception of two divisions of Howard's corps and some cavalry, left to threaten the front of Buzzard Roost. The Federal loss on the 8th and 9th was about 750 killed, wounded, and missing, the greater number being only slightly wounded.

Resaca is situated on a peninsula formed by the junction of the Conasauga with the Oostenaula, across which, from river to river, the rebels had constructed a continuous line of rifle-pits with strong field-works, their flanks being protected by the two rivers. A line of retreat southward was left open across the Oostenaula.

On the 13th of May the army of General Sherman passed through Snake Creek Gap and got into position in Sugar Valley, a tract on the east side of the ridge much broken by hills covered with a dense undergrowth. In covering the movement, while pressing the enemy toward Resaca, General Kilpatrick received a severe flesh-wound, which unfitted him for active duty for several months. The Federal lines were advanced during the day toward Resaca, so that the right, under McPherson, rested on the Oostenaula about two miles

below the town, and extended north to the centre under General Thomas—the left, under Schofield, extending from Thomas' left to the Conasauga, near Tilton, a railroad station about midway between Resaca and Dalton.

In the mean time General Johnston had observed Sherman's movement and detected its object, and considering his position at Dalton no longer tenable, had moved southward on the 12th, and having the shorter line of march, reached Resaca with his entire force before the army of Sherman had got through Snake Creek Gap. Dalton was immediately occupied by the divisions of Howard's corps left before Buzzard Roost, which following in the rear of Johnston joined the Federal left on the 14th near Tilton. Sherman, in thus compelling Johnston to evacuate a position of such extraordinary strength as that of Dalton, demonstrated his ability to make his way to Atlanta, between which and Dalton no position was likely to be held by the enemy which might not be as easily turned.

On the morning of the 14th the rebels were in complete readiness to receive an attack, having spent the previous night in strengthening their already formidable earth-works. General Hardee held their right, General Hood their centre, and General Polk their left. At an early hour skirmishing commenced. A body of infantry with cavalry was sent across the Oostenaula to threaten Calhoun in the rear, farther south on the railroad, by which movement General Sherman hoped to turn Johnston's left, and thus cut off his retreat, but this the nature of the ground rendered impossible. At noon there was heavy firing along the whole line. About one o'clock an attempt was made by Palmer's corps from the left centre to break the enemy's line and force them from an elevated position in the immediate front. To reach the point aimed at, it was necessary to descend the slope of a hill commanded by the enemy's artillery, to ford a stream bordered with a thick growth of bushes and vines, and then to cross a space intersected by ditches and otherwise obstructed. Under a murderous fire of musketry and artillery the hill was descended and the stream crossed, but the troops becoming confused among the ditches and obstructions, and finding no shelter from which the plunging fire of the enemy might be returned, were forced to retire, after losing a thousand of their number. Farther to the left, about the same time, General Judah's division of the twenty-third corps and Newton's division of the fourth, drove the enemy from an important position on their outer line. By this means, though the position taken was not held, the Federal line was advanced. Artillery was also got into a position which prevented the enemy from occupying the works. At both extremities of the line heavy skirmishing took place, the density of the woods and undergrowth preventing the use of artillery.

May 14.

About three in the afternoon, General Johnston massed a heavy force on the road to Tilton with the view of turning

the Federal left flank, held by Stanley's division of the fourth corps. The attack was made with overwhelming numbers, who rushed on with loud yells, and with such impetuosity that Stanley's troops were forced in confusion from the hill on which they were posted. The movement ordered by Johnston had been detected early enough to permit of Hooker's corps being moved from the centre to reinforce the Federal left. The enemy's advance was soon checked, and Stanley's troops having been rallied, the rebels were, about dusk, driven back to their lines with severe loss.

While this movement was going on, General McPherson sent the fifteenth corps with a portion of the sixteenth across Camp Creek, to carry a hill and rifle-pits on the enemy's left in front of Resaca. This was effected, and with little loss. As this position commanded the works, the railroad, and the trestle bridges across the Oostenaula, desperate efforts were made by the enemy after dark to retake it, but in vain. Heavy columns with fixed bayonets moved up to the very crest of the hill, but were compelled to retire in confusion before the steady fire of the Federal troops. At ten o'clock fighting was over for the day.

Both armies strengthened their positions during the night, and on the morning of the 15th, under cover of severe skirmishing, preparations were made by General Sherman for an assault upon two fortified hills, on the enemy's extreme right, the key of the whole position. General Hooker's corps was moved to the extreme left, Howard's, Schofield's, and Palmer's to the right. Soon after one o'clock, General Hooker sent Butterfield's division forward as the assaulting column, supported by the divisions of Geary and Williams. After several attacks the enemy were driven from a portion of their lines, and a lodgment secured under the projecting works of a lunette mounting four guns. Farther advance, however, was found impossible, owing to a severe fire from neighboring rifle-pits, and the troops seeking such shelter as was available, contented themselves with holding the position gained. Toward the close of the afternoon General Hood's corps made an unavailing effort to dislodge them. Later, under cover of night, the ends were dug out of the works and the guns hauled out with ropes, under a sharp fire from the rebels. As soon as a breach was made the troops rushed in, and after a desperate struggle made themselves masters of the lunette.

May 15.

General Johnston abandoned his position during the night, leaving behind another four-gun battery and a quantity of stores, and retreated toward Kingston, thirty-two miles south of Resaca, on the railroad. Resaca was immediately occupied by the troops of General Thomas, who succeeded in saving the wagon road bridge. The railroad bridge had been burnt. Johnston's army owed its escape from Sherman at Resaca to the impracticable nature of the valley between the town and Snake Creek Gap, which greatly retarded the passage of troops, and afforded the rebel army time to

march from Dalton by comparatively good roads, which Johnston with wise foresight had kept in order. Had the Union army arrived first at Resaca, nothing could have saved the army of the Confederates; once in their strong position at Resaca, it cost much severe fighting to make them abandon it. The total Federal loss in the two days' fighting was not less than 4,000 killed and wounded, while that of the rebels probably did not exceed 2,500, as they fought for the most part behind earth-works. They lost, however, about 1,000 prisoners.

The whole army started in pursuit of Johnston, General Thomas, directly on his rear, crossing the Oostenaula at Resaca, General McPherson at Lay's Ferry, a few miles to the southwest, while General Schofield, making a wide detour to the left of Thomas, marched by obscure roads across the Conasauga and Coosawattee rivers, which unite near Resaca to form the Oostenaula. On the 17th the march was continued southward by as many roads as could be found, in a direction parallel with the railroad, but no enemy was seen till within the vicinity of Adairsville, thirteen miles south-southwest of Resaca, between the railroad and the Oostenaula. There, about sunset, the advance division under General Newton had a sharp skirmish with the rear-guard of the rebels, who on the next morning had disappeared, but were found again in force four miles beyond Kingston, on ground comparatively open and well adapted for a grand battle. They held strong works at Cassville, five miles east of Kingston, and on the 19th dispositions were made for a general engagement; but while Sherman's forces were converging on the position of Johnston, he retreated in the night across the Etowah, burning the bridges at Cartersville, thus leaving the country north of the Etowah in the possession of General Sherman: it had, however, been completely stripped of supplies. General Sherman now gave his troops a few days' rest, the army of General Thomas lying near Cassville, McPherson's about Kingston, and Schofield's at Cassville Dépôt and toward the Etowah Bridge. In the mean time the railroad, which had received but little injury, was restored to running order. Trains laden with supplies arrived at Kingston on the 20th, and the wounded were sent back to Chattanooga, with which place telegraphic communication also was kept up as the army advanced.

General Jefferson C. Davis had on the 17th marched toward Rome, at the confluence of the Oostenaula and Etowah, fifteen miles west of Kingston, and after a sharp fight on the 19th got possession of the town, several forts, eight or ten large guns, and large quantities of stores, as well as valuable mills and foundries.

General Johnston retired upon Allatoona Pass, an almost impregnable position on the railroad, about five miles south of the Etowah River. General Sherman determined not even to attempt the pass in front, but to turn it. Accordingly, on the 23d, leaving garrisons at Rome and Kingston, and carrying

with him in wagons supplies for twenty days, he put the army in motion for Dallas, a town about fifteen miles south-southwest of Allatoona Pass, and eighteen miles directly west of Marietta, hoping by thus threatening Marietta to compel Johnston to evacuate the pass. The roads through the rugged and densely wooded region to be traversed were few and bad, and the march was necessarily slow. The movement and its objects were soon detected by Johnston, who also set his troops in motion toward Dallas, to protect the approaches to Marietta. In the march upon Dallas, General McPherson, holding the Federal right, made a detour southwestward by Van Wert, about fourteen miles west of Dallas, while General Thomas moved nearly due south, with Schofield on his left. On the 25th, Hooker's corps, the advance of General Thomas, moving on the main road to Dallas, when near Pumpkin Vine Creek, met portions of Hood's and Hardee's corps, and a severe contest took place for a position at New Hope Church, where three roads meet, from Ackworth, Marietta, and Dallas, but the enemy, having hastily thrown up earth-works, and night coming on accompanied by heavy rain, retained possession of the roads. General Hooker lost six hundred men in this affair. Next morning the rebels were found well intrenched, substantially in front of the road leading from Dallas to Marietta. It was necessary, therefore, to make dispositions on a larger scale. General McPherson was moved up to Dallas, the force of General Thomas was deployed against New Hope Church, and General Schofield moved toward the left so as to strike and turn the enemy's right. Owing to the difficult nature of the country, these movements occupied two days, and were attended with heavy skirmishing; but as the vicinity was for the most part densely wooded, artillery could not be used, and the casualties were comparatively few. On the 28th, just as General McPherson was closing up to General Thomas in front of New Hope Church, he was repeatedly and desperately attacked by a large rebel force, and the contemplated movement was temporarily checked, but the enemy were finally driven back with a loss of two thousand killed and wounded.

May 25.

After the delay of a few days the movement toward the left was resumed, General McPherson taking up the position in front of New Hope Church which Thomas had previously occupied, and Generals Thomas and Schofield positions still farther to the left. This movement was effected on the 1st of June. All the roads leading back to Allatoona and Ackworth were occupied. General Stoneman's cavalry pushed into the east end of Allatoona Pass, and General Garrard's marched around by the rear to its west entrance. All this was effected without opposition, and Allatoona Pass fell into Sherman's possession. He found it admirably adapted for use as a secondary base, and gave the necessary orders for its defence and garrison, and for the reconstruction of the railroad bridge over the Etowah, thus restoring his communications by

railroad, by which stores were again brought to his camps. Still working toward the left, General Sherman determined on the 4th to leave Johnston in his intrenched position at New Hope Church, and moved toward the railroad above Ackworth, which was reached on the 6th of June. Here the army remained several days, and here on the 8th General Blair arrived, with two divisions of the seventeenth corps, and Colonel Long's brigade of cavalry of General Garrard's division, which had been awaiting horses at Columbia. This addition to Sherman's forces about made up for his losses in battle and for the diminution of his numbers by garrisons left at Resaca, Rome, Kingston, and Allatoona Pass. On the 9th, communications in the rear being secure and supplies abundant, the movement was resumed and the march continued to Big Shanty, the next station on the railroad east of Allatoona Pass.

Between Big Shanty and Marietta intervenes a mountainous district full of defensible positions, covering perfectly the town of Marietta, and the railroad as far as the Chattahoochee. Three conical peaks in this region, though links in a continuous forest-covered chain, form prominent features in the landscape. These are Kenesaw Mountain, Pine Mountain, and Lost Mountain. Kenesaw Mountain, a double-peaked eminence, and hence sometimes called the Twin Mountain, about twelve hundred feet high, lies immediately northwest of Marietta and west of the railroad. Lost Mountain lies west of Marietta. Pine Mountain, a rugged cone-shaped peak, about half a mile to the north of these and opposite the space between them, forms the apex of a triangle of which the others form the base. On each the enemy had signal stations from which Sherman's camps could be seen and his movements noted. Their summits were covered with batteries, and on the spurs leading from them might be seen great numbers of men busy felling trees, digging rifle-pits, and in other ways preparing for a desperate defence. The rebel lines extended about two miles westward from the railroad, on which their right rested. Their works, which comprised several successive lines of intrenchments, consisted of log barricades with earth thrown against them, and a formidable abattis, to which was added in many places a *chevaux-de-frise* of sharp-pointed fence-rails. The parapet thus formed was from six to eight feet thick at the top, for the infantry, and, where field-guns were posted, from twelve to fifteen feet thick. The force at the disposal of General Johnston at this time was, according to the reports of prisoners, deserters, and scouts, nine divisions of seven thousand men each, in addition to which Governor Brown had sent to his assistance an auxiliary force of fifteen thousand Georgia militia, who, though undisciplined, were capable of good service behind earth-works and as laborers in the construction of fortifications. Hardee's corps held the enemy's right, Polk's the centre, Hood's the left. The enemy's cavalry, to the number of about fifteen thousand, op-

erated on their right and left flanks and on the Federal rear.

The Federal lines were gradually advanced toward the rebel positions. General McPherson's command, now transferred to the extreme left, moved toward Marietta, his right on the railroad; General Schofield, shifted to the right, moved on Lost Mountain; General Thomas, remaining in the centre, moved on Kenesaw and Pine Mountains. General Garrard's cavalry covered the left wing, and General Stoneman's the right. General McCook guarded the rear, the railroad communications, and the dépôt at Big Shanty. By the 11th the lines were close up, and dispositions were then made to break the enemy's line of defence between Kenesaw and Pine Mountains. On the 14th, during a heavy cannonade by the fourth corps, General Polk, who commanded on Pine Mountain, was struck by the fragment of a shell and killed; and the same night, Hooker's corps, moving round its base to cut off their retreat, the enemy abandoned their works on Pine Mountain, carrying off, however, their guns and war material. On the morning of the 15th, Stanley's division of the fourth corps quietly occupied the position.

June 14.

After the abandonment of Pine Mountain, General Johnston drew back his centre to a strong line of intrenchments connecting Kenesaw and Lost Mountains. The 15th, 16th, and 17th were occupied with incessant skirmishing. On the afternoon of the 15th, General Schofield carried the first line of the rebel works at the foot of Lost Mountain. During the 17th, the left and centre, which were so far advanced that a general engagement would otherwise have resulted, remained quiet. The right and left centre were advanced more than a mile to a line of defensive works which the rebels had evacuated. Toward evening, after heavy skirmishing, the enemy's left was dislodged from the intrenchments at Lost Mountain and the long line of breast-works connecting it with Kenesaw Mountain. The enemy were pressed at all points, and skirmishing continued in dense forest and across difficult ravines, until they were again found strongly posted and intrenched, with Kenesaw Mountain as a salient, their right wing thrown back to cover Marietta, and their left behind Nose's Creek, covering the railroad back to the Chattahoochee. They were thus enabled to contract and strengthen their lines. During these operations the rain fell almost continuously for three weeks, making the narrow wooded roads mere mud gulleys and a general movement impossible. But every opportunity was taken to advance the lines closer and closer to the enemy, and the men kept up an incessant galling picket fire.

On the 22d the enemy made a sudden attack on portions of Hooker's and Schofield's corps on the Federal right near the Kulp House. The blow fell mostly on the divisions of Generals Williams and Hascall. The ground was comparatively open, but though the skirmish lines and an advanced regiment of General Schofield's—sent out to

June 22.

hold the enemy in check till some preparations for his reception could be completed—were driven in, yet when the enemy reached the Federal line of battle they received a terrible repulse. Many prisoners were taken, and the rebels were compelled to abandon their dead and wounded. The Federal centre was now established in front of Kenesaw Mountain; but so many men were required to hold the railroad and the line along the base of the mountain, that only a small force was left with which to attempt a flank movement to the right. There was, however, now no alternative but to assault the enemy's lines or turn their position. Either course had its difficulties and dangers. Both the enemy and his own officers expected Sherman to "outflank." General Sherman determined to assault. His reason for a departure from the course which had hitherto been so successful was, that an army to be efficient must not settle down to one single mode of offence, but must be prepared to execute any plan likely to result in success. The part of the enemy's lines selected to be assaulted was the left centre. A strong column, if thrust through at that point, and pushed on boldly two and a half miles, would reach the railroad below Marietta and cut off the enemy's right and centre from the line of retreat, which could then be overwhelmed and destroyed. On the 24th of June, therefore, General Sherman ordered that an assault should be made at two points south of Kenesaw Mountain on the 27th, thus affording three days for preparation and reconnoissance. One of these assaults was to be made near Little Kenesaw by General McPherson's troops, the other about a mile farther south by those of General Thomas. On the morning of the 27th of June, at the hour and in the manner prescribed, the assaults were made, but both failed, and many valuable lives were lost, including that of General Harker. At six in the morning, General Blair's corps, holding the extreme left of General McPherson's line, moved on the east side of the mountain, while the corps of Generals Dodge and Logan assaulted the adjoining northern slope. The brunt of the attack was borne by three brigades of Logan's corps, which pushing impetuously up the hill scattered the enemy's skirmishers and captured some of their rifle-pits, making also some prisoners. These troops pressed forward till they arrived at the foot of a precipitous cliff thirty feet high, from which the enemy poured a plunging fire and rolled down huge stones. Here the line retired and fortified on the extreme right. For the second and more important attack, portions of the divisions of Generals Newton and Davis were selected. When the signal was given, the troops charged up the slope of the mountain in face of a murderous fire from a battery on the summit, penetrated two lines of abattis, carried a line of rifle-pits beyond, and reached the works; but a destructive fire of musketry and artillery from the enemy soon made it necessary to recall the men. General Newton's troops returned to their original line, while

June 27.

General Davis' brigade threw up breast-works between those they had carried and the main line of the enemy. The entire contest lasted little more than an hour, but cost General Sherman three thousand men in killed and wounded, while the enemy, fighting behind well-formed breast-works, suffered little. During the day there was some sharp skirmishing with the enemy's left wing, and General Cox's division pushed forward to a point nine miles south of Marietta and not more than three from the Chattahoochee. From his elevated position on Kenesaw Mountain, General Johnston had been able to watch Sherman's movements and to judge correctly at what point the main attack would fall, and had been ready to receive it with his main force. Though General Sherman admitted that this attempt was a complete and costly failure, he yet took upon himself the entire responsibility, but claimed that it was not altogether without good fruits, inasmuch as it satisfied Johnston that he would assault, and that boldly, when an assault appeared to be the surest means of success.

General Sherman could not rest long under the imputation of defeat or failure. He almost immediately commenced preparations to turn the enemy's left. On the 1st of July, Generals Hooker and Schofield advanced about two miles to the right, and McPherson was ordered to shift rapidly his whole force from the extreme left to the extreme right of the Federal lines and push on to Nickajack Creek, which falls into the Chattahoochee four miles below the railroad bridge. General Garrard with his cavalry was sent to occupy McPherson's place in front of Kenesaw, while General Stoneman moved on his flanks to strike the river near Turner's Ferry, two and a half miles below the railroad bridge. McPherson commenced his movement on the night of the 2d. The effect was instantaneous. The object of the movement was at once detected by General Johnston, who without further delay prepared to evacuate Kenesaw Mountain and fall back to the Chattahoochee. Simultaneously with McPherson's movement, Johnston's rear-guard abandoned the works which for three weeks had been so resolutely defended, and before dawn on the morning of the 3d the Federal pickets occupied the crest of Kenesaw. General Thomas' whole line was then moved forward to the railroad and thence southward to the Chattahoochee, and General Sherman entered Marietta at half-past eight in the morning, just as the enemy's cavalry left the town. General Logan's corps, which had not moved far, was ordered back to Marietta by the main road, and Generals McPherson and Schofield were instructed to cross Nickajack Creek, attack the enemy in flank and rear, and, if possible, harass them while crossing the Chattahoochee. But Johnston was too good a general to be caught thus, and had covered his movement well. He had constructed a strong *tête-du-pont* at the Chattahoochee with an advanced intrenched line across the road at Smyrna camp-meeting ground, five miles from

July 3.

Marietta, where General Thomas found him, his flanks protected by Nickajack and Rottenwood Creeks. In his retreat, Johnston left behind about two thousand men, principally stragglers, who were made prisoners.

General Johnston was obliged to leave his new position by another flank movement, and on the night of the 4th he fell back to the Chattahoochee, which he crossed with the main body of his army, leaving Hardee's corps on the right bank. General Sherman left a garrison in Marietta and moved up to the Chattahoochee. On the evening of the 5th, the troops of Generals Thomas and McPherson occupied a line extending from a short distance above the railroad bridge to the mouth of Nickajack Creek, while those of General Schofield were posted in the rear of Smyrna as a reserve. The enemy lay behind a line of unusual strength, covering their pontoon bridges and the railroad—and beyond the river. Heavy skirmishing during the 5th along the entire front demonstrated the strength of the enemy's position, which it became apparent could be turned only by crossing the river, a deep and rapid stream, passable only by means of bridges, except at one or two difficult fords.

General Sherman judged that it would be easier to cross the river at once, before the enemy had time to make a more thorough preparation and regain confidence. Accordingly, General Schofield was ordered to move eastward from his position near Smyrna, to cross near the mouth of Soap's Creek, eight miles north of the railroad bridge, and effect a lodgment on the east bank. This was most successfully and skilfully accomplished on the 7th of July, General Schofield completely surprising the guard and capturing a gun, and immediately afterward laying pontoon and trestle bridges, and taking up a strong position on high and commanding ground from which good roads led eastward. At the same time General Garrard moved rapidly on Rosewell, a town near the Chattahoochee, nearly due north of Atlanta, and about seven miles above the point where Schofield crossed, and destroyed there some woollen and cotton mills, from which the Confederate armies had been long supplied. General Garrard was then ordered to secure the ford at Rosewell and hold it till relieved by infantry. As General Sherman intended transferring the Army of the Tennessee from the extreme right to the left, he ordered General Thomas to send his nearest division of infantry to Rosewell to hold the ford till General McPherson could send up a corps from the neighborhood of Nickajack Creek. General Newton's division was sent, and held the ford till the arrival of Dodge's corps, which was soon followed by General McPherson's whole army. On the 9th a crossing was effected at Rosewell and a good bridge constructed, while the enemy were amused by feints, extending from Power's Ferry, four miles above the railroad bridge, to Turner's Ferry, three miles below it. Under cover of the same demonstrations General Howard also built a bridge at

Power's Ferry. Thus during the 9th three good points of crossing were secured above the position of the enemy, with good roads leading to Atlanta. General Johnston then took the alarm, and on the night of the 9th withdrew Hardee's corps to the left bank, abandoned his *tête-du-pont*, burnt his bridges, and left Sherman, on the morning of the 10th of July, master of all the country north and west of the Chattahoochee. The rebel army then fell back to the outer fortified lines around Atlanta, abandoning the whole line of the river, except the left wing, which remained a short time in the neighborhood of Turner's Ferry, expecting an attack in that quarter. General Sherman, however, rapidly and quietly moved the remainder of the Army of the Tennessee to its old position on the extreme left.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Approach to Atlanta.—General Rousseau's Raid.—Johnston superseded by Hood.—Battle of Peach Tree Creek.—Hood abandons his Outer Line of Defences.—Battle of July 22d.—Death of General McPherson.—Wheeler's Attack on Decatur.—Attack on the Fifteenth Corps.—Biographical Sketch of General McPherson.—General Garrard's Operations at Covington.—Expeditions against the Macon and Western Railroad.—General Stoneman's Raid.—Destruction effected at Gordon.—Defeat and Capture of Stoneman.—General McCook's Raid.—General Howard succeeds General McPherson.—Sherman's Lines extended southward.—Attack on the Fifteenth Corps.—Resignation of General Hooker.—Change in important Commands.—Hood's Defences.—The City shelled.—New Plans of General Sherman.—Wheeler's Raid.—Kilpatrick's Attempt on the West Point and Macon Railroads.—Movement of Sherman's entire Army toward the Railroads.—Battle of Jonesboro.—Hood evacuates and General Slocum enters the City.—Repulse of General Wheeler at Dalton.—Defeat of General Sturgis.—Depopulation of Atlanta.

1864.

One of the objects of General Sherman's campaign, the advancement of the Federal lines from the Tennessee to the Chattahoochee, had now been attained, and Atlanta was only eight miles distant. The main armies remained quiet in their camps on the Chattahoochee from the 10th of July to the 16th. In the mean time stores were collected at Allatoona, Marietta, and Vining's Station; the railroad guards and garrisons were strengthened, and the bridges and roads leading across the river were improved. The railroad was in complete order, and stores had been brought by it as early as the 8th within a mile of the bridge. A sufficient force was detailed to go to the left bank of the river to occupy the works of the enemy. These were found to be of the most formidable character, extending more than five miles along the river, with almost impenetrable lines of abattis.

In anticipation of the present position of affairs, General Sherman had collected a well-appointed cavalry force, about two thousand strong, at Decatur, Ala., with orders, on receiving notice by tele-



graph, to push rapidly southward, cross the Coosa at the railroad bridge or the Ten Islands, and to push on thence by the most direct route to Opelika, with the object of destroying effectually the railroad running westward from that place, and thus cutting off from Johnston's army an important source of supplies and reinforcements. The command of this expedition was given to General Rousseau, commanding the district of Tennessee. As soon as Johnston was well across the Chattahoochee, and Sherman had commenced manœuvring on Atlanta, the requisite notice was given, and on the 10th of July General Rousseau commenced his march. He passed through Talladega, reached the railroad on the 16th about twenty-five miles west of Opelika, and broke it up all the way back to that place, as well as several miles of the branch railroads leading toward West Point and Columbus. Then turning northward he arrived at Marietta on the 22d, his loss not having exceeded thirty men.

The sudden abandonment of his formidable line of defences on the left bank of the river, by General Johnston, occasioned the utmost dissatisfaction with his conduct of the campaign, especially in Atlanta, where it was expected he would make a stand on the Chattahoochee, which it was argued he could easily do, being in the immediate neighborhood of his supplies. His retreat from the Chattahoochee was the crowning offence with the enemies of this able general, whose inferiority of force had made it impossible to avoid Sherman's outflanking movements, but who had nevertheless kept his army in a compact body, with insignificant losses of guns or material of war. His removal was loudly demanded, and on the 17th, in accordance with orders from the Confederate War Department, he turned over his command to General Hood. With this change in commanders commenced a change in the character of the campaign in accordance with the difference in the genius of the two generals, which it was hoped would have an important influence on the *morale* of the troops, discouraged by a long succession of retreats from fortified positions.

The whole of General Sherman's army crossed the Chattahoochee on the 17th, with the exception of General Davis' division of the fourteenth corps, left to watch the railroad bridge and protect the rear, and preparations were made to move upon Atlanta. The Army of the Cumberland, now occupying the right and right centre, rested on the river just above the railroad bridge. The left centre was occupied by the Army of the Ohio, the left by the Army of the Tennessee. The line thus formed made a grand right-wheel march, of which the Army of the Cumberland was the pivot, and on the evening of the 17th came into a position along the Old Peach Tree road, about northeast of the railroad bridge. On the 18th, the left wing, swinging round rapidly, struck the Georgia Railroad about two miles west of Stone Mountain, a huge mass of granite fifteen miles northeast of Atlanta

General McPherson, with the aid of Garrard's cavalry, which moved on his flank, broke up about four miles of this road, while General Schofield occupied Decatur, six miles east of Atlanta, and General Thomas moved his troops up toward Peach Tree Creek, a small stream flowing southwestward to the Chattahoochee, a little above the railroad bridge. The enemy, believing that their left was the real point of attack, and that Sherman would approach Atlanta from the southwest, had opposed these movements with an inadequate force of infantry and a few cavalry. Thus Generals McPherson and Schofield were able on the 19th to pass eastward of Decatur within the naturally strong defensive lines of Nance's and Peach Tree Creeks, and on the same day General Thomas, moving more directly from the north, though meeting with more opposition, succeeded in crossing Peach Tree Creek in front of the enemy's intrenched lines. The Federal armies then lay in a curved line north and northeast of Atlanta, extending from the railroad which runs between Atlanta and the river to the Georgia Railroad and some distance south of it.

On the 20th, the Federal lines moved still nearer Atlanta; but as a gap existed between the lines of Generals Schofield and Thomas, two divisions of Howard's corps of General Thomas' army were moved to the left to connect with General Schofield. By this movement General Newton's division of Howard's corps was left alone to hold an important position on the road leading from Atlanta to Buckhead. General Hood soon detected the weak point, and was not slow in taking advantage of the opportunity thus afforded him, so soon after his assumption of the chief command, of striking a blow which might go far toward retrieving many disasters. General Sherman had, however, sent orders to General Newton and the rest of the Army of the Cumberland to close up rapidly toward the left. General Newton accordingly moved to a prominent ridge, where his troops stacked arms and made a temporary halt, but, beyond throwing up piles of logs and rails, made no defensive preparations, no attack being apprehended, prisoners just brought in having reported that there was no considerable force of the enemy within a mile and a half. General Hood had in the mean while been massing his forces in the woods immediately in front of the position of General Newton and of General Hooker's force, which was approaching from the right, hoping to fall upon his adversaries while in motion and cut the Federal army in two. At four o'clock in the afternoon he advanced suddenly from the woods, without skirmishers, directly on the position of General Newton. His appearance was altogether unexpected; nevertheless the Federal troops instantly sprang to arms, and from behind their log and rail breast-works poured a deadly fire into the dense masses of the enemy. Well-served batteries also, which General Newton had posted on his flanks, aided to keep the Confederates in check.

July 20.

General Hooker's whole corps was uncovered, and had to fight on comparatively open ground. General Geary's division was thrown back in some confusion, but rallying quickly recovered its ground and kept the enemy in check till Ward's division came up. General Ward met the enemy's charge by a counter-charge, and after a brief but fierce struggle they were driven back. The division of General Williams, farther to the right and next to that of General Geary, though desperately attacked, repulsed every onset with heavy loss. The battle had lasted four hours, when Hood drew his forces rapidly back to their intrenchments, leaving on the field 600 dead, 1,000 severely wounded, a number of prisoners, and seven regimental flags—his total loss being estimated by General Sherman at not less than 5,000. The Federal loss was 1,900, sustained principally by the corps of General Hooker, upon which fell the brunt of the battle. General Johnson's division of Palmer's corps had also been engaged, but being well defended its loss was comparatively light.

The enemy kept within their intrenched position during the 21st, their right beyond the Georgia Railroad and their left extended toward Turner's Ferry, at a general distance of four miles from Atlanta. In the course of the day a strongly fortified hill in front of the extreme Federal left, which completely commanded Atlanta and the two principal roads leading north and south from the city, was carried by General Leggett's division of the seventeenth corps, though with a loss of 750 men. Two desperate but unsuccessful attempts to regain this position were made by the enemy, who when they finally retired left their dead and wounded on the slope of the hill.

July 21.

On the morning of the 22d, the whole of the advanced line of the enemy was found abandoned, which led Sherman to suppose that Hood was about to give up Atlanta without further contest. He was, however, only preparing to repeat on a larger scale the experiment of the 20th. Pretending to be falling back upon the city, he hoped to decoy General Sherman into a rapid advance, and then suddenly, with all his force, strike the Federal army while in motion, at such weak points as should offer. Unsuspectingly General Sherman pushed his troops beyond the abandoned works, but found the enemy occupying a line of finished redoubts completely covering the approaches to the city, and actively engaged in connecting these redoubts with curtains, strengthened by rifle-trenches, abattis, and *chevaux-de-frise.* Satisfied that Hood meant to fight, General Sherman immediately resumed the dispositions for pressing toward the city on its east and northeast fronts. The Federal line by these movements became so contracted, that the sixteenth corps, under General Dodge, which formed the right of the Army of the Tennessee, was crowded out of its position, and was directed to march to the extreme left of the line, to aid in the defence of the hill carried by the seventeenth corps on the day before, and

which was still held by General Leggett's division.

At about ten in the morning, near the time when this movement commenced, General Sherman, in company with General Schofield, was examining the enemy's lines, when he was joined by General McPherson, who described the condition of things on his flank and the disposition of his troops. General Sherman explained to him that if serious resistance were met in Atlanta, as seemed probable, he should extend to the right, and did not want much distance gained on the left. General McPherson then described the hill occupied by General Leggett's division as essential to the occupation of any ground to the east and south of the Augusta Railroad. General Sherman therefore ratified McPherson's disposition of his troops, and modified a previous order sent him in writing to employ General Dodge's corps in breaking up the railroad, and sanctioned its going, as already ordered by General McPherson, to his left, to hold and fortify the position there. McPherson remained with General Sherman till noon, when reports arrived indicating a movement of the enemy toward the left flank. He then mounted his horse and rode away with his staff.

General Sherman had the day before sent General Garrard's cavalry to Covington, on the Augusta Railroad, forty-two miles east of Atlanta, with instructions to send out detachments from that point to destroy the two bridges across the Yellow and Ulcofauhatchee rivers, tributaries of the Ocmulgee. General McPherson had also left his wagon train at Decatur, under a guard of three regiments commanded by Colonel Sprague.

Soon after the departure of General McPherson, sounds of musketry to the left and rear, rapidly growing into volume and accompanied by the roar of artillery, were heard, and about the same time the reports of guns in the direction of Decatur. There could be no doubt now as to what the enemy was about. Hood was throwing a superior force on the Federal left flank while he held the Federal forces with his forts in front, the only question being as to the amount of force at his disposal. Orders were immediately sent to all parts of the right and left centre to give full employment to the enemy along the whole line, and for General Schofield to hold as large a force as possible in reserve awaiting developments. Not more than half an hour had elapsed after General McPherson had parted from General Sherman, when his adjutant-general, Colonel Clark, rode up and reported him killed or a prisoner. He had ridden to General Dodge's column, moving as before described, and had sent off nearly all his staff and orderlies on various errands, and taken a narrow road that led through the woods to the left and rear of General Giles A. Smith's division, which was on General Blair's extreme left. A few minutes after he had entered the woods a sharp volley was heard from the direction in which he had gone, and his horse had come out riderless, with two wounds. General Sherman immediately



dispatched a staff officer to General Logan, commanding the fifteenth corps, directing him to assume command of the Army of the Tennessee and hold the ground already chosen, especially the hill occupied by General Leggett's division.

Already the whole line was engaged in battle. General McPherson upon reaching the left had found the sixteenth corps going into position to prolong the flank, and at that time facing to the left in a direction perpendicular to the main line. Between the right of the sixteenth corps and the left of the seventeenth was a wooded space of about half a mile. **July 22.** Shortly after twelve o'clock the enemy emerged from the woods in front of these corps in three columns, and attacked the sixteenth corps. Three desperate assaults were repulsed by General Dodge, in the last of which the enemy suffered severely from the Federal batteries. It was during the lull in the battle that now occurred that General McPherson had attempted to ride through the woods to General G. A. Smith's division on the left of the seventeenth corps, it having been reported that the enemy were about attempting to push a force through the gap above mentioned between the two corps. After sending the only remaining member of his staff with orders to obtain a brigade from General Logan's command and throw it across the gap, with a single orderly he struck into the road before mentioned. The enemy's skirmish line, however, had already advanced close up to the road, and before he was aware he was within fifty feet of it. A volley brought him to the ground, mortally wounded.

Wangelin's brigade, the one ordered up from General Logan's command, arrived in time to partially check the enemy, but not soon enough to prevent a portion of their force getting in the rear of the seventeenth corps, while other masses of troops were pushed against the hill held by General Leggett, whose division, as well as that of General Smith, was attacked in front and rear, and obliged to fire alternately from behind their own breast-works and an abandoned parapet of the enemy. General Leggett's troops held firmly a fortified angle at the top of the hill, against which the rebels threw their columns with desperate but fruitless energy. In the mean time General Smith, who had been compelled to draw back his more exposed lines, and in doing so to abandon two guns, took up a new line, whose right connected with General Leggett, his left drawn back and facing toward the southeast. The enemy could make no impression on this new formation of the corps, whose deadly fire compelled them to recoil again and again, mowing down whole ranks at a time and covering the ground and ditches with dead and wounded men. A portion of the force that had penetrated the gap before mentioned, renewed the attack on the right flank of the sixteenth corps, and captured on its first advance a six-gun battery which was moving unsupported along a narrow road through the woods. They were soon checked, however, by

the divisions of Generals Sweeney and Fuller, and driven back with the loss of many prisoners. Several of General Sweeney's regiments had expended their ammunition, but charged with the bayonet, when the enemy broke and fled. At about half-past three the rebels desisted from their attack on the left flank, having sustained very heavy loss and gained no ground.

In the mean time two divisions of Wheeler's cavalry, with a section of artillery, had taken a wide circuit to the eastward and fallen upon Decatur unopposed—as General Sherman had sent General Garrard's cavalry to Covington, as before stated—and attempted to capture the wagon trains; but Colonel Sprague covered them with great skill and success, sending them to the rear of Generals Schofield and Thomas, and not withdrawing from Decatur till every wagon was safe, except three which the teamsters had abandoned.

A pause in the battle occurred about four o'clock. General Hood was massing troops for an attack on the fifteenth corps, now commanded by General M. L. Smith, which, immediately adjoining the seventeenth corps, held the right of the Army of the Tennessee, behind strong breast-works. At half-past four, while the attention of the extreme left was occupied by a pretended attack, a heavy force of the enemy, two lines deep, marched directly on the left of the fifteenth corps, driving in two regiments of skirmishers and capturing two guns. General Lightburn's brigade, which held this part of the line protected by breast-works, kept the enemy at bay by well-directed discharges of twenty-pounder Parrott guns. Presently a second strong column of the enemy appeared, and rapidly and steadily approached, heedless of the fearful furrows made in its ranks by well-directed artillery. The attack had now become sufficiently formidable; but when a third column of the Confederates was seen pouring in on the rear through a deep cut in the Georgia Railroad, General Lightburn's troops, to avoid certain capture, retired in confusion to the second line of breast-works five hundred yards from the main line, and the abandoned works with two batteries fell into the hands of the enemy. The position lost was one of the utmost importance, and General Sherman sent orders to General Schofield—which, however, he had anticipated—to make the fifteenth corps regain its ground at any cost. To aid the movement, batteries from Schofield's corps were so posted that by means of them the enemy and their works beyond might be shelled, and the approach of reinforcements prevented. The enemy were on the point of turning the captured Parrott guns upon the inner Federal line, when the fifteenth corps, supported by some of Schofield's troops, advanced with loud cheers to the attack. After a fierce struggle, in which the fight was sometimes hand to hand across the narrow parapet, the enemy were driven out of the works and the guns retaken. Repeated discharges of grape and canister into their retreating masses caused fearful carnage. Thus ended the

battle, by far the bloodiest that had been yet fought in Georgia. The rebels were defeated at all points. Their dead left in front of the Federal lines numbered 2,200 from actual count, of which 800 were delivered to them under flag of truce. Their total loss in killed was computed by General Logan at 3,240. Besides these they lost 3,000 prisoners, including 1,000 wounded and many commissioned officers. Owing to the closeness and desperation of the conflict, the proportion of killed was unusually large, and the enemy's loss in wounded probably did not exceed 6,500, while their total loss in killed and prisoners was not less than 5,500 men—losses Hood could ill afford, as his force was originally smaller than Sherman's. The total Federal loss was 3,722, of which much the greater part were killed or wounded. But Sherman's army had sustained an irreparable loss in the death of General McPherson, of whom General Sherman said: "He was a noble youth, of striking personal appearance, of the highest professional capacity, and with a heart abounding in kindness that drew to him the affections of all men." His body was recovered and carried in the heat of battle to General Sherman, who sent it, in charge of his personal staff, back to Marietta, on its way to his Northern home.

General James Birdseye McPherson was born in Sandusky County, Ohio, on the 14th of November, 1828, and entered the Military Academy at West Point in 1849. He graduated at the head of his class on the 30th of June, 1853, and was then appointed brevet second lieutenant of engineers and assistant instructor of practical engineering at the Academy, in which position he remained till 1854, when he was appointed assistant engineer on the defences of New York harbor. In January, 1857, he was placed in charge of the construction of Fort Delaware, and afterward of fortifications on Alcatras Island, in San Francisco Bay. In 1861 he received charge of the fortifications in Boston harbor. In the same year he was made captain, and in November became aide-de-camp to General Halleck in the Western Department, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He was chief engineer of the Army of the Tennessee in the expeditions against Fort Henry and Fort Donelson, and also at the siege of Corinth, with the rank of colonel. On the 15th of May, 1862, he was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers, and in the following June general superintendent of military roads in West Tennessee. In September of the same year he was placed on the staff of General Grant, and for services at Corinth made major-general of volunteers. Subsequently, at the recommendation of General Grant, he was appointed brigadier-general of the regular army, his rank dating from August 1st, 1863. Two months later he led a column into Mississippi, and defeated the rebels at Canton. In General Sherman's expedition to Meridian he was second in command, and in the Atlanta campaign commanded the Army of the Tennessee. General McPherson was distinguished for bravery,

industry, and indefatigable energy. In the language of General Grant, he was "one of the ablest engineers and most skilful generals."

On the 24th, General Garrard returned from Covington, having been completely successful in his mission to destroy the bridges over the Yellow and Ulcofauhatchee rivers, besides burning a train of cars, two thousand bales of cotton, and the dépôts at Covington and Conger's Station. He also broke up the railroad between those two places for seven miles, and brought in 200 prisoners and some good horses, having lost in the expedition only two men. The Georgia Railroad being now unavailable to the enemy, General Sherman turned his attention to the railroad connecting Atlanta with Macon, the only avenue left by which supplies could be brought to the rebel army. For this purpose he organized his cavalry into two large bodies, to move in concert from each wing of the army, while the Army of the Tennessee was to be shifted at the same time by the right to East Point, a station six miles southwest of Atlanta, at the junction of the Macon and West Point roads. General Stoneman was transferred to the left flank, and Garrard's cavalry added to his own, making an effective force of 5,000 men. On the right flank General McCook, to whose command was added the cavalry brought by General Rousseau, had an aggregate force of 4,000 men. These two well-appointed bodies of cavalry, which General Sherman considered more than a match for General Wheeler, were directed to move in concert, General Stoneman's by the left around McDonough, McCook's by the right on Fayetteville, and on the night of the 28th to meet on the Macon Railroad, near Lovejoy's, thirty miles south of Atlanta, and break up the track thoroughly. The enemy's communications would then be all destroyed, and it was hoped the speedy evacuation of Atlanta would follow.

Just before starting on the expedition, General Stoneman requested permission to proceed, after accomplishing the proposed destruction of the railroad, to Macon and Andersonville, and release the Union prisoners there. To this, as there was a possibility of success, and, to use General Sherman's words, "something captivating in the idea," consent was given by General Sherman, on the condition, however, that Wheeler's cavalry should first be defeated, and that Stoneman should make the attempt with his own cavalry only, that of General Garrard to return immediately to his own flank of the Union army.

The two expeditions set out on the 27th, General Stoneman marching as proposed toward McDonough, and sending General Garrard to Flat Rock to cover his movement. General McCook moved down the west bank of the Chattahoochee. But General Stoneman, instead of proceeding to Lovejoy's, turned off almost immediately toward the Georgia Railroad, followed it as far as Covington, and then struck due south to the east of the Oomulgee, for Macon, sixty miles distant, and arrived in the

vicinity of that place on the 30th. A detachment was sent eastward to Gordon, on the Georgia Central Railroad, where eleven locomotives and several trains loaded with stores were destroyed, and several bridges between that place and Macon. But having learned that on the previous day the prisoners in Macon had been sent away to Charleston, General Stoneman decided to return at once, without attempting to reach either Macon or Andersonville. He accordingly turned northward in the evening, but on the following morning, when about twenty miles from Macon, encountered a heavy force. Dismounting a portion of his command, as the country was unfavorable for cavalry operations, he threw them forward as skirmishers. He soon found himself surrounded, however, by a superior force. He then gave directions to the greater part of his troops to cut their way as well as they could through the enemy's lines, while he with several hundred men and a section of artillery occupied their attention. He was finally compelled to surrender. One of his three brigades was captured with him; one, under Colonel Capron, was surprised and scattered on its way back, and the third, under Colonel Adams, arrived almost intact within the Federal lines. General Garrard remained at Flat Rock till the 29th, awaiting orders from Stoneman, when he marched toward Covington; but learning there that he had gone southward, returned to his position on the left flank of the army.

July 31.

General McCook, who marched along the west side of the Chattahoochee, on arriving at Rivertown, crossed on pontoons and marched to Palmetto Station, on the West Point Railroad, twenty-five miles south of Atlanta, and destroyed the track there. He then moved eastward upon Fayetteville, and burnt 500 army wagons, killed 800 mules, and made prisoners of several hundred quartermasters' men. He reached the appointed rendezvous at Lovejoy's on the night of the 28th, burnt the dépôt and tore up a section of the railroad; but his work of destruction being interfered with by an accumulating force of the enemy, and hearing nothing of Stoneman, he turned off toward the southwest and marched to Newman, a station on the West Point Railroad. Here he encountered a rebel infantry force on its way from Mississippi to Atlanta, which had been delayed by the break he had effected on the road at Palmetto. This force, with the pursuing cavalry, hemmed him in, and he was compelled to drop his prisoners and cut his way out, in doing which he lost some 500 officers and men. The total losses of Stoneman's and McCook's commands amounted to not less than 1,500 men. Owing to General Stoneman's failure to co-operate with General McCook at Lovejoy's, the damage done to the Macon Railroad was not effectual, and the communications of General Hood in the direction of Macon were soon restored. Atlanta obtained a respite of at least a month.

While these raids against the Southern railroad communications of Atlanta had

been going on, the Army of the Tennessee, now under the command of Major-General Howard—appointed by the President to succeed General McPherson—had, in accordance with the plans of General Sherman, been drawn out of its intrenchments on the left flank, and moved, during the 27th, behind the rest of the army, to a position on the extreme right, the right flank being held by the corps of General Logan. The line of the army was thus prolonged southward beyond Proctor's Creek, and facing eastward. About ten in the morning all the army was in position, and the men busily engaged in throwing up the usual defence of logs and rails. General Davis' division of the fourteenth corps had been ordered by General Sherman, on the day before, to move down to Turner's Ferry, and thence toward Whitehall or East Point, and if possible to reach the flank of General Howard's new line, so that in case General Hood should attempt to repeat the experiment of the 22d, and attack any part of the army while in motion, his force might be taken in flank at an unexpected moment.

Hood was not long in finding out that the army of General Sherman was swinging round toward the Macon Railroad, and massed troops in the same direction to oppose the movement. About noon on the 28th, the enemy moved out of Atlanta by the Bell's Ferry road, formed in the open fields behind a rising ground, and advanced in parallel lines directly against the fifteenth corps, expecting to find it detached and unsupported. Fortunately General Logan's troops had thrown up breast-works, and though the advance of the rebel columns was "magnificent," as General Sherman, who witnessed it, said, it was only to be followed by a recoil before steady volleys of musketry and incessant discharges of grape and canister; in spite of the efforts of their officers the men broke and fled, and though rallied again and again, at some parts of the line as often as six times, they were, about four o'clock in the afternoon, compelled to retire, abandoning their killed and wounded, and having sustained a loss estimated by General Sherman at not less than 5,000, while that of General Logan's corps was reported at less than 600. Had General Davis' division come up at any time before four o'clock, this complete repulse of the enemy might have been made a disastrous rout; owing to the difficult nature of the country through which his march lay, and the absence of roads, it was unfortunately delayed. This was the last attempt of the enemy to check the extension of Sherman's lines by the flank; and though the extensions southward were met by well-constructed forts and rifle-pits between the Federal army and the railroad to and below East Point, the defensive was strictly adhered to. The Federal line was prolonged on the 1st of August still farther southward beyond East Point, by transferring General Schofield's army and General Palmer's corps to the right.

July 28.

About this time several changes in important commands took place. Gen-

eral Hooker, offended at the appointment of General Howard as the successor of McPherson instead of himself, resigned his command of the twentieth corps, and General Slocum was appointed in his place; but he was at Vicksburg, and till he arrived the command devolved on General S. H. Williams. General Palmer also resigned his command of the fourteenth corps, and was succeeded by General Jefferson C. Davis. The command of the fourth corps, vacated by the promotion of General Howard, was given to General D. S. Stanley.

From the 2d to the 15th of August, the Federal line was extended still farther to the right, in the hope of flanking Hood in that direction. The twenty-third corps, supported by the fourteenth, was transferred from the left to a position below Utoy Creek—a small stream flowing westward to the Chattahoochee—where it joined on Logan's right and formed the right flank. General Reilley's brigade of General Cox's division made an attempt on the 5th to break through the enemy's line about a mile below Utoy Creek, but failed, losing about 400 men. On the next day, however, the position was turned by General Hascall, and General Schofield advanced his whole line close up to and facing the enemy below Utoy Creek. Still he could get no foothold on either the West Point or Macon Railroad. The enemy's line, in which was now a large body of Georgia militia, at this time was about fifteen miles long, extending from near Decatur to East Point and beyond, and his positions were so masked by the hills and woods that the weak parts of the line could not be discovered.

Aug. 5.

Along the west side of the railroad from Atlanta to East Point, a distance of six miles, the enemy had an admirably constructed line of defences, within which was a second line, consisting of a series of redoubts of great thickness of parapet, connected throughout by a continuous infantry parapet, covered by abattis, *chevaux-de-frise*, and other impediments. The inner line of works completely surrounded the city, and extended southwestward as far as and around East Point, thus covering the point of junction of the West Point and Macon railroads. The Federal army had been so shifted by successive movements from its first position, in which it had threatened the city on the north and northeast, that now, while the northern approaches were covered by its extreme left, the extreme right lay southwest of Atlanta, and in a line parallel with the railroad, at an average distance of two and a half miles, the intervening space being a narrow belt of rough wooded country, the scene of constant skirmishing. Hood's position seemed to be impregnable; and though his numbers were inferior to those of Sherman—notwithstanding he had been reinforced by a considerable force of Georgia militia, and had organized a number of laborers, teamsters, and quartermasters' men, whose place had been supplied by negroes—yet his advantage in holding the interior lines made up in a great measure for his want of men, and the contest seemed likely

to be indefinitely protracted. General Sherman became satisfied that the enemy's lines could be carried by assault only at a fearful sacrifice of life, and determined to adopt another plan of operations. His object now was to get possession of the Macon Railroad, the only line left by which Hood's army could be reinforced, and on which it was wholly dependent for supplies. This effected, Hood might be compelled to evacuate the city or surrender. To accomplish this object Sherman determined to move his entire army. But before beginning this movement, he had a battery of four four-and-a-half-inch rifled guns put in position, and a steady fire from them directed on the city night and day, thus impressing the enemy with a belief that regular siege operations were now commenced, and at the same time by this means to some extent prevented their observing the preparations for the new movement. Several extensive fires were also thus caused in the city, and the running of trains on the Macon Railroad was interrupted; but the enemy resolutely held the forts, willing, apparently, to see the city laid in ashes rather than abandon them. General Sherman therefore commenced his new movement, which amounted to nothing less than raising the siege of Atlanta and taking the field with his main force, and using it against the communications of Atlanta instead of against its intrenchments.

By the 16th of August, General Sherman had completed his plans, according to which the twentieth corps, under General Williams, was to be moved back to the intrenched position at the Chattahoochee Bridge, and the main army was to march to the West Point Railroad, near Fairburn, and afterward to the Macon road at Jonesboro, the wagons loaded with provisions for fifteen days. But before putting these plans in execution, General Sherman learned that General Wheeler, with a large force of cavalry, variously estimated at from six to ten thousand men, had passed around by the east and north, and made his appearance on the Federal lines of communication, had captured nine hundred head of cattle, and made a break on the railroad near Calhoun. Sherman, therefore, thinking that in the absence of Wheeler's cavalry, the task he had marked out for the whole army might be accomplished by a strong mounted force, suspended his orders for the grand movement by the right flank, and dispatched General Kilpatrick—who had now recovered from the wound he received at Resaca—with a force of 5,000 well-appointed cavalry to tear up the railroads. He set out from his camp near Sandtown on the 18th, and struck the West Point Railroad at Fairburn, the Macon Railroad at Lovejoy's; but being a good deal harassed by a body of infantry and by Ross's cavalry, was not able to effect any permanent damage on the roads—not enough to interrupt their use for more than ten days. He then returned northward and eastward, and reached Decatur on the 22d.

It now became apparent to General Sherman that his original plan must be

carried out. All the army commanders were at once notified to send their surplus wagons, the sick and wounded, and incumbrances of all kinds, back to the intrenched position at the Chattahoochee Railroad bridge, and that the movement must commence on the night of the 25th. The twentieth corps marched back to the bridge. The fourth corps, under General Stanley, was drawn out of its line on the extreme left, and marched to a position below Proctor's Creek. The movement was continued on the night of the 26th, the Army of the Tennessee being drawn out and moved rapidly by a circuit toward Sandtown and across Camp Creek; the Army of the Cumberland south of Utoy Creek. The Army of the Ohio remained in its position. A third movement placed the Army of the Tennessee on the West Point Railroad above Fairburn, the Army of the Cumberland above Red Oak, and the Army of the Ohio near Digs and Mins. The whole front of the city was thus uncovered, much to the astonishment of the rebels, who, for a short time, not being able in any other way to account for these strange operations, supposed that General Sherman had begun a retreat.

Aug. 28. The 28th of August was devoted by General Sherman to the destruction of the West Point Railroad, between Fairburn and Red Oak, and for some distance above. The work was thoroughly done; the road was destroyed for twelve and a half miles. The ties were burnt; the rails were made red-hot, and twisted so as to make them utterly useless. Several deep cuts were made across the road and filled up with logs, trunks of trees, fragments of rock, and earth, among which were placed shells prepared as torpedoes, and so arranged that any attempt to remove the obstructions would cause them to explode. General Sherman, after having personally inspected this work, and seen that the destruction was so complete that it would be very difficult to restore the road to working condition, ordered the whole army to move next day eastward by several roads—General Howard, on the right, toward Jonesboro; General Thomas, in the centre, by Shoal Creek Church to Couch's, on the Decatur and Fayetteville road; and General Schofield, on the left, about Morrow's Mills.

General Hood now began to understand the object of these movements, but still unaware that Sherman's whole army was marching on his communications, contented himself with sending only a part of his force, the corps of Generals Hardee and S. D. Lee, to Jonesboro, remaining himself in Atlanta with General Stewart's corps and the Georgia militia.

The several columns of Sherman's army were again in motion in a south-easterly direction on the 30th. General Thomas, in the centre, encountering little opposition, attained his position at Couch's early in the afternoon; General Schofield, being near the enemy, moved cautiously on a circle around East Point, and came into position toward Rough and Ready; General Howard, who had

the outer circle, and therefore a greater distance to move, met with some opposition, which, however, he easily overcame, passed Renfro's, on the Decatur road, the point indicated for him in the orders of the day, and halted within half a mile of that place at dark. He then rested for the night. On the morning of the 31st, finding himself in the presence of the heavy force under Generals Hardee and Lee, he deployed the fifteenth corps, and disposed the sixteenth and seventeenth on its flank.

General Sherman had in the mean time, as soon as he learned that General Howard had passed Renfro's, directed General Thomas to send to that place a division of General Davis' corps, also to move that of General Stanley in connection with General Schofield's force, toward Rough and Ready, and then to send forward a strong detachment to feel for the railroad. General Schofield was also ordered to move boldly forward and strike the railroad near Rough and Ready. These movements were progressing during the 31st, when the enemy moved out of their works at Jonesboro, and attacked the position of General Howard, but were steadily and repeatedly repulsed, and after a contest of two hours' duration, withdrew, losing, in killed, wounded, and captured, three thousand men, besides general officers, including Major-General Anderson, mortally wounded. General Howard's loss was slight, as his men fought behind breast-works. It was observed on this occasion that the rebel troops had begun to lose the enthusiasm and dash which had previously characterized their attacks.

Aug. 31.

General Sherman hearing the sounds of battle about noon, renewed his orders to push the other movements on the left and centre, and about four o'clock received reports that General Howard had thoroughly repulsed the enemy at Jonesboro; that General Schofield had reached the railroad a mile below Rough and Ready and was busy breaking it up; that General Stanley was on the road below General Schofield, and was also breaking it up, and that General Davis' corps had struck the road within four miles of Jonesboro. Orders were then given for the whole army to move on Jonesboro; General Thomas from the north, with General Schofield on his left. General Howard was directed to hold the enemy in their fortifications till the rest of the army could close in upon them. The troops were also ordered to continue the destruction of the railroad as they moved along it. General Garrard was charged to watch the roads northward, and General Kilpatrick was sent southward along the west bank of the Flint River, to threaten or attack the railroad below Jonesboro. It was expected that the whole army would be able to close in on Jonesboro by noon on the 1st of September; but the corps of General Davis alone, having a comparatively short distance to travel, was up in time, and was deployed facing southward, its right in connection with the corps of General Howard, its left on the railroad. Generals Stanley and Schofield were moving along the Rough and Ready

road, breaking it up at the same time, and General Sherman fearing that night would come on before their arrival, and that the enemy would then be able to escape him without a fight, ordered the corps of General Davis to assault the enemy's works at once. The troops advanced to the attack across open fields under a withering artillery and musketry fire, and after a desperate fight, which lasted two hours, drove the rebels from their works, capturing two four-gun batteries—one of them Loomis', lost at Chickamauga—some battle-flags, and a large number of prisoners, including the greater part of Govan's brigade, with its commander, which had formed part of the celebrated "fighting division" of General Cleburne. Repeated orders were sent, urging the rapid advance of Stanley and Schofield, but the want of roads and the difficult nature of the country prevented their coming up and getting into position for attack before further operations were rendered impracticable by the approach of night. Had they been able to close in upon Hardee a few hours earlier, his entire force would in all probability have been captured. As it was, he had to evacuate the place during the night and fall back seven miles to Lovejoy's, where he intrenched in a naturally strong position. About two o'clock in the morning the watchers in Sherman's camp heard in the direction of Atlanta, about twenty miles distant, the sounds of heavy explosions, followed by a succession of minor reports resembling the rapid firing of cannon and musketry. About four o'clock similar sounds were heard, indicating a night attack on the city by General Slocum, or that Hood was blowing up his magazines and preparing to evacuate. Nevertheless, when the approach of day made it clear that Hardee had abandoned his works at Jonesboro, General Sherman moved his army in pursuit. Hardee was found in his intrenched position at Lovejoy's, his flanks protected by a branch of Walnut Creek to the right and a small confluent of the Flint River to his left.

In the mean time, in Atlanta the utmost consternation and excitement had arisen when it became known that the main army of Sherman had got between Hardee's force and the city. General Hood immediately gave orders for the evacuation of his works and the removal of as much of the ammunition and stores as was possible with his limited means of transportation, and for the destruction of the rest. Large quantities of provisions in the public storehouses were distributed to the inhabitants and to the troops. The rolling stock of the railroads, consisting of about a hundred cars and six locomotives, were gathered together near the rolling-mill in the evening, by which time all the troops except the rear-guard had got away, and were then laden with the surplus ammunition, and, as well as the dépôts, storehouses, and every thing which could be of use to the Federal army, set on fire about midnight. This occasioned the series of explosions that had been heard in Sherman's camp.

General Slocum, at the Chattahoochee bridge, also hearing these sounds, sent out early in the morning of the 2d of September a strong reconnoitring column, which pushing forward without meeting with any opposition, arrived at Atlanta about nine o'clock, when the mayor made a formal surrender of the city, only requesting the security of private property and protection for non-combatants, which were readily guaranteed. General Ward's division then marched into the city with drums beating and colors flying, and the Stars and Stripes were raised over the court-house amid hearty cheers from the troops. Eleven heavy guns were found in the fortifications, and a number which had been buried were subsequently dug up. There were also found three locomotives uninjured, three thousand muskets in good order, and a quantity of tobacco and other stores. Of the valuable machinery in the Confederate Government workshops, part had been removed to Augusta and Macon, and part destroyed.

Sept. 2.

The object of General Sherman's movement against the Macon Railroad being now attained, in the surrender of Atlanta, he gave up the pursuit of Hardee's force, to follow which, through a country covered with forests, would have been useless, and issued orders on the 4th for the return of the army by slow marches toward Atlanta. On the 5th it was back at Jonesboro; on the 7th it moved to Rough and Ready, and on the 8th camps were selected—for the Army of the Cumberland around Atlanta; for the Army of the Tennessee about East Point, and for the Army of the Ohio at Decatur.

Sherman's final success in compelling the evacuation of Atlanta was owing in a great degree to the mistake made by Hood in sending off his cavalry under General Wheeler to operate against the Federal communications far beyond the reach of recall, thus enabling Sherman's cavalry, followed quickly by his main army, to fall upon the railroads south of Atlanta. Up to the time of Wheeler's raid, Sherman's railroad communications between Atlanta and Chattanooga had, owing to his skilful dispositions, been scarcely interrupted. In Chattanooga had been accumulated a sufficient quantity of stores to render the army independent of Nashville, and when Sherman heard of Wheeler's departure, which took place soon after the unfortunate raid of Stoneman, he felt no uneasiness, as it left him superior in cavalry to his adversary. Wheeler struck the railroad at Adairsville, midway between Atlanta and Chattanooga, and captured there nine hundred head of beef cattle; proceeding then northward, he did some damage at Calhoun. On the 14th he made his appearance at Dalton, and demanded, in order "to prevent the effusion of blood," an immediate and unconditional surrender, to which Colonel Siebold, who was in command of the garrison of five or six hundred men, replied in the negative, and sending word to General Steedman, commanding at Chattanooga, held out against the rebels till the following day, when rein-

forcements arrived from General Steedman, and they were driven off. Wheeler then went to East Tennessee, and the railroad between Atlanta and Chattanooga was immediately restored to running order. Subsequently he destroyed a large part of the railroad between Chattanooga and Knoxville, and during the latter part of August and the first week in September endeavored to break up the railroad and interrupt telegraphic communications between Chattanooga and Nashville, but was compelled to retire southward, pursued by Generals Rousseau, Steedman, and Granger, toward Florence, in northern Alabama.

During the Atlanta campaign, expeditions were sent out from Memphis and Vicksburg to prevent any movements of the enemy in Mississippi on Sherman's communications. These were under the management of Generals A. J. Smith, Washburne, Slocum, Mower, and Sturgis, and it has been seen that the communications were substantially preserved. General Sturgis, however, sustained a severe defeat near Guntown, in Mississippi. He left Memphis on the 1st of June with a force of 3,000 cavalry and 5,000 infantry, eighteen pieces of artillery, and a train of about 240 wagons, for the purpose of cutting the rebel communications with Corinth by the Mobile and Ohio Railroad. Little opposition was met with till the vicinity of Guntown was reached, forty miles southwest of Corinth, on the 10th of June, when the enemy, under Forrest, S. D. Lee, and Rhoddy, were found, in about equal force, well-intrenched in a position on the west side of the town, on the Fulton and Ripley road. After some preliminary movements General Sturgis ordered the cavalry forward at a brisk charge, but they were soon compelled to fall back, which they did in good order, as far as Old Town Creek, a distance of three miles, when they were joined by McWilliams' brigade of infantry, which had been hurried up six miles to their support. The creek, fordable only in one place, and having only one bridge in that vicinity—where the Fulton and Ripley road approaches it—became the scene of a severe fight, which lasted two hours. The troops of Sturgis were driven across the stream and the enemy took possession of the east bank, which being several feet higher than the west bank, gave them a considerable advantage. The Federal force was again compelled to fall back, but slowly and fighting obstinately, a distance of eight miles, until a swamp was reached near Ripley, on the Fulton road, when another stand was made. Here, however, the road being very narrow and the mud deep, so that the movement of wagons and artillery became almost impossible, considerable confusion arose, and the enemy at the same time making a charge—by which the cavalry were driven back upon the infantry, and these again upon the artillery, now inextricably mired—a panic ensued. The mules were cut loose from many of the wagons, and the horses from the gun-carriages and ambulances. Fourteen pieces of artillery

June 10.

were abandoned to the enemy, about a hundred wagons, six ambulances, and some ordnance stores. The Federal loss in killed, wounded, and missing, which fell chiefly on the infantry and artillery, was about 2,000 men. The rest of the command made its way back to Colliersville and Memphis.

General Sherman determined to remove all civilians from Atlanta and retain the town for military purposes exclusively. On the 5th he issued an order according to which all families living in Atlanta whose male representatives were in the Confederate service, or had gone south, were to leave the city within five days. All northern citizens not connected with the army, unless they obtained from General Sherman or General Thomas permission to remain, were to leave the city in five days or be liable to imprisonment. To facilitate the removal of the inhabitants, the number of whom had greatly diminished during the progress of the siege, General Sherman proposed to General Hood, still remaining at Lovejoy's, a truce of ten days, which he agreed to, at the same time protesting against the measure, in his letter to General Sherman as one of unnecessary cruelty.* General Sherman replied in a characteristic letter to General Hood, showing that the conduct of General Johnston and other Confederate commanders afforded abundant precedent for his action.* The small remnant of the

Sept. 5.

* "HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE,
"OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF, *Sept.* 9, 1864.

"MAJOR-GENERAL SHERMAN, commanding United States Forces in Georgia:

"GENERAL—Your letter of yesterday's date, borne by James W. Ball and James R. Crew, citizens of Atlanta, is received. You say therein, 'I deem it to be to the interest of the United States that the citizens now residing in Atlanta should remove,' etc. I do not consider that I have any alternative in the matter I therefore accept your proposition to declare a truce of ten days, or such time as may be necessary to accomplish the purpose mentioned, and shall render all the assistance in my power to expedite the transportation of citizens in this direction. I suggest that a staff officer be appointed by you to superintend the removal from the city to Rough and Ready, while I appoint a like officer to control their removal farther south; that a guard of one hundred men be sent by either party, as you propose, to maintain order at that place, and that the removal begin on Monday next.

"And now, sir, permit me to say, that the unprecedented measure you propose transcends, in studied and ingenious cruelty, all acts ever before brought to my attention in the dark history of war.

"In the name of God and humanity I protest, believing that you will find that you are expelling from their homes and firesides the wives and children of a brave people.

"I am, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant. J. B. HOOD, General."

* "HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
"AND IN THE FIELD, ATLANTA, GA., *Sept.* 10, 1864.

"GENERAL J B. HOOD, commanding Army of the Tennessee, Confederate Army:

"GENERAL—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date at the hands of Messrs. Ball and Crew, consenting to the arrangements I had proposed to facilitate the removal south of the people of Atlanta who prefer to go in that direction. I inclose you a copy of my orders, which will, I am satisfied, accomplish my purpose perfectly. You style the measure proposed 'unprecedented,' and appeal to the dark history of war for a parallel as an act of 'studied and ingenious cruelty.' It is not unprecedented, for General Johnston himself very wisely and properly removed the families all the way from Dalton down, and I see no reason why Atlanta should be excepted. Nor is it necessary to appeal to the dark history of war when recent and modern examples are so handy. You yourself burned dwelling-houses along your parapet, and I have seen to-day fifty houses that you have rendered uninhabitable because they stood in the way of your forts and men. You defended Atlanta on a line so close to the town that every cannon-shot and many musket-shots from our line of investments that overshot their mark, went into the habitations of women and children. General Hardee did the same at Jonesboro, and General Johnston did the same last summer at Jackson, Miss. I have not accused you of heartless cruelty, but merely instance these cases of very recent occurrence,

inhabitants of Atlanta were very unwilling to be sent away, and the mayor, James M. Calhoun, addressed a letter of remonstrance to General Sherman,* to which the latter replied, showing in clear and forcible language the propriety of the measure he had determined on, at the same time demonstrating that the

and could go on and enumerate hundreds of others, and challenge any fair man to judge which of us has the heart of pity for the families of a 'brave people.' I say it is a kindness to these families of Atlanta to remove them now at once from scenes that women and children should not be exposed to; and the brave people should scorn to commit their wives and children to the rude barbarians who thus, as you say, violate the laws of war, as illustrated in the pages of its dark history. In the name of common sense, I ask you not to appeal to a just God in such a sacrilegious manner—you, who, in the midst of peace and prosperity, have plunged a nation into civil war, 'dark and cruel war;' who dared and badgered us to battle, insulted our flag, seized our arsenals and forts that were left in the honorable custody of a peaceful ordnance sergeant; seized and made prisoners of war the very garrison sent to protect your people against negroes and Indians, long before any overt act was committed by the (to you) hateful Lincoln Government; tried to force Kentucky and Missouri into the rebellion in spite of themselves; falsified the vote of Louisiana, turned loose your privateers to plunder unarmed ships, expelled Union families by the thousand, burned their houses, and declared by act of your Congress the confiscation of all debts due Northern men for goods had and received. Talk thus to the marines, but not to me, who have seen these things, and who will this day make as much sacrifice for the peace and honor of the South as the best-born Southerner among you. If we must be enemies, let us be men, and fight it out as we propose to-day, and not deal in such hypocritical appeals to God and humanity. God will judge us in due time, and He will pronounce whether it be more humane to fight with a town full of women and the families of a 'brave people' at our back, or to remove them in time to places of safety among their own friends and people.

"I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"W. T. Sherman, Major-General Commanding."

* "Atlanta, Georgia, *September* 11, 1864.

"Major-General W. T. Sherman:

"Sir—The undersigned, Mayor and two members of Council for the city of Atlanta, for the time being the only leading organ of the people of the said city to express their wants and wishes, ask leave most earnestly, but respectfully, to petition you to reconsider the order requiring them to leave Atlanta. At first view, it struck us that the measure would involve extraordinary hardship and loss; but since we have seen the practical execution of it, so far as it has progressed, and the individual condition of many of the people, and heard the statements as to the inconveniences, loss, and suffering attending it, we are satisfied that the amount of it will involve in the aggregate consequences appalling and heart-rending.

"Many poor women are in the advanced state of pregnancy; others having young children, whose husbands, for the greater part, are either in the army, prisoners, or dead. Some say: 'I have such a one sick at my house; who will wait on them when I am gone? Others say: 'What are we to do? we have no houses to go to, and no means to buy, build, or rent any; no parents, relatives, or friends to go to.' Another says: 'I will try and take this or that article of property; but such and such things I must leave behind, though I need them much.' We reply to them: 'General Sherman will carry your property to Rough and Ready, and then General Hood will take it thence on.' And they will reply to that: 'But I want to leave the railroad at such a place, and cannot get conveyance from thence on.'

"We only refer to a few facts to illustrate in part how this measure will operate in practice. As you advanced, the people north of us fell back, and before your arrival here a large portion of the people here had retired south; so that the country south of this is already crowded, and without sufficient houses to accommodate the people, and we are informed that many are now staying in churches and other buildings. This being so, how is it possible for the people still here (mostly women and children) to find shelter, and how can they live through the winter in the woods—no shelter or subsistence—in the midst of strangers, who know them not, and without the power to assist them much, if they were willing to do so?

"This is but a feeble picture of the consequences of this measure. You know the woe, the horror, and the suffering cannot be described by words. Imagination can only conceive of it; and we ask you to take these things into consideration. We know your mind and time are continually occupied with the duties of your command, which almost deters us from asking your attention to the matter; but thought it might be that you had not considered the subject in all of its awful consequences, and that, on reflection, you, we hope, would not make this people an exception to all mankind; for we know of no such instance ever having occurred—surely not in the United States. And what has this helpless people done that they should be driven from their homes, to wander as strangers, outcasts, and exiles, and to subsist on charity?

"We do not know as yet the number of people still here. Of those who are here, a respectable number, if allowed to remain at home, could subsist for several months without assistance; and a respectable number for a much longer time, and who might not need assistance at any time.

hardships of war so much complained of had been brought upon the Southern people by their own action.* The truce agreed upon extended from the 12th of September to the 22d, and was subsequently prolonged. The Federal

"In conclusion, we most earnestly and solemnly petition you to reconsider this order, or modify it, and suffer this unfortunate people to remain at home and enjoy what little means they have. Respectfully submitted,

JAMES M. CALHOUN, Mayor.

"E. E. RAWSON, } Councilmen."
"S. C. WELLS, }

* "HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI, }
"IN THE FIELD, ATLANTA, GEORGIA, *Sept.* 12, 1864. }

"JAMES M. CALHOUN, Mayor, E. E. RAWSON and S. C. WELLS, representing City Council of Atlanta: .

"GENTLEMEN—I have your letter of the 11th, in the nature of a petition to revoke my orders removing all the inhabitants from Atlanta. I have read it carefully, and give full credit to your statements of the distress that will be occasioned by it, and yet shall not revoke my order, simply because my orders are not designed to meet the humanities of the case, but to prepare for the future struggles, in which millions, yea, hundreds of millions of good people outside of Atlanta, have a deep interest. We must have peace, not only at Atlanta, but in all America. To secure this, we must stop the war that now desolates our once happy and favored country. To stop war, we must defeat the rebel armies that are arrayed against the laws and Constitution, which all must respect and obey. To defeat these armies, we must prepare the way to reach them in their recesses, provided with the arms and the instruments which enable us to accomplish our purpose.

"Now, I know the vindictive nature of our enemy, and that we may have many years of military operations from this quarter, and therefore deem it wise and prudent to prepare in time. The use of Atlanta for warlike purposes is inconsistent with its character as a home for families. There will be no manufactures, commerce, or agriculture here for the maintenance of families, and sooner or later want will compel the inhabitants to go. Why not go now, when all the arrangements are completed for the transfer, instead of waiting till the plunging shot of contending armies will renew the scene of the past month? Of course, I do not apprehend any such thing at this moment; but you do not suppose that this army will be here till the war is over. I cannot discuss this subject with you fairly, because I cannot impart to you what I propose to do; but I assert that my military plans make it necessary for the inhabitants to go away, and I can only renew my offer of services to make their exodus in any direction as easy and comfortable as possible You cannot qualify war in harsher terms than I will. War is cruelty, and you cannot refine it; and those who brought war on our country deserve all the curses and maledictions a people can pour out. I know I had no hand in making this war, and I know I will make more sacrifices to-day than any of you to secure peace. But you cannot have peace and a division of our country. If the United States submits to a division now, it will not stop, but will go on till we reap the fate of Mexico, which is eternal war. The United States does and must assert its authority wherever it has power; if it relaxes one bit to pressure, it is gone, and I know that such is not the national feeling. This feeling assumes various shapes, but always comes back to that of Union. Once admit the Union, once more acknowledge the authority of the National Government and instead of devoting your houses and streets and roads to the dread uses of war, I and this army become at once your protectors and supporters, shielding you from danger, let it come from what quarter it may. I know that a few individuals cannot resist a torrent of error and passion, such as has swept the South into rebellion; but you can point out, so that we may know those who desire a Government, and those who insist upon war and its desolation.

"You might as well appeal against the thunder-storm as against these terrible hardships of war. They are inevitable; and the only way the people of Atlanta can hope once more to live in peace and quiet at home is to stop this war—which can alone be done by admitting that it began in error, and is perpetuated in pride. We don't want your negroes, or your horses, or your houses, or your land, or anything you have; but we do want and will have a just obedience to the laws of the United States. That we will have; and if it involves the destruction of your improvements, we cannot help it. You have here tofore read public sentiment in your newspapers, that live by falsehood and excitement, and the quicker you seek for truth in other quarters, the better for you.

"I repeat, then, that, by the original compact of government, the United States had certain rights in Georgia, which have never been relinquished, and never will be; that the South began war by seizing forts, arsenals, mints, custom-houses, etc., etc., long before Mr. Lincoln was installed, and before the South had one jot or tittle of provocation. I myself have seen, in Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, and part of Mississippi, hundreds and thousands of women and children fleeing from your armies and desperadoes, hungry and with bleeding feet. In Memphis, Vicksburg, and Mississippi we fed thousands upon thousands of the families of rebel soldiers left on our hands, and whom we could not see starve. Now that war comes home to you, you feel very different; you deprecate its horrors, but did not feel them when you sent car-loads of soldiers and ammunition, and moulded shell and shot, to carry war into Kentucky and Tennessee, and desolate the homes of hundreds and thousands of good people, who only ask to live in peace at their old homes, and under the Government of their inheritance. But these com-

Government furnished transportation as far as Rough and Ready, for such of the inhabitants as wished to move southward, and for those desiring to move northward, as far as Chattanooga. All were allowed to take with them their movable property, for which also transportation was furnished. Negroes who chose to do so were allowed to go with their masters. Of those who remained, the men were put in government employ, and the women and children were sent outside the lines. During the truce there were removed to Rough and Ready 446 families, comprising 705 adults, 860 children, and 470 servants. The amount of household goods removed was an average of 1,651 pounds to each family. That no unnecessary harshness was exercised in removing the inhabitants of Atlanta, was proved by the testimony of Major Clan, of General Hood's staff, who at the termination of the truce addressed a letter to Colonel Warner,* to whom had been intrusted the business of removal—a difficult and delicate task, which, as might be expected, was not effected without charges of cruelty and peculation against the Federal officers on the part of the Southern press.

parisons are idle. I want peace, and believe it can only be reached through Union and war, and I will ever conduct war purely with a view to perfect and early success.

"But, my dear sirs, when that peace does come, you may call on me for anything. Then I will share with you the last cracker, and watch with you to shield your homes and families against danger from every quarter. Now, you must go, and take with you the old and feeble; feed and nurse them, and build for them in more quiet places proper habitations, to shield them against the weather, until the mad passions of men cool down, and allow the Union and peace once more to settle on your old homes at Atlanta. Yours, in haste,

"W. T. SHERMAN, Major-General."

220

* "ROUGH AND READY, *Sept.* 21, 1864.

"COLONEL—Our official communication being about to close, you will permit me to bear testimony to the uniform courtesy you have shown on all occasions to me and my people, and the promptness with which you have corrected all irregularities arising in our intercourse. Hoping at some future time to be able to reciprocate your courteousness, and in many instances your positive kindness,

"I am, with respect, your obedient servant,

"W. T. CLAN,

"Major and A. A. G. of General Hood's Staff.

"LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WILLARD WARNER,

of General Sherman's Staff."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Demonstrations against Mobile.—Description of Mobile Bay.—The Defences of Mobile.—Fort Morgan.—Fort Gaines.—Fort Powell.—Obstructions and Torpedoes.—Description of the Rebel Ram Tennessee.—Plan of Operations against the Mobile Forts.—Admiral Farragut's Fleet.—Preparation of the Sloops and Gun-boats.—Order of Sailing.—Sloops and Gun-boats lashed together two and two.—Passing the Forts.—Admiral Buchanan's Fleet dispersed.—The Tecumseh sunk by a Torpedo.—Captain Craven and the Crew go down with the Ship.—Effect of the Catastrophe on the Fleet.—The Admiral takes the Lead in the Hartford.—The Water Batteries silenced by the Fire of the Hartford and the Brooklyn.—A favoring Wind.—The Boilers of the Oneida penetrated by a Shot.—The Rebel Fleet dispersed.—Capture of the Selma by the Metacomet.—The Gaines run ashore.—Escape of the Morgan.—Unexpected Reappearance of the Tennessee. The Ram attacks in succession the Hartford, the Brooklyn, the Richmond, etc.—The concentrated Fire of the Fleet leaves the Tennessee uninjured.—The Admiral adopts a new mode of Fighting.—Terrible Confusion on board the Tennessee.—Her Crew become demoralized.—A good Shot from the Manhattan.—Damage done to the Ram by the Fire of the Chickasaw.—Buchanan badly wounded.—The Ram's rudder-chain broken.—Buchanan raises the White Flag.—Biographical Sketch of Captain Craven.—The Guns of Fort Gaines silenced by General Granger.—Evacuation of Fort Powell.—Surrender of Fort Gaines.—Siege of Fort Morgan.—The Bombardment.—The Citadel on Fire.—Surrender of Fort Morgan.—Guns found spiked.—Guns, War Material, etc., captured.—The Results of Farragut's Twenty Days' Work.—His Fleet at Liberty for Service elsewhere.

1864. As a part of the grand plan of campaign for 1864, General Grant had projected an attack upon Mobile, with the design of weakening General Johnston in Georgia, by compelling him to send a portion of his forces for the defence of that city; and as early in the year as the expedition of Generals Sherman and Smith toward Selma, Admiral Farragut had reconnoitred the approaches to Mobile, and had offered, with the assistance of some iron-clads and a few thousand troops, to get possession of the bay. A sufficiently large co-operating land force, owing to the exigencies of the service in other quarters, could not be spared for the purpose at that time, and the Admiral was obliged to content himself with threatening demonstrations, although, as he privately informed the Navy Department, should the rebel iron-clads come out to attack his wooden fleet, the contest would necessarily be a doubtful one. After the return of General Banks' army from the Red River country, and the appointment of General Canby to the command of the Western Military Division, preparations began to be made for an expedition against Mobile. The rebels in the mean time constructed several armed vessels, and talked of raising the blockade by means of them. Admiral Farragut kept his fleet in readiness to withstand any such attempt, and expressed his willingness to measure his strength with Admiral Buchanan whenever he should feel disposed to offer battle.

At length, toward the end of July, an addition of four monitors, the Tecumseh, Manhattan, Chickasaw, and Winnebago, was made to the fourteen wooden vessels composing the fleet of

Admiral Farragut, and a co-operative land force was promised by General Canby. Mobile is situated at the head of Mobile Bay, which stretches thirty miles northward from the Gulf of Mexico, and the object of the proposed expedition was not to attack the city, but to get possession of the forts which command the entrances to the bay, and thus put an end to the career of the blockade-runners. Mobile had been considered by the Confederate authorities too near the sea to be safe as a naval dépôt. This was therefore located at Selma, many miles up the Alabama, and there a flotilla, consisting of one ram, the Tennessee, and five gun-boats, had been constructed under the direction of Admiral Buchanan. The bay is well land-locked, a narrow peninsula about fifteen miles long terminating in Mobile Point, near which is Fort Morgan, shutting it in on the south. About three-quarters of a mile southwest of Mobile Point is Sand Island, appropriately named, covering the principal mouth of the harbor. This little island is of a triangular shape, about half a mile long from east to west, and is a mere mass of sand rising a little above the level of the sea. A reef called West Sand Island stretches out westward from Sand Island for a distance of three miles. Pelican Island, in connection with a chain of shoals and banks, continues the line of barriers thus formed in a northwesterly direction to Dauphine Island, the most easterly of the chain of low sandy islands which séparate Mississippi Sound from the Gulf of Mexico. Dauphine Island is twelve miles long from east to west, though its western extremity is little more than a narrow sand beach. Toward the east end the island gradually widens till it attains a breadth of a mile or more. It is composed of sand hills on its south side, back of these timbered with small pines and palmettoes. On the north side a shallow pass, so narrow that the rebels threw a bridge over it, separates this island from Little Dauphine Island, which may have been at some period not very remote a part of the main island. The shores of these two islands run in a northwesterly direction, inclining gradually northward toward the mainland at Cedar Point. The water intervening between the north point of Little Dauphine Island and Cedar Point is very shallow and easily fordable, except at the channel known as Grant's Pass, which is so narrow as not to permit of the passage of two vessels abreast, and never has a depth of water of more than seven feet. The main channel into Mobile Bay, and the only one by which vessels drawing more than eight or ten feet of water can enter, runs close along the east shore of Sand Island, from that point taking a direct course to Mobile Point, whence it turns northwestward, in which direction, at the distance of from eight to ten miles, is the lower anchorage ground, where heavy draught vessels, not being able to ascend farther, are obliged to discharge their cargoes into lighters, the city being approachable only by vessels drawing less than eight feet of water.

The main channel to this anchorage ground has not less than three and a half fathoms at any point. The Swash Channel, leaving the main channel at the end of the spit, half a mile from Mobile Point, with a depth of six feet at low water, lies close around by the shore. This was a favorite route for inward-bound blockade-runners. The Pelican, or middle channel, runs north-eastward between West Sand and Pelican Islands. This channel in high tides is practicable for vessels of ten feet draught, and such vessels, on reaching Pelican Bay, make their way into the main channel south of Mobile Point. Vessels drawing only six or seven feet of water can pass into the main harbor around the east end of Dauphine Island close under Fort Gaines. Light draught vessels can enter the harbor by this route without passing nearer than two miles to Fort Morgan. Pelican Channel proper has been closed up by the action of storms, which have so changed the shape of Pelican Island, that what was formerly its west end is now merely a spit of sand jutting out from Dauphine Island.

The principal forts commanding the entrances to Mobile Bay were Fort Morgan and Fort Gaines. These were old works, built by the United States Government before the war, on the most approved plans for harbor defence, and vast sums of money were expended in their construction. They had bastions, walls, ditches, glacis, traverses, bomb-proofs, and every other appliance of modern defensive science which could add to their strength and security. They were also fully garrisoned and stocked with boundless stores of ammunition. Fort Morgan, a much stronger and older work than Fort Gaines, is situated on Mobile Point, around which runs the Swash Channel, on the site of Fort Bowyer, noted in the war of 1812. Having been built for the defence of the entrance of the bay against a foreign enemy, like Fort Sumter it was most vulnerable on the land side. This fort mounted 136 guns, two tiers in casemates and one tier *en barbette*. Fort Gaines, on the eastern extremity of Dauphine Island, commanding the middle channel and the passage up the bay, mounted fifty guns. In addition to these two powerful forts, the rebels had constructed a work of sand, called Fort Powell, commanding Grant's Pass. It was of pentagonal form and without ditches, but surrounded by a row of piling, which served also the purpose of a breakwater. The narrow channel itself also was obstructed by rows of piling placed across it. Fort Powell mounted eighteen guns; but being directed only against an enemy approaching from sea, the work ceased to be tenable after Farragut's ships got into the harbor. There were also two other sand batteries, mounting together nineteen guns.

From Fort Morgan there extended across the Swash and Middle channels a long row of piles, so placed that vessels entering the bay could not avoid passing under the guns of one or other of the forts, near which narrow passage-ways

had been left for the accommodation of blockade-runners. These openings were carefully watched over at night by small picket boats. Torpedoes also, without number, of which the location was known only to the rebels, were placed in all the channels. These completed a formidable range of defences, extending in a line of not less than eighteen miles in length, of forts, batteries, obstructions, and infernal machines.

Behind this line were five gun-boats, carrying the heaviest armament which the Confederate resources could afford, one of them the ram Tennessee, perhaps the most formidable vessel afloat, and deemed, alone and unaided, adequate to the defeat of Farragut's fleet. Two years had been consumed in the construction of this vessel, under the superintendence of Admiral Buchanan, who, with unlimited means at his disposal, and with many years' experience as a naval officer, to which was added his practical knowledge of the defects of the Merrimac, which he had commanded, was able to produce a vessel of extraordinary strength, speed, and security. Her length was exactly 209 feet, her breadth of beam forty-eight feet, her draught of water fourteen feet. The hull, constructed on the man-of-war pattern, was of the best materials, and put together in the strongest possible manner. The main deck was about a foot above the water-line amidships, and rose two feet forward and aft. The hull was plated with iron three inches thick down to eighteen inches below the water-line. There was a berth-deck about six feet below the main deck. The casemates extended out flush with the sides of the vessel, and over all, except about twenty-five feet of the bow and stern. These casemates were constructed of alternate layers of pine and oak, sixteen inches of pine and three of oak, over which were laid perpendicularly three inches of iron in plates eight inches in width. Over this was another layer of iron crossing the first, two inches thick, the plates being of the same width. Finally there was a top layer of iron one inch thick, laid perpendicularly, making in all six inches of iron and nineteen inches of wood, the whole securely bolted together. The roof of the casemates was formed of a heavy iron grating, for the purpose of affording ample ventilation during action, when the ports would necessarily be closed the greater part of the time. The casemates had ten port-holes, four on each broadside, two at the bow and stern. These were covered with iron shutters, worked on pivots in the centre of one of their sides, and revolved by means of a cog-wheel inside. They were very liable, however, to get out of order if struck by a shot, especially when open. The armament of the Tennessee consisted of six rifled guns of the Brooke pattern—two of six-and-three-quarter inches bore on each broadside, and two of seven inches bore at the bow and stern. These last were pivoted, so that they might be worked also on either broadside. The decks outside of the casemates were covered with iron plates two inches thick. The casemates

overhung the sides of the vessel, and thus aided in protecting the hull. The boilers were in the hold below the berth-deck, and at least six feet below the water line. The two engines were placed fore and aft amidships, a small portion only being above the water-line, and that portion protected by the casemates. They were high pressure, and were not made for the vessel, having been taken from the Alonzo Child, a boat that formerly ran on the Alabama River, but were of great power and finish. The pilot-house and the lookout for the commanding officer in action were under the casemates forward, and were distinguishable only by the greater height of the casemates there. The most defective arrangement about the ship was in connection with the rudder-chains, which passed under the grating that covers the casemates to their after end, and then went down to the main deck under the iron that covered that end of the casemates. They then ran along the deck, protected only by an inverted trough of cast iron about an inch thick. The quarters for the officers and crew were all on the berth-deck below the water line, and though ill ventilated, were spacious and well arranged. This vessel is said to have cost the Confederate Government two million dollars in gold.

On the 8th of July, Admiral Farragut had an interview with Generals Canby and Granger on board his flag-ship Hartford, at which it was arranged that General Canby should send a body of troops of about ten thousand men of all arms to co-operate with the fleet in an attack on Forts Morgan and Gaines. The command of these troops was to be intrusted to General Granger, and it was designed that he should invest both forts. But General Canby subsequently found that he could not send so large a force, and Admiral Farragut suggested that Fort Gaines alone should be invested, and engaged to cover the landing of troops on Dauphine Island. Accordingly General Granger, with less than 2,500 men, embarked at New Orleans on the 31st of July, with instructions to rendezvous in Mississippi Sound, opposite the east end of Petit Bois Island. On the 1st of August he had another interview with Admiral Farragut on board the Hartford, and the 4th of August was fixed upon as the day for landing the troops and for the entrance of the fleet into the bay. The landing of the troops was effected at the time agreed upon, but the naval operations were delayed by the non-arrival of the monitor Tecumseh, which did not come up till evening.

The fleet with which Admiral Farragut was about to force his entrance into Mobile Bay, exclusive of the squadron which remained outside as a reserve, consisted of the four monitors Tecumseh, Manhattan, Winnebago, and Chickasaw, carrying in all six eleven-inch and four fifteen-inch Dahlgren guns; three first-class sloops of war, with an aggregate armament of six one-hundred-pounder Parrotts, six thirty-pounder Parrotts, and fifty-four nine-inch Dahlgrens; six sloops of the second and third class,

with an aggregate armament of about twelve one-hundred-pounder Parrotts, and seventy-two nine-inch guns; and five gun-boats, carrying hundred-pounder Parrotts, with nine-inch and eleven-inch Dahlgrens, besides a few rifled guns of less calibre—in all eighteen vessels, four of iron and fourteen of wood, carrying an aggregate of about two hundred guns of heavy calibre and of the most approved patterns.

All the sloops in this squadron were propelled by screws in addition to their sails. Their engines and portions of the boilers of some of them were above the water-line, and the better to prepare them for the tremendous fire to which it was expected they would be exposed in passing the forts, they were sent to Pensacola to undergo certain changes before going into action. The top-gallant masts and yards were removed, as well as all superfluous rigging. Their starboard sides, which would be exposed to the fire of Fort Morgan, in order to protect the engines and boilers, were covered with chain plating, as had been done with Farragut's ships before passing the forts on the Mississippi below New Orleans, and with the Kearsarge before her memorable fight with the Alabama. The gun-boats that were to accompany these sloops into the bay, being all side-wheel vessels and ill calculated to bear the heavy fire of land batteries, it was resolved to protect by lashing them to the unexposed sides of the sloops, in which position they would be covered from the shot and shell thrown from the fort, and in case of the sloops being disabled, would be able to tow them out of fire.

It was determined that the movement of the fleet toward the forts should begin at three o'clock on the morning of the 5th of August, so that the ships might arrive opposite Fort Morgan by daylight. The monitors were to lead the way, and the sloops with their consorts were to follow, each vessel keeping about one-third of a mile astern of its predecessor. On passing Fort Morgan, the heaviest fire practicable was to be directed on it, and then all the wooden vessels were to steer for the lower anchorage, beyond the range of any of the guns of the forts, leaving the monitors to fight the rebel fleet. The design was then to capture the forts in succession, beginning with Fort Powell. The squadron remaining outside the bay was to make a diversion on the south and southeast sides of Fort Morgan, while four gun-boats in the Mississippi Sound occupied the attention of Fort Powell. Efforts had been made to ascertain the number and position of the torpedoes. For this purpose Flag-Lieutenant Watson and others had made nightly trips for two or three weeks, sounding the channel and making observations of all obstructions, and endeavoring to make out a route that would be practicable and free from unseen dangers.

Circumstances arose that prevented the start of the fleet before dawn, and it was not till twenty minutes before six that the ships moved, two abreast, and in the following order: the Brook-

lyn with the Octorara, the Hartford with the Metacomet, the Richmond with the Port Royal, the Lackawanna with the Seminole, the Monongahela with the Kennebec, the Ossipee with the Itasca, and the Oneida with the Galena. By thus lashing his vessels together two and two, the Admiral secured several advantages: should the exposed ships be disabled, those which they protected might still go in with little injury; the line of battle was not so liable to be deranged by any vessel dropping out or getting entangled with another; should one of the exposed vessels be sunk, her consort, being close at hand, could save the crew and render other assistance at once; by this arrangement also the line of battle was shortened one half.

The monitors anchored in Sand Island Channel, and waited there till the rest of the fleet arrived opposite Sand Island, when they moved into the main channel and took position in advance of the sloops, in a line, five hundred yards apart. Every vessel was decked out with all its bunting. The Stars and Stripes waved from peak, mast, and flagstaff, except the fore of the Hartford, from which flew the broad pennant of the Admiral. The Tecumseh, leading the monitors, having given the signal by firing a shell from one of her fifteen-inch guns, which exploded in the shore battery of the fort, the whole line moved steadily forward, the ships preserving their distance well. The monitors, contending with the ebb tide, owing to their want of speed and bad steering qualities, had some difficulty in making the headway that was desired. As the sloops came within range, they let off occasionally a hundred-pounder from their bows. These brought no answer from the fort. But at seven o'clock precisely, the monitors being then all within range of the fort, the Tecumseh close under it, and the whole fleet past Sand Island, the fort opened fire. The first shell, directed at the monitors, fell into the water in their midst and exploded harmlessly. All the vessels now opened their batteries. The Tecumseh fired one shot as she approached, another when abreast of the fort, and then reserved her fire. The other monitors loaded and fired as rapidly as possible, their heavy shells having a marked effect on the water battery, and preventing its being worked except occasionally. The wooden ships farther astern kept their bow guns at work on the traverse guns and curtain batteries of the main fort, which responded vigorously.

Aug. 5.

In the mean time the rebel fleet under Admiral Buchanan had been getting into position and preparing for action. It was now drawn up in a line facing southward across the main channel about a mile northwest of the fort. On the right toward the fort was the ram Tennessee, Buchanan's flag-ship, next to it the Gaines, then the Morgan, an iron-clad, and then the Selma, an improvised gun-boat, which had been formerly employed as a tow-boat, and had now six Brooks guns mounted on her open deck, with no armor, case-

mates, or cover of any kind for her crew of ninety men. The Huntsville, a small light draught vessel, and one or two tenders, got quickly out of the way. Two blockade-runners, loaded with cotton, lying in the bay, returned swiftly to Mobile, as did also some other small craft.

It was intended by Admiral Farragut that the monitors alone should dispose of the rebel fleet. The wooden vessels were not expected at present to do more than pass the fort and get as far as the lower bay. Accordingly, as soon as the Tecumseh reached the point abreast of the fort where the channel turns northwestward, keeping close to the eastern bank of the channel, as did also all the fleet, she made directly for the rebel fleet and fired her third shot, aiming at the Tennessee. She had, however, proceeded but two or three lengths, when, at twenty minutes before eight, she struck a torpedo. A few minutes sufficed to terminate her career. Only the guns' crews and those in the pilot-house succeeded in getting out before she went down. Almost instantly, on being struck, she appeared on her port beam, bows well up, rolled over till bottom up, so as to show the whole of her hull, and then went down, carrying with her Captain Craven and the greater part of her crew. Only twenty escaped. Ten of these were rescued by a small boat from the Metacomet; three swam ashore and were made prisoners. The remainder got into a small boat belonging to the vessel, and after an hour's rowing made their way to a tug-boat near Sand Island. The catastrophe was most discouraging. Fortunately only the commanders and pilots of the other monitors saw it. Upon the crew of the Brooklyn, the leading sloop, who were in full view of the terrible scene, it had a most demoralizing effect. The vessel was stopped, and the whole fleet were consequently for a short time brought to a stand at the moment the guns of the fort were playing on that ship and the Hartford. The Admiral, however, who had lashed himself in the main top, whence he gave his orders through speaking tubes, signalled "Go ahead," and pressing all steam on his own ship, himself took the lead, steering between the buoys where the torpedoes were supposed to have been sunk. Meanwhile the firing from the ships and fort had continued without abatement, as if no unusual calamity had occurred. The Brooklyn had stopped a little south of the fort, but as the Hartford passed her, had started forward again, and both ships came exactly opposite the fort, when they simultaneously discharged their full broadsides of nine-inch guns into the water battery, and with such effect that this battery, the one most feared, was effectually silenced. The rebel gunners fled from their pieces, nor could they during the fight be induced to resume their places. Signals were then made for the other ships to follow the example of the Hartford and the Brooklyn, and these two vessels steamed away up the channel, relieved in a great measure from the fire of the fort. A fortunate circumstance for Farragut's

ships at this time was, that the wind, though light, blew the smoke from their guns directly upon the fort, where it hung in thick clouds and prevented the rebel gunners from seeing the vessels, thus compelling them to fire in great measure at random, so that, after all, none of the ships were injured by the fire of the fort, with the exception of the Oneida, whose boilers were penetrated by a shot, which completely disabled her; but her consort, the Galena, towed her safely through, thus illustrating the value of the precaution adopted of moving two vessels abreast. On the other hand, the ships' gunners could hardly fail to hit the fort, and each sloop as it came up poured in its broadside and passed on under cover of the smoke. Two of the monitors for some time hugged the shore close under the fort, pouring in heavy discharges of grape and canister, while the Manhattan kept steadily on her course toward the rebel fleet, opening her guns upon it as soon as she passed the fort. The Hartford, being a faster sailer, soon overhauled and passed the Manhattan, letting go at the same time her bow guns at Buchanan's ship. The other vessels, following, also opened on her, each ship now separated from her consort. For a few minutes the rebel ships held their position, but when it became evident that, contrary to the confident expectation of the Confederates, the forts had not succeeded in destroying or even in detaining any portion of Farragut's magnificent array of fighting ships, they presently fell back, occasionally firing. About eight o'clock Admiral Farragut, finding that the rebel gunboats were raking his ship, sent Captain Jouett in the Metacomet in pursuit of the Selma. After an exciting chase of about an hour, the Selma crowding steam to get across Dog River bar, the Metacomet came up within easy range and opened upon her with a hundred-pounder Parrott, the shell from which exploding on the deck of the rebel craft, killing and wounding a number of men, she was under the necessity of hauling down her colors at once. Her decks were found covered with dead and wounded and her scuppers running with blood. Her executive officer, Lieutenant Comstock, and eight of the crew were killed in the action, and her commander, P. N. Murphy, formerly of the United States navy, and seven or eight men, were wounded. By skilful manœuvring the Morgan and the Gaines managed to get away from the monitors and sought safety under the guns of Fort Morgan. The Gaines had been so much injured that she had to be run ashore and destroyed. The night after the action the crew escaped to Mobile in her small boats and in those of the Tennessee, which had been left near the fort. The Morgan, which sustained but little injury, escaped to Mobile during the night, though chased and fired upon by the Federal cruisers. The Tennessee alone for a short time contended at long range with the fleet as it defiled into the bay, and then she also retired, apparently seeking the protection of Fort Morgan.

Thus the forts were passed and the rebel fleet dispersed. Admiral Farragut had ordered most of the vessels to anchor, and just one hour and twenty minutes after the first shot was fired from Fort Morgan the crews of the ships were piped to breakfast within the bay. But they were not allowed to partake of it quietly. The Tennessee, which was remarkable for speed as well as for strength, had got away from the monitors, and was now seen bearing down upon the wooden fleet, making directly for the Hartford, evidently designing the destruction of that ship. The Admiral was not long in making out Buchanan's intentions. He immediately ordered the monitors and such other vessels as were best adapted for the purpose, to attack the ram, not only with their guns, but to run into her, bows on, at full speed. The Hartford remained awhile apparently awaiting the onset of the ram, when suddenly her helm was put hard-a-port, her machinery started, and instead of the Tennessee striking her amidships and cutting her in two, the Hartford struck Buchanan's ship a blow on the port quarter forward that knocked every man off his feet. The headway of both vessels was checked, though the blow given by the Hartford was a glancing one. The two vessels now came up side by side, and the Hartford let go her broadside, but her heavy nine-inch solid shot, though the muzzles of the guns were scarcely more than ten feet from the ram, rebounded from her sides in all directions, merely making an indentation in her iron sides sufficiently deep to show where they had struck. At the same time Buchanan threw open his iron ports and discharged his broadside of four Brooks rifles. Their shot passed entirely through the Hartford, and expended the remainder of their force in the water beyond. The Tennessee then put on steam again and headed for the Brooklyn. A collision took place and a discharge of broadsides, and the ram went on and encountered in the same manner and with the same results, the Richmond, the Lackawanna, the Oneida and others, and then turned to run back through the fleet. She had sustained no damage as yet, though her sides were somewhat bruised. She was apparently invulnerable. In the mean time the monitors had come up, and Buchanan seemed disconcerted for a moment. He had so far avoided them, and by his greater speed and skilful manœuvring had managed to keep them at a distance. Now, in whichever way the ram turned, a monitor was ready to meet her. The tremendous armor of his ship enabled Buchanan to disregard the heavy armaments of the wooden vessels, which he could riddle with ease. The appearance of the monitors seemed to make him irresolute, and he finally began to run back toward Fort Morgan. But Farragut checked this movement. He ordered all the available ships to approach the ram and form a circle about her, and the monitor Manhattan, carrying the only fifteen-inch guns in the fleet, to head her off. A terrible fire was then concentrated upon her.

but she stood it unharmed, returning the fire as fast as she could with her six guns. She was a match for them all; they were evidently getting the worst of it. Every shot from the rebel that struck at that short range—which made great accuracy of aim possible—told fearfully on the wooden ships, as was evidenced by the great holes in their sides and by their bloody decks, while the Tennessee, manœuvring so as to present her most invulnerable parts toward the monster guns of the Manhattan, remained uninjured, every shot that struck her glancing off like an india-rubber ball. The wooden ships were suffering too much to be able long to continue such a conflict. In this emergency the Admiral adopted a new and, as it proved, effectual mode of dealing with his invulnerable adversary. All the vessels were put in motion in a circle around her, and the sloops and monitors were directed to ram her every time they came round. This order of battle was quickly adopted, each vessel throwing its broadside at, and, whenever the chance offered, ramming the Tennessee. The Monongahela was the first vessel that struck her, but in doing so her own iron prow was carried away, together with her cut-water, without any perceptible injury having been sustained by the ram. The Lackawanna was the next vessel to strike her, and did so at full speed, and though sustaining considerable damage herself, her blow apparently had no other effect upon the ram than to give her a heavy lift. The Hartford then made full speed for the ram, but as that vessel quickly shifted her helm, the blow became only a glancing one. The Hartford, however, again discharged her whole port broadside of nine-inch solid shot within ten feet of the ram's casemate. The Admiral directed his ship immediately to be borne down upon her, and she was again approaching at full speed, when the Lackawanna unfortunately ran into her just forward of the mizzen mast, cutting her down to within two feet of the water's edge. Every time the sloops struck the Tennessee her men were thrown off their feet, and the scene on board of her was subsequently described by her officers as having become at this time terribly confused. Finally, the rapidly repeated ramming and the continuous concentrated fire of heavy guns had such an effect upon her crew that they became quite demoralized. Though none as yet had been hurt, they were desirous of surrendering, and, fearing that their vessel by some shock more violent than the rest might be sent to the bottom, could no longer be kept at the guns. Besides this, the confusion was such that they could no longer get the range at Farragut's ships, and the damage inflicted by their fire after the butting mode of fighting was adopted was but trifling. Buchanan could now do little more than remain passive, firing an occasional broadside. The Manhattan at this time got one good shot at her, and the only one in the whole combat that penetrated her armor. It was from a fifteen-inch gun, and struck fairly at the lower angle of her heavy casemates. It broke

through the iron plating and thick wooden backing, causing a ragged protrusion of splinters, but did no further injury, not entering the vessel. The Tennessee was still nearly as good for a fight as when the combat commenced. But the crisis had arrived. The action had now lasted a little over an hour, when the monitor Chickasaw made a dash at the ram with the intention of striking her amidships; this blow, however the Tennessee avoided by moving ahead, so that the Chickasaw, instead of striking her, passed close under her stern, and while so passing fired the two eleven-inch guns in her bow turret, and with terrible effect; one shot carried away the smoke-stack of the ram close to the deck; the other struck the shutter of the stern port-hole, which was half open, and jammed it so that it became immovable. By some means the shutters of two other port-holes had also become jammed, so that of the six guns of the Tennessee only three could now be used. This disaster being reported to Buchanan, he ran aft with his chief engineer to direct repairs. The Chickasaw having in the mean time moved on a little, discharged the guns of her after-turret. One shot entered the stern port-hole, knocking to pieces a man who was at work there, and scattering splinters in all directions, one of which struck Buchanan in the right leg, shattering the bones just below the knee. The same shot struck the casemate directly over the point where the tiller chain passed down, jamming the chain so that it became immovable. It was broken in the efforts that were made to release it, and the ram then became unmanageable and lay at Farragut's mercy. The Hartford was now again bearing down upon her, as were also the Ossipee, the Monongahela, and the Lackawanna, determined upon her destruction. The Ossipee was just about to strike her, when Buchanan hoisted the white flag, and the Ossipee stopped her engine, though not in time to prevent a glancing blow. Commander Johnston, formerly of the United States navy, who had commanded the Tennessee during the action, went on board the flag-ship to surrender his sword and that of Admiral Buchanan. Twenty officers and about 170 men were made prisoners on the Tennessee.

The Chickasaw received one plunging shot through her deck. The other monitors received no injury; neither were any men killed or wounded on board of them; but all their turrets, except one, refused to revolve during the action, and in firing they had to be worked, like other vessels, by yawing. The aggregate Federal losses in the battle were 149 killed and wounded, besides 125 who went down with the Tecumseh, including Captain Craven. The wounded of both fleets, including Admiral Buchanan, were sent to Pensacola.

Captain Tunis Augustus Craven was a native of New Hampshire. He entered the navy as a midshipman, on the 2d of June, 1829, and served on different vessels till 1837, when, at his own request, he was placed on the Coast

Survey. In 1841 he was promoted to a lieutenancy, and served in the sloop of war Falmouth till 1843, when he was transferred to the receiving-ship North Carolina at New York, and soon afterward to the store-ship Lexington. From 1844 till 1847 he was on furlough. He was subsequently connected with the Pacific squadron, and from 1850 till 1859 was again employed on the Coast Survey, in which service he acquired an enviable reputation as an hydrographer. In 1859 he was appointed to command the steamer Mohawk, of the home squadron, stationed off the coast of Cuba to intercept slavers. When the rebellion broke out he was placed in command of the Crusader, and rendered important aid in securing the fortress of Key West. In September, 1861, he was transferred from the Crusader to the new screw-sloop Tuscarora, which was sent across the Atlantic to look after Confederate cruisers. Though he unfortunately failed to overtake the Alabama, he yet did good service in blockading the Sumter at Gibraltar, and in finally compelling the rebels to abandon that vessel. Early in 1864 he was, at his own request, placed in command of the monitor Tecumseh, and sailed in that vessel for Hampton Roads, where he joined the James River flotilla, and arrived among the first at City Point. After some stay there he was ordered with the Tecumseh to join the squadron of Admiral Farragut.

General Granger with the land force on Dauphine Island had not been idle. His engineers planted a battery of Rodman guns on a sand hill within three-quarters of a mile and elevated several feet above the escarpment of Fort Gaines. This battery was served under the direction of Captain Classen, and with such effect that a ten-inch columbiad, the rebels' best gun, was disabled, and the works so completely swept, that the enemy were unable to man a single gun. It had been a part of Buchanan's plan when he undertook to fight Farragut's fleet, to draw his ships as near as possible to this work and Fort Powell, in order that he might have the assistance of their batteries. But there was not water enough for Farragut's vessels within two miles of Fort Powell, and though the vicinity of Fort Gaines could not be so well avoided, General Granger's operations prevented the guns of that work from annoying the fleet.

Fort Powell was blown up and evacuated by the rebels on the evening of the 5th, and the obstructions being removed at Grant's Pass, which the fort had commanded, Farragut was relieved from any apprehensions on the score of supplies. Colonel Anderson, also, in command at Fort Gaines, seeing the fleet in full possession of the bay, came to the conclusion that further resistance would be useless, and on the evening of the 7th signified his willingness to surrender, and, notwithstanding that General Page, commanding Fort Morgan, telegraphed to him repeatedly to hold out, surrendered unconditionally on the 8th, with his garrison of 818 men. The surrender of Fort

Aug. 8.

Gaines placed the western channel also under the control of the Federal fleet.

It was at first supposed that Fort Morgan would prove an easy capture after the surrender of Fort Gaines, but it soon became evident that regular siege operations would be necessary, and General Granger sent at once to New Orleans for heavy siege artillery and engineer troops. General Richard Arnold, chief of artillery of the Department of the Gulf, came in charge of these and assumed command of the investing forces. The siege material was landed on the 17th of August, three miles to the rear of Fort Morgan, and during the night the greater part of it, including shells, was floated by means of a barge along the beach to within eight hundred yards of the fort, and there placed in dépôt behind some sand hills which afforded an excellent cover for that purpose. Batteries were rapidly constructed, and by the afternoon of the 20th all the guns were in position. These were four nine-inch Dahlgrens on naval gun carriages, eight thirty-pounder Parrotts, and sixteen mortars, of which twelve were ten-inch and four eight-inch. There were also in position, about four hundred yards from the fort, four Napoleon guns and two three-inch rifles, which proved valuable against the rebel sharpshooters. The 21st was devoted to instructing the men and supplying deficiencies in the various batteries, and in the evening General Granger notified Admiral Farragut that he would be ready to open fire next morning at daylight. The Admiral took position with his fleet that night. In the morning at five o'clock the bombardment commenced on the part of the land forces, and shortly afterward three monitors opened fire with eleven-inch and fifteen-inch shells, as well as several wooden vessels with rifled thirty-two pounders. The bombardment was continued with great vigor and accuracy till dark, when the ships withdrew, but the land batteries continued to fire at intervals of half an hour.

In the course of the afternoon, smoke had been observed ascending in a steady volume from a point inside the fort, and it was supposed that some part of it was on fire, though very little attention was paid to the circumstance; but about nine at night a broad sheet of flame burst forth. The bombardment was immediately recommenced with great vigor, and continued for two hours, in order to prevent the rebels from extinguishing the fire, and it continued slowly to increase in magnitude. At five in the morning of the 23d the bombardment was resumed. At twenty minutes before seven an officer with a white flag, accompanied by about forty men carrying a small boat, marched out at the main sally-port, and was preparing to push off to the Admiral's flag-ship with a note from General Page proposing surrender, when General Bailey, of the Union land force, approached and took the note, which was handed to General Granger, who promised to communicate its contents immediately to the Admiral, and to dictate the terms

of surrender when his answer should be received. Not long afterward General Arnold and Captain Drayton of the Hartford appeared at the fort with a demand for its immediate and unconditional surrender, with the garrison and all public property. General Page wished to stipulate for the removal of his sick and wounded to Mobile, but this was not permitted. The formal surrender took place at two o'clock, when the garrison, numbering six hundred, marched out at the main sally-port and stacked arms, and the flag of the Union was again planted on Fort Morgan.

Aug. 23.

More than a thousand shells had exploded in the fort; the brick walls were much battered and the citadel was a mass of ruins. The surrender had been hastened by the fire which broke out in the citadel, and which it had been found impracticable to extinguish during the bombardment. An explosion of the magazine had been feared, and it was flooded with water. Large quantities of powder also were thrown into the wells, and of course it became impossible to return the besiegers' fire. On taking possession of the fort it was found that twelve of the best guns had been spiked, and General Page was charged with having had this done after the surrender. The spikes were, however, all drawn without injury to the guns. There were captured within the fort forty-six heavy guns—thirty-five smooth-bores and eleven rifles, including three Blakely eight-inch rifles, two Brooks seven-inch rifles, six eight-inch and two ten-inch columbiads; the remainder of the guns were mostly thirty-two pounders, some of which had been banded and rifled. A large number of small-arms and a vast amount of munitions of war were also found in the fort, and provisions enough to have supplied the garrison for six months.

Thus in twenty days from the landing of troops on Dauphine Island, Forts Powell, Gaines, and Morgan had been taken, the Confederate fleet had been dispersed, and the formidable ram Tennessee captured—so little injured that she was put in fighting trim again in a few days. Entire control had been obtained of the waters of Mobile Bay to within a few miles of the city itself. Blockade-running in that quarter was put an end to, and Admiral Farragut's powerful fleet was at the disposal of the Government for service elsewhere.

CHAPTER XXXIX

The Alabama at Cherbourg.—Mr. Dayton telegraphs for the Kearsarge and St. Louis.—The Alabama ordered to leave Cherbourg.—Captain Semmes challenges the Kearsarge.—Descriptions of the Alabama and Kearsarge.—Biographical Sketches of Captains Winslow and Semmes.—Numerous Spectators The Chain Armor of the Kearsarge —The Fight.—The Surrender.—The Alabama goes to the Bottom.—The English Steam yacht Deerhound.—Efforts to save the Crew of the Alabama.—Killed and Wounded.—Conduct of Captain Semmes. Capture of the Georgia by the Niagara.—Cruise of the Florida.—Capture of the Electric Spark.—Armament of the Florida.—The Florida and Wachusett at Bahia.—Captain Morris refuses the Challenge of Captain Collins to go outside the Harbor and fight.—Half of the Florida's crew ashore.—Captain Collins seizes the Florida and tows her out to Sea.—Unsuccessful Pursuit by the Brazilian Admiral.—The Florida sunk in Hampton Roads. Apology and Reparation made to the Brazilian Government.—The Crew of the Florida set at Liberty. Escape of the Tallahassee from Wilmington.—Description of the Tallahassee.—Her Armament.—Her short and destructive Career.—She puts into Halifax.—Makes her way back to Wilmington.

1864.

During the year 1864 the three English-built Confederate cruisers, the Alabama, Georgia, and Florida, which during two years had almost paralyzed the American carrying trade, roaming the seas, robbing and destroying peaceful merchantmen, but carefully shunning all armed antagonists, too often finding refuge and protection, and even supplies and other assistance, in neutral ports, terminated their predatory career. The most prominent of these, the Alabama, commanded by Captain Raphael Semmes, having had an unusually prosperous run in the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans, returned early in June, after a remarkably short voyage of one hundred days from the China Seas, to northern waters, and on the 10th of June put into the harbor of Cherbourg, bringing with her the crews of two vessels which she had destroyed on the way.

As soon as Mr. Dayton, the American minister at Paris, was informed of her arrival, he telegraphed to Captain Winslow, commanding the United States corvette Kearsarge, then lying at the Dutch port of Flushing, and for the sailing frigate St. Louis, supposed to be at Cadiz, to proceed at once to Cherbourg and watch the Alabama, and take the first opportunity after her leaving French waters to capture or sink her. He also made a protest to the French Government against the admission of the Alabama, and reminded the foreign secretary of a promise which he had previously given with regard to this vessel. The result of the protest was, that the French maritime prefect notified Captain Semmes that he must leave Cherbourg as soon as he had taken in provisions and coal, and that he would not be allowed to have repairs made on his ship as he had designed. Mr. Dayton having succeeded in procuring this order for the departure of the

Alabama, sent instructions to Captain Winslow to get his vessel in readiness for a fight. Captain Winslow repaired at once to the vicinity of Cherbourg, and on the 14th was lying off at some distance from the harbor with the Kearsarge, on the watch for his antagonist.

Captain Semmes, who had been frequently taunted with his unwillingness to meet a vessel of war, and who had possibly begun to be a little ashamed of his long inglorious career against defenceless merchantmen, now finding that it would be difficult to get away from Cherbourg without a fight, announced his intention to meet the Kearsarge, and on the 13th Captain Winslow received a note from him, begging that he would not go away till the two vessels had an opportunity of trying their strength against each other. As this opportunity was precisely what Captain Winslow was seeking, he willingly complied with the request of Captain Semmes, and patiently awaited his movements.

The dimensions, power of engines, and tonnage of the two vessels were as follows:

	Alabama.	Kearsarge.
Length over all..............	220 feet.	214½ feet
Length on water-line.........	210 "	198½ "
Beam.......................	32 "	33 "
Depth......................	17 "	16 "
Horse-power, two engines of..	300 each.	400 h p.
Tonnage....................	1,150	1,031

The armament of the Alabama consisted of one seven-inch Blakely rifle, one eight-inch smooth-bore sixty-eight pounder, and six thirty-two pounders; that of the Kearsarge was two eleven-inch smooth-bore guns, one thirty-pounder rifle, and four thirty-two pounders. The Alabama was a screw propeller. The heaviness of her rig, and the great size and height of her masts, made her seem much larger than her antagonist, whose masts were disproportionately low and small. The Kearsarge, which was built at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and named after Kearsarge Mountain, in Merrimac County, never carried more than topsail yards, and depended for speed upon her machinery alone. She had twenty-two officers and about one hundred and forty men. The Alabama had about one hundred and fifty officers and men, mostly British subjects. Her gunners had many of them been trained as artillerists on the British practice-ship Excellent.

Captain Winslow, born in Wilmington, North Carolina, in 1811, was the twentieth on the list of active captains on the Navy Register for 1864, and had been thirty-seven years in the navy, of which eighteen had been passed at sea, cruising on the coasts of Africa and Brazil, in the Pacific, and elsewhere He was seriously wounded while aiding General Grant in the Vicksburg campaign, and on his recovery was appointed to command the Kearsarge.

Captain Raphael Semmes, a native of Maryland, entered the United States navy in 1826, and was promoted to the rank of commander in September, 1855, for several years previous to which he had seen no sea service, and from that time till his resignation on adopting the cause of the Confederacy, when he was the fifty-eighth commander on the list,

he was not employed at sea. During his connection of thirty-four years and nine months with the United States navy, he was in active service at sea only eleven years and one month. He commanded the brig Somers, which sunk off Vera Cruz in 1846, during the Mexican war, and is the author of a book entitled "Ashore and Afloat."

Five days sufficed Captain Semmes to get his vessel ready for action, and on the morning of Sunday, the 19th of June, the Alabama steamed out of the harbor of Cherbourg in search of the Kearsarge. So much publicity had been given to the announcement that a sea fight was coming off near the French coast, between the Federal and Confederate war steamers, that on the day appointed, as soon as it was known that the Alabama was leaving port, and before the first gun was fired, hundreds of spectators made their way to the tops of the neighboring cliffs and hills. Special excursion trains brought numerous visitors from Paris, and many had come over even from England. The first sound of cannon, which was distinctly heard in Cherbourg, brought out thousands of spectators, to gaze from the heights over the open sea where the two war steamers were entering upon a deadly contest. There was just enough of a breeze to ruffle the surface of the water; the day was bright and clear, and the movements of the vessels could be distinctly observed with the naked eye. All the naval and military authorities of the port were among the excited observers, with spy-glasses in their hands, anxious to witness the first single combat in European waters between steam-propelled vessels. Fifty years had elapsed since the French and English navies had contended for supremacy in the Channel, and curiosity was naturally excited to the utmost as to the result. A genuine sea fight had become one of the rarest of novelties. The efficiency of modern ordnance was now also about to be tested in skilful hands—the British trained gunners of the Alabama with the Blakely gun against the eleven-inch Dahlgrens of the Kearsarge, manned, it is true, by sailors taken principally from merchant ships, but with several years' experience in the national service.

Captain Winslow had, when at Fayal, early in May, for the purpose of armoring his ship, and particularly for the protection of his boilers, adopted the simple expedient—of which the utility was first proved by Captain Farragut in 1862, when running his ships past Forts Jackson and St. Philip, on the Mississippi—of hanging all his spare anchor cable over the midship section of the vessel on both sides. The chains were then boxed over in a sort of case formed of inch deal boards, which served at once to conceal the armor thus obtained and to make the appearance of the ship less unsightly. This defence, which was completed in three days by the ship's crew without assistance, was so thoroughly concealed that Captain Semmes knew nothing of it till after the action.

At about twenty minutes past ten

o'clock, the officers of the Kearsarge descried the Alabama coming out of the west entrance of the harbor, accompanied by the French iron-clad frigate Couronne, which had been ordered to see her beyond the limits of French jurisdiction. As soon as this limit was reached, the Couronne returned to port. Immediately preceding the Alabama was the Deerhound, a three-masted steam yacht belonging to a Mr. Lancaster, an English gentleman, who had come out with his family on board, ostensibly to witness the combat, but whose subsequent conduct gave ground to the belief that his object was rather to use his vessel as a tender to the rebel steamer. As soon as Captain Winslow saw the Alabama approaching—in order to get well beyond French jurisdiction, and also for the purpose of drawing the Alabama so far from shore that, if disabled, she would not be able to return to port—he steamed out to sea until a distance of six or seven miles from the Cherbourg breakwater was obtained, when he rounded to and steered for the Alabama. When within twelve hundred yards, the Alabama opened fire and discharged two or three broadsides from her starboard battery before receiving a reply. None of her shots took effect upon the Kearsarge beyond doing a little damage to the rigging, one or two passing over and the rest falling short of her opponent. The gunners of the Kearsarge were eager to return the fire, but were restrained by Captain Winslow, who wished to choose his time and distance so as to give the greatest effect to his shot. When within about nine hundred yards, Captain Winslow, apprehensive that another broadside from the Alabama, nearly raking as it would be in the relative positions of the vessels now attained, might prove disastrous, ordered the Kearsarge to be sheered, and opened fire on the Alabama. The position of the vessels was now broadside to broadside, but it soon became apparent that Captain Semmes did not seek close action, and Captain Winslow became fearful that after some fighting he would seek the shore. To prevent this, full speed was kept on the Kearsarge, with a port helm, so as to run under the stern of the Alabama and rake her if Captain Semmes did not sheer his vessel and continue to present his broadside. This, however, he did, and the Alabama was thus forced with a full head of steam into a circular track. The two vessels moved in this relative position, about seven hundred yards apart, during the remainder of the engagement. The effect of this manœuvre was that, at the conclusion of the action, when the Alabama would have made off, had it been possible, she was nearly five miles from the shore. Had the action continued to the end in parallel lines, heading toward the shore, the line of French jurisdiction would have been reached by the Alabama and she would have made her escape.

June 19.

During the hour in which the vessels continued to move in this circular track, the Kearsarge received some twenty-five or thirty shots, twelve or thirteen of which took effect on her hull.

A rifle shot passed entirely through the smoke-stack. A rifle shell passed through the starboard side below the main rigging, bursting and wounding three men, the only casualties to the crew of the Kearsarge during the fight. Another rifle shell struck under the stern, and lodged in the rudder-post without exploding; another carried away the starboard life-buoy; another scratched the hammock netting aft. Three thirty-two pound shots passed through the port side opposite the ward-room hatch. One of the cranes over the ward-room hatch was carried away by a shot which afterward passed through the cutter on the port side. A rifle shot struck the top of the engine-room skylight. Several shots struck the starboard light, but their force was broken by the chains hung over the side, and they caused no damage. The firing of the Alabama was at first rapid and wild, but toward the close of the action became better. Captain Winslow had cautioned his men against rapid firing without direct aim, and they were much more deliberate. The instructions given also to point the heavy guns below rather than above the water-line, and to endeavor to clear the enemy's deck with the lighter ones, were fully observed.

The first shot from the Kearsarge that appeared to produce any effect on the Alabama struck her amidships in her upper works, making a very perceptible gap, but doing no serious damage. About the middle of the action an eleven-inch shell from the Kearsarge exploded on the deck of the Alabama, near one of the divisions, killing or wounding fifteen of the nineteen men there, cutting one man fairly in two, and scattering the bones and flesh of the others in all directions. It could now be plainly seen from the deck of the Kearsarge that her fire was having a destructive effect, and at every shot which struck her antagonist loud cheers went up from her crew, now made enthusiastic by the prospect of speedy victory. Nearly every shot told fearfully on the Alabama; one carried away a blade of her screw; another injured her steering apparatus; her rigging also was much cut up. Three shells burst between decks; another entered the coal bunkers and set the fuel on fire. Shells which exploded in the sides and between the decks made large apertures through which the water rushed rapidly. The vessel sunk so far that the water reached her engine-room, and the fires were extinguished in the furnaces.

About twelve o'clock, after the engagement had lasted rather more than an hour, on the seventh rotation in the circular track, the Alabama "winded," setting her fore try-sail and two jibs, and stood in toward the shore. Captain Semmes was evidently desirous of getting as soon as possible within the "marine league" and French jurisdiction. The Kearsarge followed, the Alabama continuing to fire her stern gun. The speed of the Alabama now became less, and her port broadside being presented, in consequence of her

having been compelled to resort to her sails, with only two guns bearing, Captain Winslow saw that she was at his mercy, and a few more well-directed shots brought down her flag, though it was not clear whether it had been hauled down or shot away, but a white flag having been displayed over the stern, the crew of the Kearsarge ceased firing. Not more than two minutes had elapsed before the Alabama opened fire again with the two guns on her port side. The Kearsarge was immediately steamed ahead, and laid across the bows of the Alabama for raking, but the white flag was flying and fire was reserved. Shortly afterward boats were seen lowering from the Alabama, and in one of them an officer, an Englishman, went alongside of the Kearsarge, and stating that his ship had surrendered, and was sinking fast, requested the aid of boats to rescue the men. Of the boats of the Kearsarge only two had not been disabled in the action, and these were immediately lowered, and as the Alabama, at this time about five hundred yards distant, was evidently settling fast, the officer who had come from her was permitted to go also with his boat to afford what assistance he could. But at ten minutes before one o'clock, before any boats could reach the Alabama, she went down, her mainmast, which had been struck by a shot, breaking near the head, and her bow rising high out of the water as her stern rapidly settled. When her stern had sunk completely under water, Captain Semmes ordered the men to save themselves as they best could. Such as could swim jumped into the sea, and made for the boats which had put off for their rescue. The wounded and others were put into the quarter-boats, the others having been destroyed.

The English steam-yacht Deerhound was at this time near the Kearsarge, and as Captain Winslow had but two available boats he hailed her, and begged Mr. Lancaster to run down to the Alabama and assist in picking up the men. Mr. Lancaster complied with the request and steamed off for the purpose, but the Alabama sunk almost immediately afterward. The Deerhound, however, sent her boats, which engaged actively in picking up the men. The Kearsarge's boats rescued seventy, six officers and sixty-four men, of whom seventeen were wounded, three mortally. The Deerhound, after picking up forty-two persons, among whom was Captain Semmes—who was slightly wounded, and had thrown his sword into the sea after surrendering—and fourteen other officers, steamed off toward the English coast, and landed the rescued men at Southampton. In the hurry and confusion of the moment, the departure of the Deerhound thus was not observed till she had got too much the start to be overhauled. She was said to have received on board all the valuable personal effects of Captain Semmes the night before the engagement. Twelve men were picked up by two French pilot-boats and carried into Cherbourg.

The Alabama, which fought seven guns to the Kearsarge's five, is said to

have discharged 370 shot and shell during the engagement without doing any serious damage to the Kearsarge, on which, though she was struck fourteen times in and about the hull and sixteen or seventeen times about the masts and rigging, only three men were wounded and no lives were lost. The Kearsarge fired 173 projectiles, of which one alone killed or wounded fifteen men and disabled a gun. The total loss on the Alabama is unknown; according to the statement of Captain Semmes, there were nine killed and thirty-one wounded; probably more than thirty were killed or drowned, of whom some must have gone down with the ship, as the number of her officers and crew landed on the shores of England and France, including those on board the Kearsarge, who were all parolled at Cherbourg, was only 115. The conduct of Captain Semmes, in allowing himself to be carried to England, and throwing his sword overboard after surrendering his ship, became the subject of severe comment, and it was directed by the United States Government that he should be considered a prisoner of war till properly exchanged.

The Confederate war steamer Georgia put into Cherbourg in February, 1864, and proceeded thence shortly afterward to Liverpool, where she underwent a thorough overhauling at the Birkenhead docks. Being then put up for sale at public auction, Mr. Edward Bates, a well-known Liverpool ship-owner, became the purchaser. She was chartered by the Portuguese Government for the purpose of carrying passengers between Lisbon and the west coast of Africa, and was regularly fitted up for this traffic, with accommodations for thirty first-class and twenty second-class passengers. There still remained a mystery about the vessel, however, as she was generally considered to be anything but a merchant ship, and she was to be commanded by Captain Withycombe, a well-known blockade-runner. Nevertheless the owner stoutly maintained that she was a *bona-fide* merchantman. Not long before she sailed, the Federal war steamer Niagara entered the Mersey, and her commander, Commodore T. T. Craven, obtained a knowledge of the Georgia's destination. On the 6th of August, the day the Georgia was to sail, the Niagara left Liverpool and went to sea. The Georgia was just leaving dock as the Federal cruiser passed down the river, but immediately put back, and did not leave the river till the 8th, when she left with a very valuable cargo for Lisbon, and saw nothing more of the Federal cruiser till the 15th of August, when off Berlingos Point, twelve or fifteen miles north of Lisbon, when the Niagara was descried apparently waiting for her. Captain Withycombe did not deviate from his course till brought to by a couple of shots fired across his bows. He was shortly afterward boarded by an armed boat's crew and requested to go on board the Niagara, which he did, when Commodore Craven stated that it was his duty to seize the Georgia, but at the time promised that in doing so he would cause as little

inconvenience as possible to the officers and crew. The ship's papers were then taken possession of and the crew made prisoners. A fresh crew was put on board the Georgia, and she was headed for New York, while the Niagara steered for Dover, where she landed thirty-five of the crew, the other twenty choosing to remain in the Niagara. The seizure was justified in England as in accordance with international law, and the British Government had, previous to the sale of the Georgia, warned the public against purchasing any vessel which had been owned by the Confederate Government.

In February the Confederate war-steamer Florida, commanded by Captain Morris, after having been for some time kept shut up in the port of Brest by the Kearsarge, taking the opportunity afforded by a dark night, made her escape to sea, and after cruising about with various success, made her appearance in June at the port of St. George's, Bermuda, where she remained nine days, and took in a sufficiency of coal and supplies for a long cruise. Leaving St. George's on the 27th of June, she remained several days in the vicinity of the island, boarding all vessels that approached. On the 8th of July she made her appearance on the American coast near the mouth of the Chesapeake and the Maryland shore, and captured in the course of three days two schooners, six barks, a whale ship, and a brig laden with lumber, all of which, except one which was ransomed, were burnt. On the 11th she captured the steamer Electric Spark, bound for New Orleans. Her total captures up to this time amounted to thirty-four, including eleven ships, eight brigs, seven barks, and seven schooners. Among the prisoners taken on board the Electric Spark was Acting-Master W. P. Gibbs, according to whose report the armament of the Florida at that time was, four rifled sixty-eight-pounders, in broadside abaft the mainmast, a one-hundred-and-twenty-pounder rifle in pivot, and four small rifles in pivot broadside forward, with a crew of about two hundred men. Several vessels were dispatched by the Navy Department in pursuit of her, but she escaped them all, and was next heard from at Teneriffe, whence she sailed on the 4th of August. On the 28th of September, when off Pernambuco, she captured and burned the bark Mondamon, from Rio Janeiro, and on the 4th of October, after a cruise of two months, arrived at Bahia, Brazil, in quest of coal and provisions, and anchored in the offing. The United States war-steamer Wachusett, Commander Napoleon Collins, had been several days lying in the port of Bahia. Captain Morris was visited on the morning of the 5th by a Brazilian officer, to whom he stated his wants, and was informed by him that till the answer of the president of the province was received, he would not be allowed to have any communication with the shore. At an interview with the president, he was informed that forty-eight hours would be allowed for refitting and repairs, but that should the president's chief engi-

neer deem that time too short, it might be extended. The president was most urgent in his request that Captain Morris would observe the laws of neutrality, and at the same time stated that he had received the most solemn assurances from the United States consul that the Federal steamer Wachusett would do nothing in violation of the laws of nations and Brazil. The same assurances were required of Captain Morris. The Brazilian admiral, who was present at the interview, then invited Captain Morris to move his vessel farther into the harbor, and take a position between his ship and the shore, which he did, and anchored in the midst of the Brazilian fleet, close under the guns of the principal fort, situated on an island in the middle of the harbor. The Brazilian engineer informed Captain Morris that it would require four days to repair the pipe of the condenser. Feeling now no apprehension that any difficulty would occur with the Wachusett while in port, and wishing to gratify the crew with a short liberty, Captain Morris determined to permit one watch at a time to go ashore for twelve hours, and sent the port watch off that afternoon.

Several American residents and others interested in American affairs now sought to bring about an engagement between the two vessels, and about half-past seven in the evening a boat appeared alongside the Florida bearing a letter addressed to Captain Morris, of the "sloop Florida." This contained a challenge from Captain Collins to Captain Morris to move outside of Brazilian jurisdiction and fight the Wachusett. Captain Morris, however, refused to receive the letter, and returned it unopened, on account of its being addressed to the "sloop Florida" instead of to the "Confederate States steamer Florida." The next day Mr. De Vidiky, a Hungarian citizen with Federal sympathies, resident in Bahia, waited on Captain Morris, bearing a letter from the United States consul, in which was inclosed one for the commander of the Florida. This also Captain Morris declined to receive, objecting that it was improperly addressed. Mr. De Vidiky, however, made known the object of his visit by reading the consul's letter addressed to himself, which was a request that he would be the bearer of a challenge to Captain Morris. Captain Morris declined the challenge, but expressed his entire willingness, in case he should fall in with the Wachusett during a cruise, to engage in a contest with her, but at the same time said that no consideration should induce him to leave a safe harbor for the express purpose of fighting. That afternoon, the port watch having returned, Captain Morris sent the starboard watch, the other half of the crew, ashore on liberty, going also himself, in company with several officers. The departure of the sailors could easily be seen by the Wachusett, which was at no great distance.

Captain Collins, finding all his efforts to bring about an engagement without success, called a council of his officers in the evening, and asked them to con-

sider a proposition which he then made to seize the rebel cruiser at her anchorage. To this all the officers, with one exception, assented. The considerations which induced the council to come to this decision were, that the harbor of Bahia, by its peculiarities, offered unusual opportunities for the escape of the rebel cruiser, and that the Florida, so it was alleged, had repeatedly seized and burnt American ships within three miles of the American coast, in defiance of the neutrality laws, without any objection being made by the authorities of Brazil. The plan being once formed was soon put in execution.

About three o'clock in the morning of Friday, the 7th of October, the cables of the Wachusett were slipped, and she bore down upon the rebel vessel under a full head of steam. As has been said, half of the Florida's crew, including Captain Morris, were on shore, and the remainder, having but just returned from a similar leave of absence, were in no condition to repel an attack. As the Wachusett approached, the Florida's officer of the deck, seeing a collision imminent, but supposing the near approach of the hostile vessel the result of carelessness or accident, cried out, "You will run into us if you don't look out." Then, receiving no answer, he called all hands to quarters, but before the officers and crew were all on deck the collision took place. The intention of Captain Collins was, with full steam on, to strike the Florida amidships, crush in her side and send her at once to the bottom. The Wachusett, however, did not hit her adversary in the manner intended, but on the starboard quarter, cutting her rail down to the deck and carrying away her mizzen-mast and main yard. The Florida was not seriously injured by the collision, but the broken spar fell across the awning over her hatchway in such a manner as to prevent a number of the crew getting on deck from below. Several pistol shots were exchanged, and a charge of canister was fired from the forecastle pivot-gun of the Wachusett. The Wachusett, after striking, was carried back a few yards by the recoil. There was then more firing from both vessels; but no one was wounded on either side. Captain Collins now demanded a surrender. Seeing that resistance was useless, Lieutenant Porter, the officer in charge of the Florida, replied: "Under the circumstances I surrender." Fifteen of the crew immediately jumped overboard to escape capture. Armed boats were then sent from the Wachusett to take possession of the Florida, and without an instant's delay the prize was boarded and made fast by means of a hawser to the Wachusett, which immediately steered down the bay toward sea with the Florida in tow. The Brazilian vessels challenged her as she moved off, but received no reply. Shortly afterward the heavy guns of the fort, under the very muzzles of which the capture had been made, opened fire on the Wachusett. Three shots were fired, but they all passed harmlessly far above her pennant, striking the water beyond; and as the dawn was still far off, she was soon out

Oct. 7.

of sight. All this took place within half an hour.

The Brazilian admiral's vessel was immediately got ready to set out in pursuit as soon as steam could be raised on a small vessel belonging to the fleet. His ship, a sloop of war, being a sailing vessel, was then taken in tow by the little steamer, and went out of the harbor after the Wachusett, but returned in the afternoon without having been able to overtake her. Captain Collins, when safe out at sea, ordered the ships to heave to, and examined his prize. Neither vessel had been materially damaged by the collision, and there had been no injury to life or limb from the confused firing which followed. Twelve officers and fifty-eight men of the Florida's crew were captured, with what remained of her stores. All her papers and records were found undisturbed in the cabin. Captain Collins then steered for St. Thomas, and arrived there on the 29th with his prize.

There can be no doubt that in his mode of capturing the Florida, Captain Collins violated one of the clearest and most necessary rules of the law of nations, to the prejudice of the rights of Brazil, and that the president of the province of Bahia was fully justified in declining any further intercourse with the American consul, Mr. T. F. Wilson, as being implicated in the affair. The Florida finally arrived in Hampton Roads during the month of November, in a leaky and shattered condition, and while at anchor, pending the settlement of the questions of international law involved by her seizure in a neutral port, was, on the 19th, run into accidentally by the army transport Alliance, and received so much farther damage that she sank a few days afterward, near the wreck of the Cumberland.

The Brazilian Government officially represented that the capture of the Florida in Brazilian waters was a gross outrage on neutral rights, and demanded apology and reparation. The Secretary of State replied that jealousy of foreign intervention was a cardinal principle in the policy of the United States, and that therefore the President regretted and disavowed the action complained of, and would suspend Captain Collins and direct him to appear before a court-martial. It was promised also, on the part of the President, that the consul at Bahia, having admitted that he had advised and incited Captain Collins, would be dismissed; that the flag of Brazil should receive from the United States navy the honor customary in the intercourse of friendly powers, and that the crew of the Florida should be set at liberty.

A very swift Confederate cruiser, the Tallahassee, commanded by Captain John Taylor Wood, which had been formerly a blockade runner, steamed out of Wilmington on the 8th of August, in spite of the vigilance of Admiral Lee's blockading squadron, and on the 11th appeared off New York harbor. She was a London-built iron steamer, painted of a light lead color, with two smoke-stacks and two screws; was about 230 feet long, with twenty feet beam, and

drew about nine feet of water. She was fore-and-aft-schooner rigged, and mounted three guns—a small one on the top-gallant forecastle, a long thirty-two pounder amidships, and a twenty-four pounder aft. Her crew, including officers, consisted of about 120 men of all nationalities, described by persons who had the misfortune to be captured by her, as being a very rough set dressed in rags and tatters. A great number of vessels, mostly coasting schooners, were captured and afterward scuttled or burnt by this cruiser, among them the ship Adriatic, with emigrants on board, and the New York pilot-boat James Funk—which she used for some time in boarding other vessels—and the William Bell, another pilot-boat. After effecting all the destruction she could with safety in the neighborhood of New York, she proceeded northward, capturing and destroying more vessels on her way, and on the 18th put into Halifax for coal. Her departure from that port being hastened by the British Admiral Hope, she left again early on the morning of the 20th, with only a partial supply of coal; but again, in spite of the vigilance of the Federal vessels of war, no less than thirteen of which had been sent in search of her in various directions, got off to sea again in safety. Her success was almost entirely owing to the fact that her appearance was altogether unexpected. During the short time that she was permitted to commit her depredations unmolested, the utmost excitement existed in the towns along the Northern seaboard, and the most exaggerated stories respecting the number of her captures obtained currency. But the great number of vessels sent in pursuit making a continuance in the northern waters very hazardous, she soon departed southward, and again succeeded in getting through the line of blockading ships, though not without exchanging a few shots with the gunboat Monticello, off New Inlet, and was safe back at Wilmington on the 26th of August, having captured no less than thirty-three vessels in a cruise of eighteen days.

CHAPTER XL.

The Army of the Potomac.—Description of Petersburg.—Movement on Petersburg under Generals Gillmore and Kautz. —Reconnoissance on the North Side of the James.—The outer Defences of Petersburg taken.—Movement of General Terry against the Petersburg and Richmond Railroad.—Army of the Potomac before Petersburg.—Four Days of unsuccessful Assaulting.—The Confederate Troops reoccupy their Lines in Front of Butler's Position.—Attack on Sheridan's Wagon Train at White House.—Movement against the Weldon Railroad. Skirmish at Davis' Farm. —Fire directed against the Appomattox Bridges.—Deep Bottom occupied by General Foster.—The Movement against the Weldon Railroad resumed.—The Federal Line broken through.—Disastrous Consequences.—Heavy Losses in Prisoners.—Advance of General Wright toward the Weldon Railroad. The Vermont Brigade driven back.—Attack on the Tenth Corps.—Sheridan's Cavalry attacked while on the March from White House.—Friendly Intercourse between Pickets.—Petersburg Bombarded.—Sanitary and Christian Commissions.—March of the Sixth Corps to the Relief of Wilson's Cavalry.

1864.

THE Army of the Potomac, without the loss of a wagon or a single piece of artillery, had been transferred from the north bank of the Chickahominy to the south side of the James. The enemy were aware that a move was intended, but had hardly counted on its being executed with such celerity. As the wearied soldiers marched along the dusty roads, they met with little annoyance except such as arose from the heated atmosphere and the burning sun. The column which moved from Long Bridge to Wilcox's Wharf it is true had a sharp engagement with the enemy near White Oak Bridge, on the borders of the swamps, but Wilson's cavalry and Crawford's advanced division of the fifth corps, with a loss of not more than two hundred men, drove them back. Allowing in addition to these for stragglers, and for a skirmishing line cut off at Cold Harbor, the entire loss attending the movement did not exceed four hundred men. In the conduct of the campaign thus far, General Grant had been equal to his word. He had proposed to approach Richmond overland by the road from Fredericksburg. He had declared his determination to "fight it out on this line though it should take all summer." He had fought it out, and there remained the greater part of the summer. The marching had been rapid, the fighting bloody and sometimes terrific; the changes of position to meet exigencies as they occurred, promptly conceived and swiftly executed. It had been Grant's first intention to fall upon Lee's army again and again from the Rapidan to the Chickahominy, and by a succession of heavy blows to break it up, or so weaken it, that when it should at last fall back upon Richmond, that city would prove an easy conquest for his victorious legions. His scheme failed. The numerical strength of the enemy proved greater than had been supposed, and General Lee was careful in his

retrograde movements never to fight except in impregnable positions. Driven back from Mine Run to Mechanicsville, sustaining heavy losses, Lee's army proved at Cold Harbor that, though inferior in numbers, it yet had the strength and the spirit to hold its own within defensive lines. Its inferiority in the open field, not less perhaps than the enemy's perplexity as to the object of the movement, accounted for Grant's being allowed, almost unmolested, to transfer the Army of the Potomac to the south side of the James.

Grant's attention was now turned to Petersburg. In any attempt to approach Richmond from the south, the occupation of Petersburg must be an important preliminary step. The holding of that city would sever the enemy's communications southward, and afford many material advantages in the investment of Richmond. General Grant had wished to gain possession of it in the outset, and in his grand plan of campaign had arranged that it should be taken and held by the Army of the James, which, however, had proved inadequate to the task.

Petersburg, before the war an exceedingly handsome and flourishing post-town and port of entry, is situated on the right or south bank of the Appomattox, at a distance of twenty-two miles south of Richmond, and ten miles southwest of the James at City Point. In population —which was 18,266 according to the census of 1860--and in commercial advantages, with facilities for rapidly increasing trade, it ranked as the third town in Virginia. From ten to fifteen thousand hogsheads of tobacco were annually exported. It had some important public buildings and numerous churches, among them two Episcopalian, two Presbyterian, one Baptist, and one Roman Catholic, with others principally for the colored population. It had also several cotton factories, an iron furnace, and a number of mills of various kinds; also several educational establishments. Three newspapers were published there. Around the falls, just above the town, which afford unlimited water power, a canal has been constructed, by means of which boats of light draught can ascend the Appomattox nearly a hundred miles. Vessels of a hundred tons burden can approach the town from City Point; larger ones are obliged to discharge their cargoes at Walthal's Landing, six miles below. Five railroads diverge from Petersburg: the one running northward to Richmond; the Weldon Railroad, running southward to the Carolinas; the South Side Railroad, running westward to Lynchburg; the Norfolk Railroad, running southeastward to Suffolk and thence to Norfolk, and the short railroad running northeastward to City Point. Immediately east of the town is the decayed village of Blandford, said to have been formerly superior in many respects to Petersburg. A destructive fire occurred at Blandford in 1815, by which a large amount of property, including four hundred houses, was consumed. Petersburg was defended by means of a series of skilfully constructed earth-works, consisting not only of square

redoubts, but also of well-established rifle-trenches, extending around the city in a semicircle, of which the two ends rested on the river, their northern extremity strengthened by batteries on the opposite side of the stream.

Before Grant's army crossed the James, a demonstration had been made against Petersburg by the force under General Butler. He had been frequently informed by deserters that the garrison was much weakened by the withdrawal of troops to reinforce Lee, and early in the month of June made preparations for sending a force in that direction. A pontoon bridge was constructed, to be thrown across the Appomattox, and gun-boats were sent up the river to reconnoitre. The expedition was placed under the charge of General Gillmore, who led the infantry column, about 3,500 men, consisting of Hawley's brigade of the tenth corps, and a brigade of colored troops under General Hinks. The cavalry, 1,400 strong, was commanded by General Kautz. It was arranged that General Gillmore, having crossed to the east bank of the Appomattox by the pontoon bridge, should proceed by the turnpike road toward the town, and attack it from that direction, while General Kautz, also crossing the river, should fetch a wide circuit and make his attack on the south or south-west side of the town; the movements of the two bodies of troops to be so timed that they might enter the place simultaneously at different points. It was hoped that the city might thus be captured, and if not held, that at least all its supplies and stores of ammunition might be destroyed. General Butler engaged to make a demonstration in the mean time against Fort Clifton.

After dark on the 8th of June, the pontoon bridge was laid down near Point of Rocks, and about midnight General Kautz's cavalry crossed by it, quickly followed by Hawley's brigade, which was soon afterward joined by the brigade under General Hinks. Before eight o'clock in the morning, Follett's battery was brought up in front of the woods near Point of Rocks, and began to shell the rebel lines near Fort Clifton. The gun-boats Commodore Perry and General Putnam also opened fire on the same position. A brisk fire was kept up thus till noon. A battery which the enemy brought down, and which threw thirty-pounder shells at General Weitzel's signal station, was soon silenced. In the mean time Generals Gillmore and Kautz had pressed on, making a detour so as to avoid the fire of Fort Clifton, and were rapidly approaching Petersburg. The infantry met with no serious opposition till within about two miles of the town, when the enemy's skirmish lines were encountered, but quickly driven back. Having arrived in front of the town, and sufficiently near to be able to examine the fortifications critically, General Gillmore came to the conclusion that they were too strong to be attempted by the force under his command, and accordingly withdrew his troops about noon, and got back to camp the same evening. In the mean time General Kautz on his side had

June 9.

forced the intrenchments and actually engaged the enemy in the city streets. But the rebels concentrated against him what force they had, and he was compelled to retire, though he carried off with him forty prisoners. His loss was only about twenty men in killed and wounded.

A cavalry reconnoissance made on the 15th on the north side of the James, toward Malvern Hill, intended partly as a feint in the hope of detaining the enemy on that side, revealed the fact that the region southeast of Richmond was still held by a strong force under General A. P. Hill, showing evidently that the enemy suspected Grant might after all attempt to get to Richmond by the Newmarket road. Nevertheless General Lee made preparations to detach large bodies of troops for the defence of Petersburg.

In the mean time important movements were going on on the south side of the river. At one o'clock on the morning of the 15th, the eighteenth corps, which had arrived at Bermuda Hundred on the previous evening, in transports, by way of Fortress Monroe, set out for Petersburg. Kautz's cavalry in the advance crossed the Appomattox by the pontoon bridge near Point of Rocks. Brooks' and Martindale's divisions followed, together with General Hinks' two brigades of colored troops. The route taken was the same as that pursued a week previous by Generals Gillmore and Kautz. Soon after daylight General Kautz, advancing along the City Point road, encountered skirmishers, and drove them out of a small earth-work. The troops of Generals Hinks and Brooks followed rapidly, and soon afterward, near Harrison's Creek, a line of rifle-trenches with two twelve-pounders was discovered, from which solid shot flew over the head of the column. General Hinks deployed skirmishers, scattered the enemy through some neighboring woods, and finally secured a position near Baylor's Farm, from which the twenty-fifth and fifth colored regiments carried the enemy's works, capturing one of the guns and turning it on the retreating rebels. The division of General Brooks now moved up, with Burnham's brigade in the advance, and entered a strip of woods which concealed the main outer line of the defences of Petersburg, about two miles from the town. General Hinks then moved his division toward the left, on the Jourdan Point road, while General Martindale, with Stannard in the advance, moved on by the river road. A line was thus formed in front of the Petersburg intrenchments, in which General Martindale held the right, General Brooks the centre, and General Hinks the left. Active skirmishing went on while these positions were being taken, and the fire of the rebel sharpshooters told severely on the troops. Just before sunset, the order was given to carry the enemy's works by assault, and the whole line rushed forward, swept the entire range of rifle-pits in spite of a heavy artillery fire, and drove the enemy from the intrenchments. Sixteen guns, a battle-flag, and three hundred prisoners

June 15.

were taken. Had an adequate supporting force been at hand, the second line of works might have been taken with comparative ease. These works were strongly and neatly built, but were incompletely manned by a portion of the force under General Wise. Had it not been for the feint toward Malvern Hill, a stronger force would probably have been thrown into them, and they would have been more obstinately defended. The Federal loss was about five hundred men. The second corps began to arrive in the evening; and before morning the whole of it had reached the scene of action. During the night General Birney's division held the captured earthworks, against which the enemy, knowing their value, made demonstrations, but in vain. While the infantry were thus operating toward Petersburg from the northeast, General Kautz, on the extreme left, with Spear's brigade in the advance, moved against the enemy's works near the Norfolk Railroad and on the Baxter road. After a brisk cannonade on the position, which was well fortified with artillery, a charge was made by Kautz's men, armed with carbines, but the work proved too strong to be carried, and General Kautz was compelled to retire. So far Petersburg had been defended by its local garrison, but the rebel troops in the neighborhood were rapidly concentrating to its aid.

On the morning of the 16th, General Butler having learned that a portion of the rebel forces in front of his intrenchments at Bermuda Hundred had been hurried to Petersburg, sent out General Terry with a part of the tenth corps to reconnoitre. His skirmishers soon drove in the enemy, and the reserves coming up, their line was broken through, and finally the railroad was reached near Walthal Junction. While a working party tore up the track and pulled down the telegraph wires for about two miles, the main body of General Terry's force moved along the road by which it was supposed General Lee's advance was approaching. But the enemy at length came down upon them in force and compelled a retreat. The result of the movement was, that travel by the railroad was interrupted for about a day.

June 16.

In the mean time the Federal troops were gathering around Petersburg. Its outer line of defences had been carried on the evening of the 15th, as has been said, before the enemy had been able to send down troops enough to fully man the works. Early on the morning of the 16th, General Birney sent Colonel Egan's brigade against a redoubt on his left, which was carried and held, with the loss of about a hundred men. An attempt was made to push forward the picket lines, when skirmishing and artillery firing ensued. But reinforcements for the rebels were now rapidly arriving from various quarters, and in such numbers that it was thought advisable not to push the troops forward till the arrival of Burnside's corps. In the mean time General Kautz moved out with his cavalry to the left across the Norfolk Railroad, to occupy ground for the ninth and fifth corps. In the after-

noon Burnside came up with the ninth corps, after a severe forced march from Charles City Court House, having crossed the James by the pontoon bridge. Line of battle was then formed, with the second corps in the centre, the eighteenth corps on the right, and the ninth corps on the left. General Birney's division held the right of the second corps, General Barlow's the left. To the left of Barlow was General Potter's division of the ninth corps. The ground between the opposing lines, though broken and rugged, was rather open, with here and there fields of grain. At six o'clock the attack was commenced and kept up for three hours. General Birney's division carried the crest in its front, and held it. Barlow's advanced brigade found more difficulty, the enemy being somewhat concentrated in its front. At length Miles' brigade of Barlow's division and Griffin's of Potter's division, charging in face of a destructive artillery fire, succeeded in gaining a foothold in the rifle-pits outside of the stronger works. The troops being here annoyed by the enemy's fire, General Barlow determined to make an assault on their main works, and General Burnside prepared a column to make the attempt in connection with him. But the enemy opened a severe fire upon Burnside's troops, and cut off a skirmish line of three hundred men in Barlow's front, and the assault was deferred till morning. General Birney's loss during the three hours' fighting was about five hundred men; General Potter's division in its charge on the rifle-pits lost about the same number. The right had not taken an important part in the contest and had suffered but little. The total Federal loss since the beginning of the action was between 1,500 and 2,000, while that of the enemy, owing to their advantage of position, was comparatively small.

On the morning of the 17th, at four o'clock, General Burnside ordered Potter's division to take the works in its front, and Griffin's brigade, supported by Curtin's, carried it with a rush, capturing six guns, sixteen officers, four hundred men, and a stand of colors. A pause then occurred in the assault, but brisk skirmishing was carried on by the picket lines, and the artillery on both sides kept up a steady fire. In the afternoon Potter's division was relieved by the divisions of Wilcox and Ledlie. An advance by Ledlie's division was then ordered, and the charge was gallantly made, covered by a brisk artillery fire. The intrenchments were reached, and after a bloody but short contest over the breast-works, the rebels were driven out of them and the position was carried; and though several attempts were made by the enemy to recover the lost ground, it was firmly held. General Burnside was now about a mile and a half from the city, and threw some shots into it. The other portions of the line had, during the day, been engaged in skirmishing, but without attempting any decisive assault. The enemy's position opposite the second corps—temporarily commanded by General Birney, in the absence of General Hancock, who was suffering from an old wound—was

June 17.

deemed too strong to be attacked with any hope of success. General Barlow's division, on the left of the second corps, had taken part in Burnside's charge in the morning, and rendered efficient service. On the right, the greater part of the eighteenth corps, under General Smith, was relieved from the position it had carried, and recrossing the pontoon bridge over the Appomattox at night, regained the intrenchments at Bermuda Hundred in the morning. The divisions of Hinks and Martindale, on the extreme right, remained, as they could not be withdrawn to advantage. The fifth corps, under General Warren, came up on the left, and was massed there in the rear of Burnside. About nine o'clock at night the enemy appeared in force on General Birney's front, but were driven back. Somewhat later, under cover of a vigorous shelling from the rebel batteries, the enemy suddenly reappeared in two columns, one in front, the other in flank, and made a desperate and finally successful effort to recover the works taken by Burnside during the afternoon. Leaping the defences in the dark, they succeeded in driving out the Federal troops.

On this same day, early in the morning, a body of the enemy, consisting of parts of the divisions of Generals Pickett and Fields, attacked the Federal lines near the James. General Foster's division of the tenth corps, which held a line extending from near Ware Bottom Church toward the Appomattox, was pushed back a little, but nothing important occurred.

On the morning of the 18th, the Federal line in front of Petersburg lay as follows, from right to left: two divisions of the eighteenth corps, under Generals Martindale and Hinks; the sixth under General Wright; the second under General Birney; the ninth under General Burnside, and the fifth under General Warren. It had been intended to make another assault at four o'clock in the morning, but skirmishers having been sent out, it was found that the enemy had abandoned the works immediately in front for an inner series of defences. New combinations therefore became necessary. Sharp skirmishing and artillery firing went on while the enemy's new defensive line was being reconnoitred. A general advance of the three corps on the left was ordered at noon. General Gibbon pushed up an assaulting column of three brigades, while the remainder of the corps threw out double lines of skirmishers to divert the enemy's attention. The troops of General Gibbon moved promptly up toward the works to be assaulted, which were near the railroad to City Point; but when they got out from under cover they were suddenly struck by a murderous enfilading fire on their left. Nevertheless the men went desperately through it for a while; but their ranks were swept by incessant volleys, and at last even the veterans recoiled. The breast-works were not even reached when the men began to retire, leaving their dead and wounded on the field. In the afternoon another storming party was organized. It con-

June 18.

sisted of General Mott's division, with detachments from the two other divisions. A little before five in the afternoon, General Mott moved out his force in two columns, and the two leading brigades burst upon the enemy in gallant style; but in spite of an exhibition of the most resolute bravery, they were forced back with terrible loss, by a concentrated artillery and musketry fire. This charge also failed.

General Burnside's corps, on the left of the second, was not idle. Wilcox's division, with Curtin's brigade of Potter's division, was pushed to the front to fill up the space between the second and fifth corps. Ledlie's division was held in reserve. Brisk skirmishing continued through the day, but no decisive advantage was gained. During the afternoon the line was well established across the Norfolk Railroad. General Wilcox's division for a time pushed the enemy from point to point over the rugged ground in its front, with a sharp musketry fire; but the column was caught by a battery in flank, and the assault in this direction also ceased at night, without the enemy's main line having been penetrated. On the part of the fifth corps, in position to the left of the ninth, an advance was made early in the morning, and the enemy's withdrawal to his inner line of defences discovered. Preparations were then made for a new advance, and in the mean time a sharp artillery and musketry fire was kept up. A determined and vigorous attack was made at noon simultaneously with that by the second corps. The ground in front was slightly rolling and generally open, here and there obstructed by abattis, as well as by a natural undergrowth. The movement was directed against the south side of the Norfolk Railroad, but was only partially successful. Again, in the evening, simultaneously with General Mott's attack from the centre, the divisions of Griffin and Crawford assaulted vigorously, but to little purpose. In every direction the enemy held their own. On the right, Martindale's division of the eighteenth corps, and Neill's division of the sixth, had no better fortune than was experienced in other parts of the line. The fighting was continued into the night, but gradually died away in picket firing. The losses during the day had been very heavy, especially on the part of the second corps. In the entire series of operations, from the 15th to the 18th of June, it was estimated that the loss in killed, wounded, and missing was not less than ten thousand men. Four days of serious assaulting, though the defences of Petersburg were as yet manned only, or principally, by the troops of Wise and Beauregard, had had little other result than the decimation of the storming columns.

No movements of importance took place in the vicinity of Petersburg on the 19th and 20th. During the 19th, arrangements were made under a flag of truce for burying the dead and carrying off the wounded between the lines. The sixth corps, which had been on the north side of the Appomattox, near Port Walthal, was relieved by the

eighteenth corps, and moved into line on the right. General Ferrero's division of the ninth corps also arrived, and was posted in the front. Three rebel rams descended the James nearly as far as Dutch Gap, but were soon driven back by the fleet. The enemy continued to intrench on the west side of the Appomattox as industriously as the Federal troops did on the east side; but having now no apprehensions of immediately losing Petersburg, made some movements in other directions. Beauregard in his hurry to reinforce Petersburg had hastily deserted his old lines in front of Bermuda Hundred, and the tenth corps, as has been said, made use of the opportunity to cut the Petersburg and Richmond Railroad; but when they were driven back, the enemy re-occupied their works, and from these lines made a slight demonstration in front and some raiding movements in the neighborhood of the James. On the night of the 19th they succeeded in destroying the wharves at Wilcox's and Westover Landings, and sent small bodies of troops along the river to do whatever other mischief they could. They also threw up earth-works near Turkey Bend, but were easily shelled out of them by the gun-boats.

On the 20th, early in the morning, a strong force of rebel cavalry, with some artillery, moved rapidly down upon White House, where General Abercrombie, with about two thousand men, of whom about a third were convalescents, was guarding the wagon train of General Sheridan, then absent on his raid toward Gordonsville. The wagons were parked behind breast-works. The enemy drove in the skirmishers in the neighborhood of Cold Harbor, but on approaching White House, the gun-boats in the river and two field batteries opened on them with a fire of shells. Skirmishing continued with little loss to either side till the afternoon, when Sheridan's forces arrived, and the rebels withdrew from the vicinity of White House, though they remained some days in the region of the Pamunkey.

On the 21st, active movements were again commenced by the main army, and once more by the left flank, with the object of severing the communications to the south of Petersburg by the Weldon Railroad. On the previous night the second corps had been moved from its position in the right centre of the line to the left, the gap thus formed being closed up by the extension of the ninth corps and part of the eighteenth. The second corps then struck across the Norfolk Railroad, and marched rapidly southward, though under an intensely hot sun and through clouds of stifling and blinding dust, with the steadiness which had so often characterized that corps during flank marches in presence of the enemy. Griffin's division of the fifth corps was detached to follow; the sixth corps was also moved out in support. Before noon the main column halted; but in the afternoon Barlow's division, with sharpshooters skirmishing in advance, was sent forward, and struck the enemy's lines in the neighborhood of the Jerusalem road, which runs southward from Petersburg,

June 21.

about midway between the Norfolk and Weldon railroads. The division was then halted and put into position, and skirmishers were advanced. These met a stout resistance from dismounted cavalry pickets, and presently infantry were discovered in force with artillery planted in earth-works — making it manifest that the enemy understood the value of the Weldon Railroad, and were prepared and determined to defend it energetically. After a severe skirmish General Barlow's advanced line was withdrawn and rejoined the main column. General Gibbon had in the mean time reconnoitred toward Petersburg, but without result. On the extreme left the enemy's movements were so threatening that a squadron of cavalry was sent round to protect that flank. The corps was then retired to form in position for the night, with General Barlow's division on the left, General Mott's in the centre, and General Gibbon's on the right. Beyond Gibbon's division was Griffin's of the fifth corps. The sixth corps was intended to be posted between the second corps and the Weldon Railroad. Ricketts' division came up and took a position on Barlow's left, and the other division followed. There was a little cavalry skirmishing on the extreme left, and the rebel scouts made a slight dash in the evening toward the Federal position, but the day closed without any more important movement. The fight in the afternoon took place on what was known as the Davis' Farm, two and a half miles from the city and within a mile of the railroad.

The day was comparatively quiet in the lines east of Petersburg. The rebels early in the morning opened fire toward the headquarters of the sixth corps, which had not at that time moved out, and there was more or less firing during the day, especially toward the right. The bridges over the Appomattox connecting Petersburg and Pocahontas now underwent a daily shelling from the Federal batteries. The fire on the railroad bridge was particularly annoying to the enemy, as it tended materially to obstruct the passage of cars.

To the north of Petersburg there had been during the day some important movements. Early in the morning General Foster, with his division of the tenth corps, crossed to the north side of the James River by a pontoon bridge laid by General Weitzel on the previous evening, to a point between Aiken's Landing and Four Mile Creek. He advanced then toward the Kingsland road, drove in the enemy's pickets and intrenched at Deep Bottom, about ten miles from Richmond, the approaches to which he threatened to some extent. On the opposite side of the river was the battery of the enemy known as Howlett's. Near this point a fight between the monitors and the rebel rams took place, but though the latter were aided by the battery, they were driven back to their usual position on the west side of Dutch Gap. The heavy Dahlgren guns soon silenced the battery, and in the evening were opened on the enemy manœuvring in front of Foster. He was thus enabled to hold his own for

some time without molestation. In the mean time the eighteenth corps again left its camp near Bermuda Hundred, once more crossed the pontoon bridge, marched to the lines in front of Petersburg, and took the position vacated by the sixth corps. The result of the various army movements on the 21st was, that at night the different commands lay as follows: General Foster's division of the tenth corps was north of the James at Deep Bottom; the remainder of the tenth corps being with General Butler at Bermuda Hundred. In the intrenchments east of Petersburg, the right was held by the eighteenth corps, the centre by the ninth, the left by the fifth. Three or four miles to the south, threatening the Weldon Railroad, were the second and sixth corps, with Griffin's division of the fifth corps.

June 22. The movement against the Weldon Railroad was resumed early on the 22d. Now that the capture of Petersburg had come to be considered out of the question for the present, the severance of the Weldon Railroad became a primary object. This once made permanent, the value of Petersburg to General Lee would be very much diminished. It was intended that the present movement should partake of the nature of a surprise, but the enemy were found everywhere on the alert. It had been arranged that, simultaneously with the movement of the infantry, the cavalry under Generals Wilson and Kautz should make a detour southward and cut the railroad about ten miles from Petersburg. This was done, but the damage accomplished was easily repaired. The sixth corps, the whole of which had come up during the night, prepared to move, in conjunction with the second corps, directly against the railroad. The position of the second corps was near the Jerusalem road, the right of General Gibbon's division resting on the left of the road, with General Griffin's division of the fifth corps on the farther side. Gibbon's troops were already well up to the enemy's works and needed only to go into position and intrench, as any farther advance on their part might bring on a general engagement before the line was properly established. The left of the line, therefore, consisting of the sixth corps with the divisions of Generals Barlow and Mott of the second corps, was ordered to advance, the movement to commence at daybreak. But by some misunderstanding the march was delayed. At last the two corps began to move at the same time, though independently of each other, each commander having been cautioned to protect his flank well in case connection were not made with the other corps. The line had been deployed in a rather open style, and covered a wide extent of ground, which being difficult and intricate, and the movement being made in presence of the enemy, it was thought desirable to mass more closely. Accordingly General Barlow, on the left of the second corps, pressed well in to the right and threw two brigades into reserve, the remainder of his troops forming the advance line. But on entering the woods a gap began to be

formed between his left and the right of the sixth corps, and he placed regiments to guard his flank. In the mean time General Mott had, without difficulty, attained the position indicated for him and had begun to intrench; General Gibbon was already in position; and General Barlow having moved forward sufficiently was also about to intrench, when the startling sound was heard of musketry on his flank, and soon afterward toward his rear. The corps of the rebel General Hill advancing to check the movement against the railroad, was approaching in several solid columns, preceded by a dense cloud of skirmishers. The sixth corps was far distant on the left and rear. There was consequently a wide gap in the Federal line, like that which occurred between the fifth and second corps in the Wilderness, but which was happily filled up in time to prevent fatal results. In the present case the enemy were so situated as to be able to take full advantage of the mistake committed. An entire division, with Mahone's brigade in the advance, rushed into the intervening space. The skirmishers of General Barlow's division were quickly driven in, and the enemy's column sweeping all before it, almost instantaneously rolled up Barlow's flank, capturing several hundred prisoners. The sudden recoil of Barlow's division uncovered the left flank of Mott's division, and exposed it to the same disadvantage. Mott fell back in his turn also, with the loss of several hundred prisoners, and thus exposed the left of Gibbon's division. In the mean time the remainder of Hill's corps had come up, and having captured Mott's entire line of intrenchments, pressed Gibbon not only in front but in rear, so that his left brigade was almost encircled by the enemy's fire. McKnight's four-gun battery was well handled, but its supporting troops were driven back and Gibbon's intrenchments had already been carried. Such was the suddenness and impetuosity of the attack, and so great was the confusion resulting from it, that several whole regiments were swept off and captured almost without a fight. McKnight's battery was then surrounded and captured entire. But the career of the enemy was now checked by the firmness of the Twentieth Massachusetts regiment, commanded at that time by Captain Patten, who executed a change of front with remarkable coolness, courage, and skill. The broken corps was at length rallied. Miles' reserve brigade of General Barlow's division was brought up; Clark's New Jersey battery on the right of the Jerusalem road withstood successfully the concentrated fire of the enemy; Gibbon's division, or rather what was left of it, was also rallied, and the beginning of a new line was soon formed. The enemy had by this time become exhausted with their own efforts, and an attempt on their part to disperse the few brave troops in Gibbon's former front signally failed. Toward evening, efforts were made by General Gibbon to retake the lost battery, but without success. General Meade having now got his force

again under control, and seeing that the enemy's troops were not in sufficient number to be able to cope with his own if well handled, again sent forward the second and sixth corps. The sixth met with little opposition, and attained the position aimed at earlier in the day. The second corps went through the woods in strong skirmishing lines, and succeeded, though not without some effort, in regaining a part of the ground from which it had been driven. It then went into intrenchments, and passed the night in throwing up works and placing batteries for the protection of the line. The division of General Griffin also came up and covered the right. The loss sustained in this unfortunate and unskilfully managed affair was principally in prisoners, two thousand having been taken by the enemy, including fifty or sixty officers; the number of killed and wounded was only about five hundred. Four guns also were lost and several colors. Picket firing was kept up all night, as the last advance had placed the opposing lines in close proximity. A reconnoissance and advance at daylight disclosed the fact that the rebels were strongly intrenched along the east side of the Weldon Railroad.

After dark the enemy opened a sharp artillery and musketry fire on the ninth corps to the east of Petersburg, which was answered by a similar fire. This was kept up during a great part of the night, but no advance was attempted from either side.

On the 23d, General Wright moving out to the extreme left, found that the enemy's lines did not extend far in that direction, and sent a reconnoitring force to the railroad, which was reached without opposition and the telegraph wires cut. The Vermont brigade, consisting of three regiments, was at once dispatched to the railroad, with instructions to hold it, but the troops had hardly reached the road when a division of the enemy under General Anderson came down upon their flank and drove them back, capturing several hundred prisoners, and then, flushed with success, after pushing back the Vermont brigade to the main body, commenced a general attack, the result of which was that General Wright withdrew his line toward evening to the cover of breast-works. Little else of importance occurred during the day.

June 23.

On the 24th the enemy opened a furious artillery fire in front of the eighteenth corps. At its close a charge was made by a brigade of General Hoke's division on General Stannard's division of the tenth corps. The attack fell chiefly on the brigade of Colonel Henry, who observing that the attacking force was not large, drew in his skirmishers; the enemy then running over his rifle-pits, he caused the Fortieth Massachusetts, armed with the Spencer repeating-rifle, to open fire upon them. This with artillery in flank easily separated the enemy's skirmishing line from their reserve, and about 150 prisoners fell into Colonel Henry's hands. On the evening of the same day, Sheridan's cavalry was attacked while on the march from White House to rejoin the main

army. A brigade of infantry was sent to his relief, but the affair was very bloody, and the rear-guard suffered severely. The enemy were beaten off at length, and the wagon train, several miles in length, was saved, but not before a loss of five or six hundred men had been sustained. Sheridan's force crossed the James in safety on the 25th, four or five miles above Fort Powhatan, at a point where the pontoon bridges could be guarded by gun-boats.

June 24.

During the 25th the enemy were busily engaged in repairing the Weldon Railroad, and the Federal forces in strengthening their positions. All along the line, owing to the proximity of the opposing pickets, there was skirmishing, with occasional artillery firing, but no serious fighting. About ten o'clock at night a sharp attack was made on the right of the fifth corps and on the left of the ninth. It was commenced by a heavy artillery fire, which lasted about an hour, followed by the advance of a strong skirmish line up to the Federal breast-works; but the enemy were easily repulsed, and the loss was not great on either side.

From the 26th to the 29th, comparative quiet prevailed in the camps, broken occasionally by picket firing, skirmishing near the working parties, and desultory cannonading. From the front of General Smith's corps a thirty-pounder Parrott shell was thrown into the city every five minutes, and with such regularity that it came to be called the "Petersburg express." The earth-works along the Federal lines underwent constant improvement till they became almost impregnable. About eleven o'clock on the morning of the 27th, the enemy, much annoyed by the regular fire of the thirty-pounder Parrott on the city, opened from their heavy guns on the west side of the Appomattox. The batteries in General Smith's front, where many guns were now in position, opened in reply, and shelled the city, as well as the enemy's batteries beyond the river, till noon. The opposing pickets along some parts of the line entered into an agreement not to fire upon each other, and the result was an unusual degree of quiet for a little while; but General Birney found it necessary to prohibit the more intimate intercourse which this state of things had a tendency to bring about. In the second corps on the left, some movements were made with the view of guarding against hostile demonstrations on the flank. General Hancock, now convalescent, resumed command of this corps in the evening. At one o'clock in the morning of the 28th there was a false alarm, and the eighteenth corps got under arms. About this time some very heavy siege guns were got into position, and a bombardment of the city was commenced by bursting a shell over it every quarter of an hour during the night. This fire was continued for some time, and on the night of the 30th caused a conflagration within the town. The weather, which for many days and nights had been intensely hot, causing great suffering to the men, whether on the march or in camp, now grew a little cooler. The

excessive heat had been severely trying to the wounded, and had even prevented recovery in some cases. The agents of the Sanitary and Christian Commissions availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by these days of comparative quiet to distribute vegetables and other luxuries among the troops, and in other ways to contribute to their comfort. **June 29.** On the 29th, a new earth-work for a siege battery, which General Ledlie had thrown up in front of his position, became the target for a fierce artillery and musketry fire on the part of the enemy. In the forenoon of this day the news arrived in camp that General Wilson's cavalry, after cutting the Weldon Railroad, as detailed in the next chapter, had gone on to the Danville Railroad, and been intercepted on its return ; so, early in the afternoon the sixth corps, in the lightest marching order, moved out to its assistance, Gibbon's division taking the position in the line thus vacated. General Sheridan also, with his two divisions, proceeded as rapidly as possible in the same direction.

CHAPTER XLI.

Raid of Generals Wilson and Kautz against the Weldon and Danville Railroads.—The Weldon Railroad cut.—Railroad Destruction at Burkesville and on the Danville Road.—Battle at Staunton Bridge.—Fight at Stony Creek and Reams' Station.—Disastrous Rout of Wilson's Column.—Escape of Kautz's Command.—Long Route taken by Wilson.—Losses.—The Weldon Railroad cut by the Sixth Corps.—A Demonstration by General Smith frustrated.—Rebel Assault on a Federal Earth-work.—The Fourth of July in the Lines before Petersburg.—A sudden Attack by the Rebels repulsed.—A Dead Lock.—Effect on the Troops of incessant hard Fighting.—Grant retains Butler in his Command.—Change in Corps Commanders.—Federal Occupation of Strawberry Plains.—Description of the Mine at Petersburg.—The Feint at Deep Bottom.—Demonstrations toward Richmond.—General Lee hurries large numbers of Troops to the north side of the James.—Explosion of the Mine.—Advance of the Storming Column.—Delay.—The Repulse.—Rout of Ferrero's Colored Division.—The Fort recaptured by the Rebels.—Delay in burying the Dead and caring for the Wounded.—Causes of Failure.—Explosion of a Rebel Mine.—Deserters.—Terrific Explosion at City Point.

About two o'clock in the morning of **1864.** the 22d of June, General Wilson, having been joined the day before by the brigade of General Kautz, set out from his camps on Blackwater Creek, a little south of Prince George Court House, on an expedition against the Weldon and Danville railroads. The united force under his command numbered six or eight thousand men, with three batteries of four guns each, half rifled ordnance and half light twelve-pounders, besides a battery of four small mountain howitzers. The column struck the Weldon Railroad at Reams' Station, tore up and burnt the track for several hundred yards, and destroyed the water tank, dépôt, and public buildings, as well as a saw-mill at Dutch Cross-Roads near by. Then, after moving westward as far as Dinwiddie Court House, the command proceeded northward to the

Petersburg and Lynchburg Railroad, which it struck at Sutherland Station, and marched thence westward to Ford's Station, about twenty-two miles from Petersburg, the brigade of General Kautz being in the advance. At this point, which was reached before evening, several miles of the track were destroyed as well as two locomotives and sixteen cars; the dépôt and some stores were also burnt. All this was accomplished before midnight, when the command bivouacked. In the morning, about two o'clock, General Kautz again set out in advance, and by rapid marching soon left a wide gap between his portion of the column and that under General Wilson. His course lay along the railroad in the direction of Burkesville, the point of intersection of the Lynchburg and Danville railroads. He reached Wilson's Station about four o'clock, Blacks-and-Whites about seven o'clock, and Nottoway at noon, whence he hurried on to Burkesville. At this place the dépôts, cars, and similar property were destroyed, as well as several miles of the track eastward and westward. The railroad here was constructed of "strap" rails laid on longitudinal stringers of dry yellow pine. While the rear was engaged in burning and otherwise destroying the dépôts and other buildings along the road, advanced parties collected dry rails, piled them up against the stringers and set the whole on fire. This was done with so much method and celerity that miles of the railroad were burning at once.

The main part of the column, some miles in the rear, near Nottoway Court House, encountered about three o'clock in the afternoon a rebel force on its right flank, consisting of two regiments under Colonel Barringer and General Dearing. The second brigade, under Colonel Chapman, was formed in line, and a sharp fight ensued, which lasted till nightfall, when the enemy withdrew, carrying with them thirty-four prisoners. The loss on each side was about sixty. General Wilson's troops bivouacked at Nottoway; General Kautz's not far from Burkesville. Both commands marched toward Meherrin in the morning, Wilson's across the country, Kautz's along the railroad, formed a junction there, and moved on to Keysville, where the column bivouacked for the night, General Kautz's men having worked hard all day on the railroad, of which they destroyed eighteen miles of the track besides other railroad property. The march and the work of destruction were resumed early on the 25th, and the whole column pressed rapidly forward till, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the advance came up to the covered bridge over the Staunton River. From Burkesville to this bridge, a distance of about thirty-five miles, the railroad track had been thoroughly destroyed, which with the track torn up eastward of Burkesville made an aggregate of railroad put out of running order of not less than fifty miles. It was very desirable that the bridge also should be destroyed, as it would consume much time to replace it. But the enemy were well aware of its

June 23.

value, and while Wilson's and Kautz's men had been destroying the track, had collected in the neighborhood of the bridge a considerable force of Virginia and North Carolina militia, some of whom had been brought up from Danville. They had also made such good use of their time as to throw up intrenchments in front of the bridge, and construct earth-works, in which they had placed some artillery. They had also a piece of ordnance mounted on an armored car, which could be moved on the railroad. On the approach of the Federal troops the enemy opened fire with grape and canister. General Kautz's four regiments immediately deployed on the right and left of the main road. Sharp skirmishing, with considerable loss on the side of General Kautz, was kept up for some time, but it soon became evident that under the circumstances the Federal troops could accomplish nothing without suffering disastrously, and they were compelled to withdraw, after having burnt the railroad dépôt. The principal object of the raid had however been now accomplished, and at night the column moved eastward toward Weylsburg, which was reached about daylight on the 26th. After an hour's halt the line of march was again taken up, the route chosen for the return lying through Christianville and across Meherrin Creek, and thence to Double Bridges on the Nottoway. The enemy's cavalry brigade again appeared, this time on the left flank, and some unimportant skirmishing followed. The Nottoway River was reached about noon on the 28th at Double Bridges, and the pickets stationed there were easily driven across the bridge by McIntosh's second brigade, which was in the advance. It had been intended to cross the Weldon Railroad at Jarrett's Station, but information being received that a large force composed of militia and troops from Weldon had been collected there, the route was changed to Stony Creek; about midway between Jarrett's and Reams' stations. McIntosh's brigade with the Second Ohio and Third Indiana, dashing across the bridge, met at once a spirited resistance. Nevertheless the men all got over, and McIntosh formed line of battle ; but a considerable rebel force was found lying on the road to the station. After some skirmishing, the Federal troops found that it was their part to act on the defensive, and they got together as rapidly as possible a breast-work of rails, logs, and earth, in the usual manner. It was not long before they had to repel several charges.

June 25.

General Wilson, now fearing that if he remained long in that vicinity the enemy might gather about him a force from which he could not escape, determined to withdraw, and about eleven at night sent off the command of General Kautz with the wagons and ammunition trains, and between one and two thousand negroes, collected on the march, toward Reams' Station. He himself followed before daylight with the remainder of his force, with the exception of three regiments left in the intrenchments to do what they could toward detaining the enemy. General

Kautz, on approaching Reams' Station, found the rebels strongly posted there, and was at once pressed in front and rear by both cavalry and artillery. When General Wilson came up with the bulk of his force, he attempted to form line of battle; but he was very soon attacked and defeated, and his entire force thrown into confusion. Of course the detachment left at Stony Point could not long hold out; it was flanked and partly cut off. The situation of General Wilson's column now became extremely critical; it was almost entirely surrounded by a greatly superior force, and it soon became a question, not whether the Federal cavalry could hold their ground, but whether they would not be captured in a body. The plan finally adopted, perhaps the best under the circumstances, was for each regiment or squadron to make its escape separately as it best could. General Kautz turned off nearly due south with his command. Detachments moved in various directions, and a general stampede was made for the lines near Petersburg, over ditches and fences, through swamps and woods, and along concealed by-paths, to escape the fiercely pursuing enemy, who chased the fugitives close up to the Federal lines. On the night of the 28th, the main part of General Kautz's command reached the picket reserve in a state of terrible exhaustion and excitement, and remained there through the night. They did not reach their old camp till the evening of the 30th. Squads and solitary horsemen continued to straggle back within the lines for two or three days. Badly as Kautz's troops had fared, they might have had much worse fortune had it not been for their commander's intimate knowledge of the country, which enabled him to get his men through rapidly. But they were all thoroughly used up, and it is said that in the latter part of their weary ride some of the men actually slept in their saddles.

June 29.

General Wilson was so long without being heard from, that it was feared he had been captured with all his men. The main part of his force did not ride in till the 1st of July. He had retreated in the night by the road leading southeastward toward Suffolk, and fetching a wide circuit, secured safety at the expense of a long route. He crossed the Nottoway about thirty miles from Petersburg, and the Blackwater at the County Road bridge; turning then northward he made his way to Cabin Point, and rode thence into the Union lines about five miles from Fort Powhatan. His entire force was in wretched plight when it returned. Both men and horses were worn out and jaded to the last degree after their long and severe marching and hard fighting, followed by the enemy's relentless harassing. Their clothing and accoutrements were torn and spoiled, and their horses hardly able to walk. All they had to lose the enemy had got possession of—the entire wagon train, sixteen guns, nearly all their caissons, and many horses. The total loss in men was about fifteen hundred. Of the large number of negroes collected, the greater part were recaptured. The

ambulances, filled with sick and wounded, had been left on the field at Reams' Station, under a hospital flag. Notwithstanding the unfortunate termination of the expedition, General Grant expressed himself satisfied with the result, inasmuch as the Danville Railroad had received so much damage that considerable time must elapse before it could be restored to working order. The sixth corps, which had set out for Reams' Station in the hope of relieving General Wilson's force, did not arrive till all was over. The enemy had disappeared from that point, and the troops took advantage of their absence to destroy the railroad and telegraph for a few miles. Many fugitive negroes, who had followed General Wilson's cavalry, took refuge with the sixth corps. It was ascertained about noon on the 30th that Sheridan was well on his way, and the corps returned toward its former camping ground at night, going into line of battle along the Jerusalem turnpike.

The same evening General Smith made a demonstration in front of his lines, in the hope of carrying one of the enemy's earth-works. It was intended to be in great measure a surprise, but failed through an incautious movement made by a brigade commander, by which the enemy were put on the alert, and when the assaulting column advanced, opened upon it a tremendous fire from a circle of batteries. The men were at once called off; but a loss of 150 in killed and wounded was sustained.

Little of moment occurred during the day in the lines before Petersburg on the 1st of July; but about ten o'clock at night a heavy musketry fire from the rebels broke out in front of the ninth corps, followed presently by a charge upon an earth-work which General Ledlie had been throwing up for several days and nights, and which had cost him many men, killed by the enemy's sharpshooters while at work upon it. An artillery fire also had often been directed on this work by the enemy, and now, before the guns had been put in position, though it was near completion, they attempted to carry it by a desperate charge. After a sharp but short conflict they were driven back with considerable loss, as the position was well defended by flanking batteries; but the firing continued at intervals through the night. About three o'clock in the afternoon of the 2d of July a sharp artillery fire was opened by the enemy on the line of the eighteenth corps, and was warmly responded to by the Federal batteries. This continued for about two hours, without any important result. On the evening of the 3d there was some firing on the right centre.

July 1.

The Fourth of July was celebrated in the lines before Petersburg by a national salute of thirty-four shotted guns from a thirty-pounder Parrott in front of General Smith's position, followed by a general play of artillery on the steeples of Petersburg. The military bands also played national airs all along the line.

Things remained pretty quiet till the 7th, when a battery of heavy guns in

front of the fifth corps opened fire upon a party of the enemy who were observed to be throwing up a new work. A general cannonading and a fire of sharp-shooters followed. On the 8th, before daybreak, there was a little firing on the part of the rebels. About four o'clock in the afternoon the enemy springing suddenly to their feet, with their accustomed loud battle-yell, poured a volley of musketry into the intrenchments in front of Turner's division, on the left of the eighteenth corps. They then quickly deployed a skirmishing line, and moved rapidly on the works along the front of Martindale and Stannard. The entire space between the opposing lines was soon covered with a dense cloud of mingled smoke and dust, and the musketry firing was very sharp for a short time, but the enemy were driven back without having reached the breast-works. In the mean time the batteries all along the front of the three corps on the right were opened, and shot and shell were thrown not only into the space which the rebels had attempted to cross, but into the city and over the Appomattox. The superior weight of metal of the Federal batteries soon overpowered those of the enemy. The loss in this affair was not very great on either side, though the rebels got the worst of it, as they were uncovered in their unsuccessful charge, while their opponents were well protected. The cannonading was all over at dusk.

July 8.

Affairs now remained very quiet for many days in front of Petersburg. A little work in the intrenchments went on, but the artillery and musketry demonstrations became less frequent, though they were by no means suspended; the city and the enemy's batteries continued to be persistently and monotonously shelled. The troops of both armies were so well protected by earth-works that the heaviest artillery fire did little injury; but any effort made from either side to capture a portion of the other's works was almost sure to result disastrously. Both armies were strong enough for defence, but neither was able to attack with success. There was apparently a dead lock, which promised to be perpetual unless the enemy's communications could be destroyed in all directions, the difficulty of doing which was seen in the fact that the rebels had put the Weldon Railroad in running order again by the 9th of July, and their trains ran on it unmolested. The sixth corps, which had moved to Reams' Station to the relief of Wilson's cavalry, and subsequently took a position near the Jerusalem road, was withdrawn for the defence of Washington, as has been stated elsewhere.

There had been a continuance of unusually hot weather for forty days, and any movement of large bodies of men raised choking and blinding clouds of dust. This added not a little to the discomfort of the army, whose fatigues during this time, in its wearisome marches and desperate battles, had been excessive, and it was prepared to accept gladly the interval of rest now afforded. Events had proved that it would be not

only unmerciful but useless to hurl masses of men against the enemy's impregnable defences. Besides, the long and almost unparalleled series of actions since the first movement from Culpeper Court House, had not been without its effect on the *morale* of both men and officers. Commissioned officers of all grades had fallen by thousands before the crossing of the James, and their places had necessarily been supplied by less experienced commanders. The effect of this was apparent in succeeding battles, in which not only was there a large infusion of raw material in the rank and file, but a lack of skill was displayed in the handling of the men. This was particularly seen in the affair of the 22d of June, when the second corps, heretofore conspicuous for its gallantry, fell back from the enemy's onset, division after division, and allowed one of the finest brigades in the army to be captured almost without firing a shot; and again on the following day, when the Vermont brigade, of the sixth corps, was badly cut up and driven back to the main body. The later attacks on the defences around Petersburg showed the same want of spirit in the men, and it was remarked by their officers that they did not fight as they had done thirty days before. They shared the general discouragement, and felt when ordered to move against the enemy's positions that their lives were being sacrificed in vain.

On the 18th of July, a thirteen-inch mortar, which after some difficulty had been got into position in front of the eighteenth corps, began to throw its huge shells into the enemy's works. On the next day there was pretty steady artillery firing in front of the ninth and eighteenth corps as well as from the batteries of the fifth; but what was considered more worthy of remark on the part of the troops, to whom the roar of artillery had become the rule and its absence the exception, was a heavy rain, the first of any account since the army left Spottsylvania Court House, which began to fall early in the morning, and continued all day and into the night. Its cheering influence on the army was of great value. There was enough of it to lay and thoroughly penetrate the dust, which, owing to the long-continued drouth and the ceaseless tread of many feet, had become several inches deep in the camps. On this day, also, General Grant rescinded an order of the War Department by which General Butler was relieved of his command. General Grant not only did this, but in addition to the tenth and eighteenth corps gave General Butler the command of the nineteenth corps, just arrived at Fortress Monroe from the South, General Emory's division of which had gone to aid in the defence of Washington. Not long after this General Smith was relieved of the command of the eighteenth corps, and was succeeded temporarily by General Martindale, and then permanently by General Ord, formerly of the eighth corps. General Gillmore also, who had been relieved of the command of the tenth corps, was succeeded temporarily by Generals Brooks and Terry, and permanently by General

Birney, formerly commanding the third division of the second corps.

About ten o'clock in the forenoon of the 20th, the fire of the thirteen-inch mortar was directed across the river. This was responded to by a concentrated artillery fire from the enemy; which in its turn was replied to by the Federal thirty-pounders and eight-inch mortars, together with the light batteries. This lasted four hours without any important result. The enemy had established a battery of Whitworth guns at Strawberry Plains, about a mile from the pontoon bridge over the James, from which they were able to deliver an enfilading fire on the gun-boats, and had disabled the Mendota. A Maine regiment was moved out to occupy this position, and on the 21st they did so without opposition, but were driven out of it again at night. They recovered it, however, on the morning of the 22d, aided by a fire from the gun-boats. On the evening of the 23d there was heavy artillery firing in front of the eighteenth corps, now under the command of General Ord, and the night was made noisy by the discharge of mortars. On the 24th there was picket firing and shelling all day in front of the ninth corps, and in the afternoon a shell caused the explosion of one of the enemy's caissons, by which twenty men were disabled. Not long afterward a shell from the rebels burst in the headquarters of the Fifty-seventh Massachusetts, severely wounding some of the officers; but the entire Federal loss during the day was not more than twenty or thirty. Another explosion was caused in the enemy's works on the 25th. On the 26th there was the usual picket firing in front of the ninth corps, and at dark a very heavy cannonading, along the right and right centre, continued till after midnight. At the same time there was a rapid musketry fire kept up on the part of the skirmishers.

July 26.

At this date was completed an important work which had been commenced by General Burnside just a month before, and soon after the Federal commanders had been compelled, by the disastrous repulse of several storming columns, to feel, if not to acknowledge that the defences around Petersburg were impregnable against direct assault. This was nothing less than a great mine which had been constructed under one of the most important of the enemy's works. The idea of this mine originated with Lieutenant-Colonel Pleasants, of the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania, who, as well as many men of his regiment, had been familiar with mining operations before the war. To the men of this regiment its construction was intrusted and by them it was completed. The work of excavation was begun on the 25th of June, with the utmost precautions as to secrecy, in the side of a ravine surmounted by an earth-work in front of the position of the ninth corps, and was perseveringly pushed on toward the doomed fort, situated about two thousand yards from the city. The distance to be mined was about five hundred feet. The mine was constructed in the usual manner, the surface having been first carefully measured by triangulation. As

the excavation went on, the earth was brought out and thrown on works, so as not to give rise to inquiries by being allowed to accumulate in great heaps. The gallery was made in the usual shape, about four feet wide at the bottom and sloping upward so as to be narrower at the top. The height was about four and a half feet. The ground rose toward the fort, and the tunnel consequently sloped upward toward it. Difficulties in the shape of water and quicksands were encountered and overcome, though the mine remained very damp. When the locality of the fort was reached, there was only about twenty feet of the earth intervening, and the sound could be distinctly heard overhead of the nailing of planks and timbers, indicating that the occupants of the fort were making a floor for their artillery. Wings were then extended to the right and left, in which eight magazines were formed, four in each gallery, carefully "tamped" or separated by packings of sand-bags and wood. Wooden pipes were laid along the tunnel to within a hundred feet of the magazines. The ventilation of the mine was effected by sinking, just within the exterior line of works to the side of the tunnel, a shaft, at the bottom of which a fireplace was built with a grating opening into the gallery, and by means of a fire kept burning at this point a current of air was caused. The smoke issuing from the top of the shaft of course could not be concealed, but attention was diverted from it by keeping fires at various places along the line. Finally, when all was complete, the chambers were charged with about four tons of gunpowder. To keep the enemy from obtaining a knowledge of what was going on, intercourse between the opposing picket lines was strictly prohibited, and an incessant skirmishing and artillery fire was kept up in front of the ninth corps, even while all along the rest of the line there was comparative inaction. The plan of assault was, to explode the mine and immediately afterward open a cannonade from all the guns along the line, now numbering nearly a hundred; then, before the enemy could recover from the confusion and dismay which would be naturally created among them by the explosion and sudden burst of a tremendous artillery fire, a strong storming party was to rush through the gap which it was supposed would be made in the line of the enemy's works, and endeavor to carry the position beyond, a very strongly fortified crest, called Cemetery Hill, completely commanding the city, and the key of the enemy's position. The Federal lines had for a long time been gradually pushed forward till they were now, at the most advanced point, not more than a hundred and fifty yards distant from those of the enemy. This was about the distance of the fort which had been undermined. But the intervening space was swept by the enemy's artillery, and near the fort itself abattis and other entanglements had been placed.

To add to the probability of success, General Grant determined, before exploding the mine and commencing the

assault, to induce General Lee to draw off a large proportion of his troops from Petersburg by making a feint in another direction. With this view he began a series of movements which indicated a design to transfer operations to the neighborhood of Richmond. General Grant's line at this time was not less than twenty miles long. On its extreme right, across the James at Deep Bottom, just above Four Mile Creek, General Foster, with his division of the tenth corps, had been for a long time in possession of an intrenched camp—a position of considerable importance, since, so long as it was held, the enemy could neither make a demonstration on the Federal right flank from Malvern Hill, which they still occupied, nor any successful attempt to get possession of the north bank of the James at this point, with the view of blockading the river by means of field artillery against the Federal gun-boats and transports. It also constituted an excellent base for an advance on Richmond from the southeast, by three parallel roads, and thus served admirably for the feint now about to be made in that direction. A pontoon bridge, thoroughly protected by gun-boats, lay across the James in the rear of General Foster's position, but in his front was a large force of the enemy, effectually barring any advance on his part. About a mile and a half below the position of General Foster, at Strawberry Plains, also held by a small Federal force, a second pontoon bridge was thrown across the river on the 21st of July, and on the following day a brigade of the nineteenth corps crossed by it and secured the bridge head. The enemy made a large addition to their force in front of General Foster's position, and on the 26th there was in that direction rapid and heavy artillery and musketry firing, in which the gun-boats took part. Skirmishing also was continued through the day by General Foster's infantry, with a loss of about fifty men. In the mean time, at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 26th, the second corps quietly began to march from its position on the extreme left of the line before Petersburg, soon followed by Sheridan's cavalry, which had been lying in camps around its flank and rear. The column moved very rapidly without straggling. Barlow's division first, Mott's and Gibbon's next, to Point of Rocks on the Appomattox, and crossed the river early in the evening. The march was then continued to the James, which was reached by midnight at Jones' Neck, and before daylight the crossing began by the pontoon bridge, which had been covered with grass and hay, to prevent noise. The cavalry followed soon after daybreak, and passed the infantry on the Newmarket road. A line of battle was then formed, in which the cavalry of Generals Sheridan and Kautz held the right, the second corps lay at Strawberry Plains, the brigade of the nineteenth corps on its left, with General Foster in his old position at Deep Bottom on the extreme left.

In front of the second corps lay a body of the enemy under General Kershaw, along a road skirting a pine forest,

and in rifle-pits, with a battery of four twenty-pounder Parrott guns. Up to this position from near the bridge ran a road, by which the second corps, about July 27. seven o'clock, began to advance, the skirmishers spreading out at once across the open space in front of the enemy, while the gun-boat Mendota in the stream opened fire with her hundred-pounder Parrotts. A rapid fire was opened at the same time from the enemy's battery. In the mean time, however, General Miles with his brigade of Barlow's division, having made a rapid movement under cover, got on the flank of the enemy's position and made a brisk charge. Kershaw immediately retreated, abandoning his battery, which proved to be one taken from General Butler at Drury's Bluff two months before. The troops now halted, and the enemy threw up new intrenchments on a commanding ridge about a mile distant. In the evening there was some skirmishing toward the enemy's new position, but, though the firing was pretty brisk, with little loss—the whole day's operations costing only a little over a hundred men. On the 28th, the troops north of the James continued to make demonstrations, and the gun-boats occasionally shelled the woods. At nine o'clock in the morning a general advance of the cavalry was ordered, and after a march of three miles, Sheridan came upon a strong infantry force. His command then quickly dismounted and July 28. formed in a belt of woods, Gregg's division on the right, Torbert's on the left. Torbert's division on being attacked fell back into the woods, but was soon rallied, and the brigades of Merritt and Davies making a charge, the enemy broke and left the field, after losing about 150 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, besides the colors of two North Carolina regiments. Gregg's division, losing a gun and many men, was steadily forced back until about five o'clock in the afternoon, when it was relieved by the arrival of General Gibbon's division of the second corps. The entire Federal loss was about 250. That of the enemy must have been greater, as they had no artillery, and lost a hundred prisoners besides their killed and wounded. The demonstrations were continued on the 29th, and a train of about four hundred empty wagons was sent over one of the pontoon bridges to the north side of the James, as if an advance in great force toward Malvern Hill were intended. Nearly twenty thousand men and twenty cannon had now actually been sent over, and the suspicions of the enemy were aroused at last to such an extent as to produce the effect desired by General Grant. Lee hurried off from Petersburg a large force to the Richmond side of the James, and as early as the evening of the 28th, General Mott's division of the second corps was secretly moved back to Petersburg. After dark on the 29th, the remainder of that corps and all the cavalry recrossed the river, and marching all night arrived before daybreak in the lines before Petersburg, where the usual artillery and musketry firing had not been discontinued, but rather in-

creased, especially on the right, and considerable loss had been occasioned on both sides by the bursting of shells, which by this time had come to be directed with great accuracy. On the evening of the 28th the firing was particularly severe, and a conflagration broke out within the town.

The time for the explosion of the mine had now come. Soon after midnight of the 29th all the troops were got into position. The ninth corps, which was to head the assault, was drawn up in front of the mine, Ledlie's division in the advance, Willcox's and Potter's next, in support, and Ferrero's, consisting of colored troops, in the rear. The eighteenth corps had been withdrawn from its position on the right of the ninth corps and posted in its rear. Mott's division of the second corps, just returned from the north side of the James, was moved into the position vacated by the eighteenth corps, and the other divisions of the second corps as they arrived were placed in adjoining positions. The whole force was closely massed, only the necessary garrisons being left in the more distant intrenchments. Thus the assaulting force consisted of the ninth corps supported by the eighteenth, with the second corps in reserve on the right and the fifth on the left. The cavalry were to operate on the left if opportunity should offer. The time for lighting the fuse was fixed at half-past three in the morning of the 30th, and the troops at that hour were in entire readiness, impatiently awaiting orders. But the fuse had become damp and went out, and more than an hour passed before it could be got into order again. The sun had already risen, when, at fifteen minutes before five, the earth in the neighborhood of the fort trembled, heaved, and rose into the air with a tremendous roar, with the fort, guns, caissons and limbers, and the unfortunate regiment that had manned the work. When the mass of earth fell again, a kind of oblong crater was formed about sixty yards long and twenty wide, with a depth of twenty-five feet, where a moment before stood a six-gun fort and two hundred men. Instantly a fire from a hundred cannon broke out from every eminence along the Federal line, accompanied at intervals by volleys of musketry. But the enemy, though at first much terrified, soon recovered from their surprise, and with wonderful alacrity replied to the tremendous fire of shot and shell which had been intended to disconcert them. Ledlie's division, which was to lead the assault, stood massed in front of its intrenchments, Marshall's brigade in advance, Bartlett's in the rear. On the left of Ledlie's division was stationed Hartranft's brigade of Willcox's division, on his right Griffin's brigade of Potter's division.

July 29.

The advance should have been made without a moment's delay; but some of the men in Marshall's brigade, which constituted the head of the storming column, had been so startled by the unexpected nearness of the explosion, that they supposed a Federal work had been blown up, and five minutes passed before the soldiers got over the half-

panic caused by this belief. When this difficulty was overcome, the column with a hearty cheer rushed onward, the officers first, under a hot enfilading fire, across the space between its position and the horrible breach made by the mine. The supporting brigades spread out, and enveloping the flanking rifle-pits, captured two hundred prisoners and sent them to the rear. When the troops entered the gap a fearful spectacle met their eyes. Mingled with the upturned earth and the debris of the fort, and protruding in all directions, were seen the mangled bodies and separated limbs of the late occupants of the work. Over all hung a cloud of dust mingled with the smoke of battle, which now covered the whole field of operations. Here a fatal delayed occurred. Where everything depends upon the enemy being taken by surprise, minutes acquire the value of hours; but the troops were allowed to consume an hour in reversing the slope of the intrenchments and in extending them, in digging out and mounting two guns, in rescuing such of the garrison as were still living, and in carrying them to the Federal lines, where the army surgeons were in quiet readiness, with sleeves rolled up, aprons on, and instruments and every appliance at hand, awaiting the opportunity to render their humane services. But for the delay in the ruined fort all might yet have been well; by this the enemy were allowed ample time to recover from their consternation, which was so great on the part of the men in the neighboring forts, that they abandoned them for a few minutes in the fear that they also were undermined. At length the ninth corps was re-formed, Ledlie's division in the centre, Potter's on the right, and Willcox's on the left, and under cover of the two guns exhumed from the fort, the charge began. Onward the troops rushed toward Cemetery Hill, Marshall's brigade again leading, Bartlett's pressing close after it. But at every step the fire of the enemy from the front and on both flanks became more fatal. The storming column had not moved more than two hundred yards when it recoiled and returned to the crater. To carry the crest of Cemetery Hill was evidently impossible, under the concentrated fire of an enemy now thoroughly on the alert. Nevertheless Ferrero's colored division, which had remained in the fort, was dispatched to attempt what the three other divisions had failed to accomplish, though the negro troops were entirely inexperienced and were now for the first time to be exposed to a hot fire. As might have been expected, they only met the fate of their predecessors. Though they advanced confidently and gallantly for a time over the fearfully exposed interval, the withering fire of the enemy, now increased in volume and deadly accuracy, compelled them to fall back in great disorder. As soon as their organization was broken, they became altogether unmanageable, and plunging headlong into the crater, now become a mere slaughter-pen, added much to the confusion there. Upon this point the enemy concentrated a terrific fire of shot and shell, complet-

ing the disorganization of the corps, large numbers of whose gallant officers and men were already killed or wounded.

It was now evident to all that the day was lost, and the only question which remained was, how to save the exposed troops. Where it was practicable, they were called off, but the remainder were left to shift for themselves. Squads of men began the work of retreating, but this was a perilous undertaking, as the enemy kept up a deadly fire across the space intervening between the crater and the Federal lines. Several of the officers made good a defence for some time in the crater, and repelled repeated charges made by the enemy in the hope of retaking it. About noon a general retreat was ordered, but a considerable proportion of the survivors of the assault had already made their escape to the rear. Those left in the crater, among whom were General Bartlett and most of his staff, having expended nearly all their ammunition, and being left unsupported by the rest of the army, were taken prisoners in a final charge made by the enemy about two o'clock. All the fighting was over by the middle of the afternoon. The fifth corps did not participate in the assault, and the eighteenth only partially, the condition of affairs at no time during the day admitting of their co-operation.

The Federal loss was over five thousand, chiefly sustained in the charges made toward Cemetery Hill, while that of the Confederates, including two hundred prisoners, did not much exceed one thousand, and was incurred principally in the charges made upon the troops who remained in the crater. On Sunday, the 31st, a flag of truce was sent to the enemy with a request for permission to bury the dead and care for the wounded, but owing to an informality this was not obtained till Monday, when an armistice took place in the morning from five till nine. In the mean time many of the severely wounded died from exposure, in great suffering, much aggravated by the extremely hot weather, and the bodies of the slain had become so discolored and swollen from lying in the sun, that the remains of the white men could scarcely be distinguished from those of the negroes.

Thus another effort to carry the works at Petersburg resulted in a most discouraging failure. A belief had been for some time gaining ground in the North that a great and important success was about to crown the Federal arms, and when the story of the repulse obtained publicity the first cry was that "somebody had blundered." The failure was the more annoying from the fact that there was every probability of success. General Grant himself had expressed entire confidence in the result to members of Congress and others. General Lee had been for once completely outmanœuvred, and though he hurried back his troops from the north side of the James, immediately after the return of Hancock and Sheridan, he would still have been too late, as the forces left by him to man the defences of Petersburg consisted only of the three divisions of Beauregard's corps,

Longstreet's corps having been withdrawn to check the movements of Hancock, Sheridan, and Foster, in the neighborhood of Deep Bottom. There can be little doubt that had it not been for the three successive delays that occurred—first from the fuse in the mine having been allowed to become damp, next in the hesitation of the storming column at the time appointed for starting, and finally in the detention of the troops in the destroyed fort—the enemy would have been taken completely by surprise, with a large part of their force absent, and that Petersburg would on that day have fallen.*

On the 30th of July, General Davies' brigade of Gregg's cavalry division stationed on the Federal left, had a

* According to the decision of a court ordered to investigate the circumstances attending the explosion of the mine and the assault which followed, the causes of failure were:

"1. The injudicious formation of the troops in going forward, the movement being mainly by flank instead of extended front. General Meade's order indicated that columns of assault should be employed to take Cemetery Hill, and that proper passages should be prepared for those columns. It is the opinion of the court that there were no proper columns of assault. The troops should have been formed in the open ground in front of the point of attack, parallel to the line of the enemy's works. The evidence shows that one or more columns might have passed over at and to the left of the crater without any previous preparation of the ground.

"2. The halting of the troops in the crater instead of going forward to the crest, where there was no fire of any consequence from the enemy.

"3. No proper employment of engineer officers and working parties, and of materials and tools for their use in the ninth corps.

"4. That some parts of the assaulting columns were not properly led.

"5. The want of a competent common head at the scene of assault, to direct affairs as occurrences should demand.

"Had not failure ensued from the above causes and the crest been gained, the success might have been jeopardized by the failure to have prepared in season proper and adequate debouches through the ninth corps lines for troops, and especially for field artillery, as ordered by Major-General Meade.

"The reasons why the attack ought to have been successful are:

"1. The evident surprise of the enemy at the time of the explosion of the mine, and for some time after.

"2. The comparatively small force in the enemy's works.

"3. The ineffective fire of the enemy's artillery and musketry, there being scarcely any for about thirty minutes after the explosion, and our artillery being just the reverse as to time and power.

"4. The fact that some of our troops were able to get two hundred yards beyond the crater toward the crest, but could not remain there or proceed farther for want of supports, or because they were not properly formed or led."

The officers responsible for the failure were, in the opinion of the court:

"I.—Major-General A. E. Burnside, United States Volunteers, he having failed to obey the orders of the Commanding General—

"1. In not giving such formation to his assaulting column as to insure a reasonable prospect of success.

"2. In not preparing his parapets and abattis for the passage of the columns of assault.

"3. In not employing engineer officers who reported to him to lead the assaulting columns with working parties, and not causing to be provided proper materials necessary for covering the crest when the assaulting columns should arrive there.

"4. In neglecting to execute General Meade's orders respecting the prompt advance of General Ledlie's troops from the crater to the crest, or in default of accomplishing that, not causing those troops to fall back and give place to other troops more willing and equal to the task, instead of delaying until the opportunity passed away, thus affording the enemy time to recover from his surprise, concentrate his fire, and bring his troops to operate against the Union troops assembled uselessly in the crater.

"Notwithstanding the failure to comply with orders, and to apply proper military principles, ascribed to General Burnside, the court is satisfied that he believed the measures taken by him would insure success.

"II.—Brigadier-General J. H. Ledlie, United States Volunteers, he having failed to push forward his division promptly according to orders, and thereby blocking up the avenue which was designed for the passage of troops ordered to follow and support him in the assault. It is in evidence that no commander reported to General Burnside that his troops could not be got forward, which the court regarded as a neglect of duty on the part of General Ledlie, inasmuch as a timely report of the misbehavior might have enabled General Burnside, commanding the

sharp fight with Butler's South Carolina command, and drove them from the field. The losses were not great on either side. General Sheridan left the Army of the Potomac soon afterward to assume command in the Valley of the Shenandoah, and the charge of his cavalry corps devolved on General Gregg.

Immediately on the conclusion of the short truce agreed on on the 1st of August, picket firing was recommenced, and was continued till the 4th, on which day General Grant left for Washington. On this day also a short engagement took place on the James between the gun-boats and a battery on the north bank. Since the 30th, intercourse between pickets had been prohibited by the enemy. This circumstance, and the report of deserters that mining was going on, led to suspicions that an attack might be expected. These suspicions proved to be well-founded. About five o'clock on the evening of the 5th, a mine was fired by the enemy in front of the eighteenth corps, and followed up by rapid and continuous musketry firing. But the mine failed, having been exploded several rods outside of the head of a sap it was intended to reach. A considerable mass of earth was thrown into the air, but the dust and smoke had hardly subsided when the Federal troops were busily engaged pouring volleys into the enemy's works, from which no charge was made. There was considerable artillery firing for a time, but the loss was not heavy on either side. On the 7th, a party of deserters running into the Federal lines were fired upon by mistake and badly cut up, so that only about a dozen got safe in. In the afternoon there was a

Aug. 5.

assault, to have made other arrangements for prosecuting it before it became too late. Instead of being with his division during this difficulty in the crater, and by his personal efforts endeavoring to lead his troops forward, he was most of the time in a bomb-proof ten rods in rear of the main line of the ninth corps works, where it was impossible for him to see anything of the movements of troops that were going on.

"III.—Brigadier-General Edward Ferrero, United States Volunteers—

"1. For not having all his troops formed ready for the attack at the prescribed time.

"2. Not going forward with them to the attack.

"3. Being in a bomb-proof habitually, where he could not see the operations of his troops, showing by his own order issued while there, that he did not know the position of two brigades of his division, or whether they had taken Cemetery Hill or not.

"IV.—Colonel Z. R. Bliss, Seventh Rhode Island Volunteers, commanding first brigade, second division, ninth corps—

"In this, that he remained behind with the only regiment of his brigade which did not go forward according to the orders, and occupied a position where he could not properly command a brigade, which formed a portion of an assaulting column, and where he could not see what was going on.

"V.—Brigadier-General O. B. Willcox, United States Volunteers—

"The court are not satisfied that General Willcox's division made efforts commensurate with the occasion, to carry out General Burnside's order to advance to Cemetery Hill, and they think that more energy might have been exercised by Brigadier-General Willcox to cause his troops to go forward to that point.

"Without intending to convey the impression that there was any disinclination on the part of the commanders of the supports to heartily co-operate in the attack on the 30th day of July, the court express their opinion that explicit orders should have been given assigning one officer to the command of all the troops intended to engage in the assault when the Commanding General was not present in person to witness the operations.

"WINFIELD S. HANCOCK,

"Major-General U. S. Volunteers, President of Court.

"EDWARD SCHRIVER, Inspector-General U. S. A., Judge Advocate.

"The court then adjourned *sine die*.

"WINFIELD S. HANCOCK,

"Major-General U. S. Volunteers, President of Court.

"EDWARD SCHRIVER, Inspector-General U. S. A., Judge Advocate."

good deal of firing, principally in front of the ninth corps, from the mortar batteries of both armies, but it ceased near nightfall. Again on the 9th there was mortar firing, on the right and right centre, lasting till nine o'clock at night.

On the 9th, about noon, a terrific accidental explosion took place at City Point. An ordnance boat lying at the wharf suddenly blew up with a continuous roar that was heard in all directions for many miles. The cause of the explosion is unknown, but it is supposed to have been the dropping of a case of fixed ammunition. Its effect was most disastrous, in the loss of life, in the number of persons frightfully mutilated, and in the destruction of property. The boat and another near it were blown to fragments. The bluff close by was penetrated by a vast quantity of shells, balls, bullets, and fragments of various ammunition, and a number of buildings were thrown down, including about four hundred feet of a new warehouse. Parts of vessels and houses mingled with limbs and pieces of human bodies were scattered around in great quantities for many yards; some of the boats in the river received a number of shots. Between sixty and seventy persons were killed, and about a hundred and thirty were wounded. The majority of the sufferers were laborers, many of them colored. Among them were twelve soldiers, mostly of the Twentieth New York.

Aug. 9.

CHAPTER XLII.

Perseverance of General Grant.—Gradual Exhaustion of the Southern Fighting Element.—The Dutch Gap Canal.—Movements North of the James.—Fight at Strawberry Plains.—Demonstrations at Deep Bottom.—Battle of Deep Run.—Major Ludlow's Movement from Dutch Gap.—Operations against the Weldon Railroad.—Battle at Davis' Farm.—Battles for the Weldon Railroad.—Destruction of Miles of the Track.—Battle of Reams' Station.—General Pickett attacks Butler's position.—Heavy Bombardment of Petersburg. Gregg's Reconnoissance toward Stony Creek.—A tacit Truce broken.—Redoubt captured by De Trobriand.—Extension of the City Point Railroad.—General Hampton's great Cattle Raid.

It was supposed that the late repulse sustained by the Federal arms in the attack on Cemetery Hill would put an end to active operations at Petersburg for a long time. General Grant, however, was not a man to be so easily discouraged. The rebels had, it is true, constructed near the side of the fort destroyed by means of the mine, a new work, from which they opened fire on the Federal lines on the 12th of August, and the defences of Petersburg were apparently as strong and as pertinaciously defended as they had been two months before. But the war was sustained on the part of the Confederacy only by the most strenuous efforts, and its armies were kept up to a point at

1864.

which the defensive could be successfully maintained only by a conscription of the most ruthless character. The best part of the Southern fighting element had long been consumed, and old men and boys now constituted almost the only recruits that could be obtained. None knew this better than General Grant,* and upon this fact he seems to have placed much reliance, and drawn from it encouragement to persevere. He knew that, though the soldiers of the Confederacy had no superiors, every battle and skirmish diminished their numbers, and though the rebel government controlled almost the entire resources of the South, they were rapidly wasting away, and that finally the States in rebellion must succumb from sheer exhaustion.

A work, which it was supposed would prove of great value, was commenced by General Butler toward the middle of August. This was the construction of a canal at Dutch Gap, on the James, where a bend in the river, eleven miles south-southeast of Richmond in a direct line, forms a peninsula called Farrar's Island, connected with the north bank by a neck of land about 175 yards wide, a navigable channel cut across which would save a circuit of not less than six miles around the bend. The preliminary survey was made on the 7th of August, and a large number of workmen commenced digging soon afterward. It was proposed to make it seventy feet deep, forty feet wide at the bottom, and one hundred and twenty feet wide at the top, and it was expected that when the river was turned through it, the water would be sixteen feet deep. The Federal iron-clads, it was hoped, would then be able to ascend to the upper part of the river, without passing by the circuitous channel around the peninsula, which was full of torpedoes and other obstructions, besides being guarded by the rebel gun-boats, whose usual station was at Dutch Gap. When completed and occupied it would also flank the enemy's strong and important position at Howlett's, opposite the southwestern extremity of Farrar's Island, from which the river was swept at this point with heavy batteries. It would be a long step in the approach to Fort Darling, and would make necessary on the part of the enemy a new and more extended line of defence, and thus find occupation for a large number of their troops. On the 10th of August a force was thrown across the river at this point, and the work was prosecuted with impunity till the 12th, when, soon after daybreak, the enemy collected in the vicinity in such force that the Federal gun-boats opened fire upon them and kept it up several hours. On

Aug. 10.

* In a letter addressed to the Hon. C. B. Washburne, on the 16th of August, General Grant says: "I state to all citizens who visit me, that all we want now to insure an early restoration of the Union is a determined unity of sentiment North. The rebels have now in their ranks their last man. The little boys and old men are guarding prisoners, guarding railroad bridges, and forming a good part of their garrison for intrenched positions. A man lost by them cannot be replaced. They have robbed the cradle and the grave equally to get their present force. Besides what they lose in frequent skirmishes and battles, they are now losing from desertions and other causes at least one regiment per day. With this drain upon them, the end is not far distant, if we will only true to ourselves."

the following morning two of the enemy's rams appeared, and taking a position under the lee of Farrar's Island, where they were sheltered from the fire of the Federal gun-boats, began to shell the negro troops engaged in digging the canal. The battery at Howlett's also opened fire, and was replied to by the Federal battery at Crow's Nest, near Dutch Gap. The river being full of obstructions at the extremity of Farrar's Island, the Federal gun-boats could not get near enough to take part in the engagement. The troops on the isthmus had already thrown up intrenchments along a portion of the line of the proposed canal, and though exposed to a fire from Howlett's battery on the west and from two gun-boats on the north, which continued till noon, were able to remain at work. A gun at Howlett's battery was disabled by a shot from that at Crow's Nest. The enemy showed signs of a determination to dispute energetically the Federal advance in this direction, though a Richmond paper spoke of the projected work as only a valuable commercial improvement to the city. In fact, a Richmond stock company did once undertake the task, but soon gave it up. On the 13th, operations on the canal were covered by another movement on the part of General Grant to the north of the James, made in the hope of again inducing General Lee to send away a portion of his forces from Petersburg to favor a new movement against the Weldon Railroad.

A fleet of transports had been collected at City Point, and the second corps moved up from Petersburg and embarked on them, and on the 13th the vessels went down the river, with the military bands playing, as if bound for Fortress Monroe. The movement was purposely made in an ostentatious manner, in order that it might be noted by the enemy, and cause them to believe that Grant was sending a portion of his forces to Washington. When night fell, the transports were headed up the river, and ascending at full speed soon reached Deep Bottom, where the troops were all put on shore by noon on the following day. On the same night, Turner's and W. Birney's divisions of the tenth corps crossed the James by the pontoon bridge to the same point, as did also Gregg's cavalry division, and joined Foster in his old position there. Early on the morning of the 14th, Foster's brigade was moved out toward Strawberry Plains, where the enemy were found strongly posted in intrenchments situated on commanding ridges covering the Kingsland road, with a line of rifle-pits in front. As the advance pressed forward, considerable skirmishing took place; but the enemy gradually fell back to the rifle-pits, which at length were charged and easily taken by the Tenth Connecticut and Twenty-fourth Massachusetts, with about a hundred prisoners. The enemy were in the mean time hurrying troops over from their right to the region of Malvern Hill, and it became essential that the Federal force should form in order of battle, and push forward as rapidly as

Aug. 13.

possible. Accordingly Gregg's cavalry swept out to the Federal right, clearing the roads of the rebel pickets and opening the way for the second corps. Aug. 14. Most of the day was consumed in getting the troops into position. When the line was formed, the cavalry covered the right flank of the second corps, which stretched toward the left as far as Four Mile Creek. On the other side was the tenth corps, its right resting on the creek, its left on the intrenched bluff at Deep Bottom. The gun-boats in the river took such positions that they were able to shell the rebel works occasionally. An attempt was made to push the whole line forward in the evening. The tenth corps charging the enemy's outer works in a line of woods about a mile from the pontoon bridge, after a sharp engagement succeeded in carrying them, at the same time capturing four eight-inch brass howitzers and a number of prisoners. In the centre of the line Gibbon's and Barlow's divisions of the second corps moved out toward the enemy's works, and succeeded in establishing themselves some distance in advance of the position which they had carried in the feint made two weeks before. The assault was now made by Gibbon's division, Colonel Macy's brigade in the advance. Crossing a cornfield and going over a hill, they descended into a ravine, where a stream flowing through swampy land and thick brush formed an impenetrable barrier. The charge was made under a severe artillery fire of the enemy, which also raked the ravine. Natural obstacles rendering any farther progress impossible, the men availed themselves of what shelter they could find, and after a short time were withdrawn. The entire loss sustained by the tenth and second corps was about a thousand men.

Skirmishing was kept up all day on the 15th, the object being to extend the line to the right and secure a stronger position. The tenth corps was moved across Four Mile Creek and placed on the right of the second, the cavalry in the mean time covering the right flank and skirmishing. Holding a position on the Charles City road, they confronted there detachments of the enemy's cavalry, which with other reinforcements had been hurried over from Petersburg during the preceding day and night. Supposing that Grant was threatening Malvern Hill, the enemy's infantry was pushed as rapidly as possible in that direction, while their cavalry was kept on the roads leading northwestward toward Richmond. There was constant manœuvring and heavy skirmishing during the day, in the course of which about three hundred men were killed or wounded on the part of the Federals, without any important advantage having been gained. The intense and debilitating heat during this and the preceding day not only had a very depressing effect on the troops, but caused some loss by sunstroke and exhaustion.

More decided efforts were made to advance on the 16th. Aug. 16. Gregg's cavalry stretching out on the Charles City road, on the extreme right,

covered that flank. On his left was Colonel Craig's brigade of Mott's division of the second corps; then came the tenth corps and the remainder of the second. The extreme left at Deep Run was held by colored troops. The region in which the movements were about to take place was covered with dense forest and undergrowth, with only here and there a small cleared space. To the difficulties thus presented to the manœuvres of troops was added the intense heat of the day, which was one of the most sultry and oppressive of the season. The earliest movement was made by the cavalry of General Gregg, along the Charles City road as far as Deep Bottom Creek or Deep Run, where he was joined by a brigade of Barlow's division under General Miles. Farther progress was disputed by a brigade of Fitz Hugh Lee's cavalry, which, however, was quickly driven back with the loss of its commander, who was killed while attempting to rally his men. The column then pushed forward on the same road to near White's Tavern, not more than seven miles from Richmond, where the enemy were found intrenched in a position too strong to be attempted. General Miles then withdrew his brigade toward the right of the main line under General Birney, marching back by the route which he had taken in advancing. On seeing this, the enemy, collecting from various quarters a considerable force at White's Tavern, moved rapidly down upon Gregg's command in the afternoon, and drove it back to Deep Run, where Gregg made a stand, and easily maintained himself for some time. In the mean while there had been some sharp fighting on the centre of the line. Terry's division of the tenth corps pushing forward into the wooded region between the Central and Charles City roads, Foster's brigade in front, Pond's and Hawley's in support, with Craig's brigade of the second corps on the right, over ground much broken with ravine and jungle, the enemy's picket line was, after a toilsome march under a burning sun, at last found and driven in. Artillery firing followed, and some slight works and a few prisoners were captured. The enemy's main works were then charged upon by Pond's brigade, supported by Hawley's and some colored troops, and after an hour's hard and close fighting at short range in the dense woods, in which the loss on both sides was severe, the intrenchments were carried, two hundred prisoners being taken and some colors. The Federal troops then occupied the intrenchments and prepared to hold them against the enemy, should they return in force. About this time Colonel Craig with his brigade was dispatched to the assistance of Gregg's cavalry, which the enemy, having received reinforcements, were driving back rapidly. In the engagement which followed, Colonel Craig was killed, and his brigade, partly in consequence of this, being thrown into confusion, fell back, losing many prisoners. The cavalry and infantry on the right having now given way, the enemy concentrated their efforts against the infantry in the centre, upon which they made a

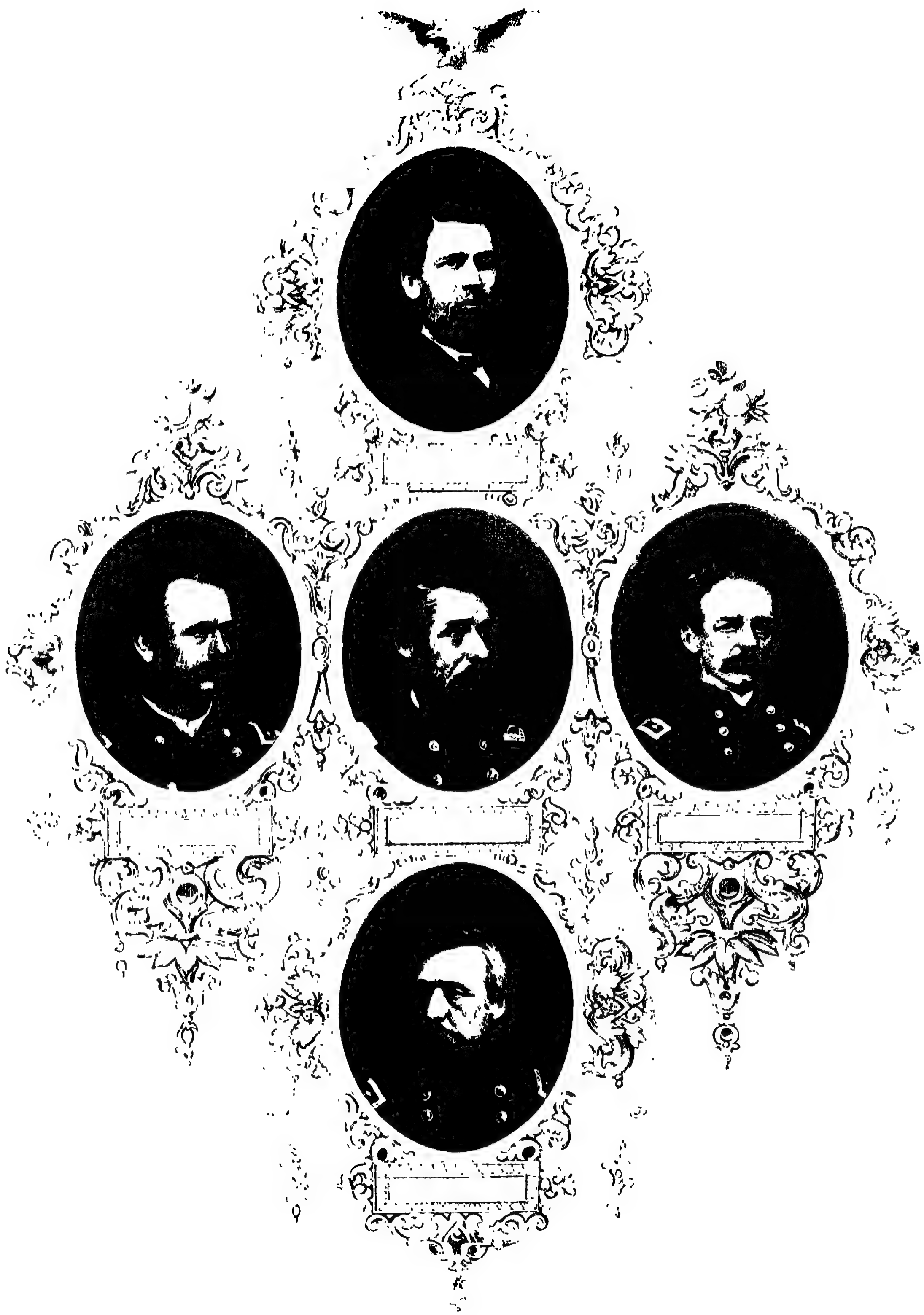
series of desperate assaults, and at length got possession again of the works which had been won from them with such hard fighting, and notwithstanding that General Birney, about six o'clock, made an effort to regain them, held the position. Having succeeded in forcing back the right, the enemy were now able to direct an enfilading fire on the centre, and the whole Federal line was withdrawn at dark, having sustained during the day a loss of some fifteen hundred men, that of the enemy being nearly as great. The line at night was substantially the same as it had been in the morning.

While these events were taking place on the right, Major Ludlow at Dutch Gap moved out about a thousand men on transports to Aiken's Landing and marched thence to Cox's Ferry, two or three miles above Dutch Gap, where he intrenched. On the afternoon of the following day, Howlett's battery and a rebel ram opened a fire on the men engaged in digging the canal, which was replied to by the battery at Crow's Nest and by the monitors. After dark, Major Ludlow seeing that he would not be able to maintain himself in his advanced position at Cox's Ferry, withdrew his troops and returned to his old position at Dutch Gap.

On the 17th, things remained pretty quiet on the right. Between four and six in the afternoon the killed of the day before were buried under a flag of truce, each party taking charge of its own dead. The 18th also was quiet in the immediate neighborhood of Deep Bottom. But at night a fierce assault was made on the intrenchments of the tenth corps, by a division of the enemy, who charged in column on a portion of the line held by Terry's division and W. Birney's colored brigade; but though the firing was very close and heavy for an hour, the rebels were repulsed with a loss of not less than a thousand men. On the 19th, there was some skirmishing, but no general engagement. The aggregate Federal loss in this second demonstration at Deep Bottom was estimated at not less than five thousand; that of the enemy at three thousand. But the movement had answered its purpose, and the troops were rapidly marched back to the lines before Petersburg, a division of the second corps arriving there by the morning of the 20th.

Aug. 18.

Little of importance occurred at Petersburg while the bloody struggle was going on in the neighborhood of Deep Bottom. The usual artillery and picket firing went on till the evening of the 15th, when it was suspended for a short time by an extraordinary rain storm, which swept away many tents and sutler's booths and filled the trenches with water. On the morning of the 18th, at one o'clock, the enemy opened a tremendous fire all along the line, and continued it for two hours; but no assault followed. About an hour after cannonading ceased, operations against the Weldon Railroad commenced by the movement of the fifth corps in that direction. Leaving camp with four days' rations, the march was directed



toward Reams' Station, and between seven and eight the advance arrived at Six Mile Station, in the neighborhood of which a mile of the track was torn up, and the rails destroyed in the usual manner. Little opposition was experienced during this movement, which was quite unexpected by the enemy; and while the first division under General Griffin was engaged in destroying the railroad track, the other divisions advanced two or three miles toward Petersburg, driving in the skirmishers. At Yellow Tavern, about ten o'clock, the column encountered a brigade of cavalry, which was driven back as far as Davis' Farm, two and a half miles from Petersburg. But at this point a force of the enemy, consisting of two divisions of Hill's corps under Heth and Mahone, came hurrying down the railroad. The Federal line was immediately formed in the open field, the third division under General Crawford on the right of the railroad, and the second under General Ayres on the left. About two o'clock the enemy emerged from the woods in front and made an impetuous charge. For a time the two divisions under Crawford and Ayres got the worst of it, and were driven half a mile down the railroad; but the fourth division under General Cutler and some other troops coming up, the Federals were enabled to stretch out around the enemy's left, and succeeded in flanking it. This turned the tide of battle, and the rebels were finally repulsed. The contest was over before dark, and the Federal troops immediately went to work throwing up breast-works. Though heavy rain fell all night, and the enemy, fearing another attack, threw shells into the lines from midnight till daybreak, morning found the Federal troops strongly intrenched on the railroad two and a half miles south of Petersburg. The loss was, on the part of the Federals, including 160 prisoners, somewhat over a thousand; that of the enemy, who lost only thirty prisoners, was by their own account only about five hundred.

Aug. 18.

Though the fifth corps had thus secured an intrenched position on the Weldon Railroad, it was not likely that the Confederates would allow it to be quietly retained; if left isolated, the troops would very soon be driven off or surrounded and captured; it thus became of the utmost importance that this new position on the extreme left should be connected with the main line before Petersburg, and reinforcements were accordingly set in motion. The enemy having withdrawn nearer to the city during the night, leaving only a picket line in front, the Federal skirmishers were pushed forward early in the morning of the 19th, the whole line following, throwing up breast-works as they proceeded, and planting batteries to strengthen the advanced position. This went on without opposition till about ten o'clock, when a short skirmish occurred in front of the picket lines on the right, at which point the enemy were reconnoitring. The troops had all got into line about noon, but a portion of the gap between the right of the fifth corps and the old line of intrenchments

near the Jerusalem road still remained unfilled up. The new line thus formed then ran as follows: Willcox's division of the ninth corps having just arrived held the extreme right; then came Bragg's brigade of Cutler's division of the fifth corps; next, Crawford's division—consisting of the brigades of Lyle, Wheelock, and Hartshorn—next, Ayres' division, and last, on the extreme left, Griffin's division and the remainder of Cutler's. The railroad ran between the divisions of Ayres and Crawford. About four o'clock, heavy rain falling at the time, General A. P. Hill broke suddenly upon the line, with both divisions of his corps, under Mahone and Heth. Mahone, having with him the brigades of Clingman and Colquitt as well as his own, attacked the right with great fury, first striking the picket line, which consisted of Bragg's brigade. Its advanced regiment was quickly driven back from the cornfield where it had been posted, to the Federal breast-works, losing many men. The enemy had discovered the gap at this part of the line, and rushed through it like a torrent, thus getting between the divisions of Willcox and Crawford. Desperate artillery and musketry fighting ensued. But Willcox's brigades were kept closely massed, Hartranft on the right, Humphrey on the left, and they remained unbroken. General Hill then, while keeping Willcox and Crawford occupied in front with Clingman's and Mahone's brigades, dispatched part of Colquitt's brigade to drive in that under Bragg. After desperate fighting this was accomplished, and the right of Crawford's division, where Lyle was posted, was completely flanked. Colquitt, joined by other forces, succeeded in getting a front, flank, and rear fire on a part of Crawford's division, the consequence of which was that more than fifteen hundred men, comprising nearly the whole of Hartshorn's brigade and part of Lyle's and Wheelock's, were cut off and captured.

Aug. 19.

While this was going on on the right of the railroad, the divisions on the left under Ayres, Griffin, and Cutler were attacked by the troops under Heth. The advance of the rebels was made with great impetuosity; the Federal picket line was driven in, and the advanced intrenchments soon taken; but at the second and main line the enemy received a bloody repulse, not, however, before Hayes' brigade of regulars, who had held their post with great firmness, were badly cut up. The line on their right and left having been forced back, they became exposed to an enfilading fire, and sustained a heavy loss in killed and wounded, besides five or six hundred captured, among whom was General Hayes, who was also wounded.

Very opportunely, just at the time when the right centre had become broken and the centre was giving way, the first and second divisions of the ninth corps under Potter and White came up. Though they had made a long and toilsome forced march over roads now reduced to mud by the late heavy rains, they were immediately formed and sent in on the charge, and the enemy were

overlapped and turned. In the mean time the battle had become so confused on Crawford's right that the combatants could not be distinguished, and the artillery now directed on that point swept down friend and foe alike. The result was, in connection with the arrival of the reinforcements, that the contest was decided against the Confederates, and the disordered lines of the Federal troops were soon rallied. Night, however, had fallen before the battle was entirely over. The Federal loss in killed and wounded was put at about fifteen hundred; that of the enemy at about the same; but their loss in prisoners was less than 250, while they captured, mostly from the divisions of Ayres and Crawford, not less than 2,700, including nine field officers and sixty or seventy line officers. Except some cannonading, things remained pretty quiet on the 20th. On the left, near the railroad, skirmishing and intrenching went on; but the rain was now so heavy and constant as to impede operations; it also filled the trenches, which were in such a wretched condition that some of the pickets rather than avail themselves of a protection so uncomfortable, preferred to lie outside along the pits, exposed to the enemy's fire.

On the 21st the enemy made another effort to recover the Weldon Railroad. The Federal line lay substantially as it did on the 19th, the first three divisions of the ninth corps holding the right and the fifth corps the left. In the fifth corps Cutler's division lay across the railroad, Crawford's being on its right, Griffin's and Ayres' on its left. At four o'clock in the morning the enemy opened a heavy artillery fire along the whole line, from the left to the Appomattox, and about seven o'clock made a feint toward the ninth corps. At nine the attack commenced in earnest. At that hour a terrific fire of both solid shot and shell burst from all their batteries, which was replied to with at least equal power. Shortly afterward the enemy's column emerged from the woods and dashed in fine style across the open space in front of the Federal breastworks. The attack was intended to have been made in two columns, one in front, the other in flank; but the flanking column on the left of the railroad, instead of striking the extreme left under Griffin, fell upon the right of Ayres' division and the left of Cutler's. The Federal skirmishers were soon driven in, and their pits taken; but on approaching the works the enemy were received with a steady fire of musketry, and though again and again advancing to the charge were always repulsed. On the right they did not succeed in reaching the main works, and suffered much from both artillery and musketry. On the left, a column which approached by the Vaughan road was caught with a cross fire; part of a brigade threw down their arms and surrendered, and the remainder, exposed to a hot fire, hastily withdrew. An effort to flank the extreme left also failed. The main force of the attack, however, fell on the divisions of Ayres and Cutler. Though the battle lasted but two hours, followed for

Aug. 21.

another hour by skirmishing, it was, during this short time, one of the most desperate of the campaign; but the enemy were driven back at all points with a loss of not less than two thousand in killed, wounded, and prisoners, the entire loss of the Federals not being over five hundred. The rebel Generals Saunders and Lamar were killed in this battle. Four field officers and thirty line officers were among the prisoners, and six regimental colors were taken.

Early on the morning of the 22d it was discovered that the enemy, notwithstanding they had kept up a heavy cannonade during the night, had retired and intrenched about three miles from Petersburg. Skirmishers were then pushed forward, and both armies went to work industriously with the spade. The picket lines were busily engaged in skirmishing all day; but there was no general engagement. During the previous week, as has been said, one division of the second corps had been withdrawn from Deep Bottom and hurried back to Petersburg. It took possession of the intrenchments vacated by the fifth corps when it marched for the Weldon Railroad. The other two divisions, with Gregg's cavalry and the tenth corps, also left Deep Bottom on the night of the 20th, where Foster's brigade remained alone. Marching rapidly all night the two divisions of the second corps reached the lines of the ninth on the morning of the 21st, and on the 22d Barlow's division, temporarily commanded by General Miles, was set to tearing up the track of the Weldon Railroad in the rear of the fifth corps toward Reams' Station, in which it was joined by Gibbon's division on the following day. The fifth corps also tore up a portion of the track toward Petersburg, so that by the night of the 24th the railroad was thoroughly destroyed from a point four miles below Petersburg down to two miles below Reams' Station. The cavalry under Gregg covered the work of the infantry during these operations, and had several skirmishes with the enemy.

On the morning of the 25th, Gibbon's division of the second corps moved down the railroad below Reams' to continue the work of destruction; but when about a mile below the station, its advance, consisting of cavalry, was suddenly checked and driven back by the enemy's picket line. Smyth's brigade of infantry was at once pushed forward and deployed as skirmishers, the cavalry retiring behind them. Smyth drove back the enemy's skirmish line some distance, but presently meeting a stronger force, was himself compelled to fall back to the main body of the division, which was now in line of battle, the third brigade on the right of the track, the first on the left, the other troops in support. Before noon the enemy had appeared in some force on Gibbon's left, making toward his rear; but this movement was checked by a party of Gregg's cavalry, and the rebels were driven off. A little later some rebel cavalry which appeared in front in the direction of Dinwiddie Court House, were checked by Chapman's cavalry brigade. While

this desultory fighting was going on in the neighborhood of Gibbon's division, General Hill was making preparations to attack that under Miles at Reams' Station. It occupied the old intrenchments constructed by the sixth corps, which in a semicircular form partially surrounded the station, and covered the railroad both above and below that point. The division under Miles was arranged as follows, facing westward: the first brigade under Colonel Lynch on the right; next, the second and third brigades under Major Byron; then the fourth brigade under Lieutenant-Colonel Brodie; and last, on the left, Alcock's Fourth New York Artillery Regiment. The enemy appeared in front of Miles soon after twelve o'clock, and General Hancock immediately ordered Gibbon to fall back and form a junction with the left of Miles. The cavalry followed, and was disposed so as to cover the left flank and rear. Gibbon arranged his line so that it faced the south and southeast, looking down the railroad. His third brigade held the left, his first the centre, and his second the right, resting on the railroad, where it joined the right of Miles. About two o'clock the enemy's skirmish line advanced and swept forward with the accustomed battle yell; but it soon fell back in confusion under a sharp fire from infantry and artillery, suffering severely. Skirmishing followed till about half-past three, when the enemy's column emerged from the woods in close line of battle, and with bayonets fixed rushed toward the Federal works, and succeeded in getting within twenty paces of them in spite of a murderous fire of musketry and of artillery from four batteries, when they recoiled, broke, and hastened back to their cover, having suffered frightful loss. Another assault, made an hour later, had a similar result.

Aug. 25.

The enemy now went to work in the woods felling trees for the purpose of planting batteries; and notwithstanding shells were thrown among them—though the artillerists were directed in their aim only by the sound of axes—they succeeded at length in getting a very heavy concentric fire upon the Federal lines, into which they poured shell and shot without an instant's cessation for twenty minutes, and with a most destructive effect, owing to the circular course of the intrenchments, such missiles as passed Miles' men harmlessly, enfilading the ranks of Gibbon's division. The result was that the Federal troops became to a certain extent demoralized, and when at last the shelling ceased and the enemy's storming column again advanced with renewed fury, the fire with which it was received was less vigorous than before The left and centre of Miles' division, upon which the blow fell, allowed the enemy to gain the breast-works, and after a bloody hand-to-hand contest, the Federal lines were broken through, and a general route followed, though some regiments and companies remained fighting with heroic determination. Of the twelve fine guns which had been used with such destructive effect during the day, nine were lost, though surrendered only when surrounded by the enemy,

and after fearful slaughter and the loss of nearly all the horses. At this crisis a part of Gibbon's division was hurried across the rear from the left, under a heavy fire, to the support of Miles, a distance of more than half a mile, and arrived in time to drive back the enemy in that quarter, though at a fearful cost in killed and wounded. Thus aided, Miles was enabled to rally his division and partially restore his lines. But while a portion of Gibbon's troops were thus employed, a fierce attack was being made on the left by a large force of the enemy, consisting of Heth's division of infantry and Hampton's division of cavalry, equaling in impetus that which had been made on the centre. Gibbon's troops, already exhausted by their exertions, were hurried back to the left to withstand the more numerous enemy. Though desperately resisted by some brave regiments, who allowed themselves to be cut to pieces rather than give way, the rebels overpowered all opposition, and General Hancock was finally compelled to withdraw his corps from Reams' Station and retire toward the lines of the fifth corps. General Gregg had in the mean time brought his dismounted cavalry to the assistance of the infantry, and the enemy, who had suffered very severely, did not pursue. Thus ended one of the most obstinately fought battles of the war. The Federal loss was very heavy, amounting to not less than three thousand, of which two thousand were prisoners. Seven stands of colors and nine cannon were also lost. The enemy's loss in killed and wounded was about fifteen hundred. The Federal forces continued to hold the Weldon Railroad at Yellow Tavern, though there was occasional skirmishing.

After the battle at Reams' Station, things remained very quiet for some days. On the 25th the eighteenth corps, on the right of the Federal line before Petersburg, and the tenth corps at Deep Bottom and Bermuda Hundred, had begun exchanging positions. These movements produced a demonstration on the part of General Pickett in front of Butler's position. Opening a fire from the long silent artillery, the enemy reinforced their skirmish line and advanced it against that of General Butler. A sharp fight ensued, but the enemy soon withdrew, losing sixty prisoners; the killed and wounded were but few on either side. The movement of the troops was then continued, and was completed during the night of the 26th.

The shelling of Petersburg was resumed with great vigor on the 29th, and was continued for some time all along the line with a fury unparalleled for many weeks, but the casualties resulting from it were few.* There was also occasionally a good deal of artillery firing between batteries and gun-boats on the James in the vicinity of the Dutch Gap Canal, which continued to be pushed vigorously.

Since the destruction of a portion of the Weldon Railroad the enemy had had recourse to wagons, by means of which supplies were conveyed from Stony Creek, eight miles south of Reams'

Station, around by the Boydton plank road to Petersburg; and on the 2d of September, General Gregg made an important reconnoissance in that direction. At daylight his cavalry, supported by Crawford's division of the fifth corps, moved out some little distance, and Smith's second brigade marched up the Vaughan road toward the plank road and toward Petersburg; but the plank road was discovered to be well fortified. On his return, Smith was attacked by some of the enemy's cavalry, but escaped without much loss. The whole force then returned to camp.

Sept. 2.

As usual during periods of comparative inaction, friendly intercourse between pickets and exchange of newspapers began to take place along a part of the lines. When such a tacit truce existed the men were accustomed to walk about at their ease in front of the works, trusting fully in their adversaries' sense of honor. But on the 1st of September, while a large number were thus promenading outside the trenches, the Federal batteries commenced playing on the town, and a volley of musketry was fired in reply, from the rebel works, on the exposed troops, by which some two hundred were killed or wounded. This put an end to amicable relations for some time. On the night of the 4th, about eleven o'clock, news of the fall of Atlanta having arrived in camp, a salute was ordered of a hundred shotted guns all along the line from the extreme right to the extreme left. To the roar of the artillery the troops added their enthusiastic cheers, and the enemy, apprehending a general attack, replied briskly, but the firing was discontinued about one o'clock.

Little of importance occurred for several days along Grant's now extended lines, beyond the usual desultory cannonading at intervals. On the left, near the Jerusalem plank road, the Federal and Confederate lines had been for some time in such close proximity, that at one point the opposing pickets could converse without difficulty. General Hancock determined to drive the enemy out of this advanced position, as being too commanding and dangerous, and gave orders to General Mott, whose division lay opposite to the point in question, to direct a movement against it. Accordingly at one o'clock on the morning of the 10th, the Ninety-ninth Pennsylvania and the Twentieth Indiana were sent under General De Trobriand to carry the work. The approach was made silently, the enemy's picket line was surprised, and the position was flanked and taken, with very little firing. The affair was a perfect success. The enemy opened an artillery fire, and somewhat later made a vigorous but unsuccessful effort to recover the lost ground. Ninety prisoners were taken, while the Federal loss was less than twenty. A good deal of skirmishing and desultory firing followed for several days on this part of the line. On the 11th, the extension of the City Point Railroad, which had been some time in progress, was completed as far as the destroyed portion of the Weldon Railroad, and an engine passed over the

Sept. 10.

new track. The enemy had been compelled for some days to haul their supplies by a circuitous route by way of Dinwiddie. The trains on the new railroad soon became targets for the enemy's batteries, but little damage was done to them. Very accurate artillery range had however been obtained on both sides, and shells were frequently dropped with fatal precision. On the 14th the long continued desultory firing was followed by a fierce cannonade directed on Petersburg, shells of different sizes being thrown into the city for two hours at the rate of twenty a minute. This the enemy replied to by bombarding the signal towers which had been erected on the Appomattox and by shelling the working party on the Dutch Gap Canal.

Very early on the morning of the 15th, movements of the enemy's cavalry on the left having been reported, a brigade of the fifteenth corps, preceded by several regiments of cavalry, was sent out toward the Vaughan road. The enemy's lines at Poplar Spring Church were broken through and reconnoissances made in various directions; but though Dearing's cavalry was encountered and a little skirmishing took place, the troops finally returned to camp without having discovered the character of the enemy's movement, which proved to be the most daring and successful raid of the campaign. Setting out from Reams' Station on the morning of the 15th, Hampton, with a body of cavalry, consisting of the brigades of Rosser and Dearing, with W. F. H. Lee's division, comprising the brigades of Barringer and Chambliss, and two batteries, marched rapidly around the Federal left, and appeared suddenly on the morning of the 16th in the rear of the centre. His object was to seize a herd of twenty-five hundred cattle at Sycamore Church, about a mile south of Coggin's Point on the James, and nine miles northeast of Prince George Court House. Spear's cavalry brigade was picketed around the point to be attacked, but the enemy rushed in so unexpectedly, that it was taken completely by surprise; the pickets were quickly driven in, and two regiments, the Thirteenth Pennsylvania and the First District of Columbia, were entirely broken and stampeded, the latter being captured entire with all its horses, arms, equipments, wagons, and camp. The enemy, by making a wide detour around the Federal left, had succeeded completely in concealing their movements. As soon as the cattle were secured, they were driven off, and Hampton's command set out on their return, pursued by the divisions of Generals Gregg and Kautz, as far as Belcher's Mill on the Jerusalem plank road, where the rebels under Rosser and Dearing made a stand and repulsed an attack made on them by the brigades of Smith and Stedman, though the latter were aided by Clark's battery, the other portions of Hampton's column moving off with the cattle at their leisure. By this bold ride of Hampton's he secured a supply of beef for Lee's army sufficient to last several weeks.

Sept. 16.



Phil H. Sheridan

Besides the cattle, three hundred prisoners were taken, two hundred mules, and thirty-two wagons. Among the captures there was also a telegraphic construction corps of forty men, with their train and twenty miles of wire. The entire loss of the enemy did not exceed fifty. While Hampton's raid was in progress, the entire skirmish line of the fifth corps was driven in to the intrenchments, with the loss of ninety men made prisoners. From the 16th to the 23d, sharp picket firing was kept up along the line, resulting in many casualties. On the 19th, the news of Sheridan's brilliant victory at Winchester was received in camp, and on the following morning a salute of shotted guns was fired all along the lines. To this the enemy replied, and the result was a furious artillery contest extending from Deep Bottom to beyond the Weldon Railroad, soon relapsing into the usual desultory picket and artillery firing.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Sheridan assumes command of the Middle Military Division.—Force and Composition of Sheridan's and Early's Armies. —Advance of Sheridan up the Shenandoah Valley to Cedar Creek.—Mosby attacks Sheridan's Wagon Train.—Retreat of Sheridan from Cedar Creek.—Destruction of Stock, Grain, etc.—Penrose's Brigade.—Massacre near Snicker's Gap.—Panic in Maryland.—Sheridan at Bolivar Heights.—Sheridan at Berryville.—Offensive Movements resumed. —Battle of Winchester.—Advance to Cedar Creek.—Battle of Fisher's Hill.—Advance to Staunton.—Early at Brown's Gap.—Murder of Lieutenant Meigs.—Retreat of Sheridan toward Cedar Creek.—Devastation of the Shenandoah Valley.—Rosser's Cavalry stampeded.—Position of the Army at Cedar Creek.—Early's Nocturnal Flank Movement.—Defeat of the Federal Army.—Sheridan turns Defeat into Victory.—Early falls back to New Market —Rosser's Raid to New Creek and Piedmont.—Merritt's Raid in Loudon and Fauquier Counties.

1864.

THE panic caused by the rebel invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania in July, an account of which was given in Chapter XXXV., and the alarm into which Washington itself had on that occasion been thrown, made it obvious that the Valley of the Shenandoah ought to be held by a force strong enough at least to prevent the rebels from again crossing the Potomac. From the time of General Banks to Early's last raid it had been the custom of the Federal troops to start down the valley at the first onset of the Confederate cavalry. It was now resolved that there should be no more of this, and that in that quarter there should be hereafter a force adequate to any exigencies. On the evening of the 5th of August, General Grant, the late raids of Early's cavalry having called him away temporarily from Petersburg, arrived at Monocacy, the headquarters of the Middle Military Division, and on the following morning held a consultation with Generals Hunter and Sheridan, the result of which was, that when General Grant set out again at noon for Petersburg, General Sheri-

dan proceeded to Harper's Ferry, where on the 7th he assumed command of the Middle Military Division, comprising the Middle Department, and the old Departments of Washington, the Susquehanna, and Western Virginia. Thus were placed under the direction of Sheridan all the scattered commands in the Valley of the Shenandoah, in Maryland, and in Pennsylvania, his headquarters being at Harper's Ferry. The enemy were now entirely out of Maryland and some distance up the valley, and in fact on the very day on which Sheridan assumed command, Averill obtained a decided victory over McCausland and Johnson at Moorefield.

Aug. 7.

The force under the command of Sheridan consisted of the sixth corps under General Wright, and the nineteenth under General Emory, the old army of Western Virginia, comprising the eighth corps, under General Crook; the entire first division of Potomac cavalry; Averill's division; Lowell's brigade, which had been usually kept near Washington, and Kelley's command; to which was soon afterward added Wilson's second division—in all about forty thousand men, of which ten thousand were cavalry, with about twenty six-gun batteries. The force under General Early, including the two infantry corps of Rhodes and Breckinridge, consisted of about thirty thousand men, of which ten thousand were cavalry, with fourteen six-gun batteries, and at this time was at Winchester, twenty-seven miles west-southwest of Harper's Ferry.

At sunrise on the morning of the 10th of August, Sheridan began the movement of his forces from Halltown, three and a half miles west of Harper's Ferry. Marching at first westward, he reached Charlestown in two hours, from which point the nineteenth corps, preceded by the cavalry brigades of Custer and Gibbs, struck off to the left for Berryville, fifteen miles southwest. Farther to the left marched the command of General Crook, while on the right the sixth corps, preceded by the brigades of Devin and Lowell, moved along the Winchester road a few miles and turned off toward Berryville to join the nineteenth. The weather during the march was oppressively hot, and the roads, in rainy seasons almost impassable from deep mud, were now covered with a thick layer of dust, which the rapid tread of many thousand feet of men and horses and the artillery and wagon trains raised in stifling clouds. About noon the several cavalry brigades of Custer, Devin, Gibbs, and Lowell formed a junction at Berryville. Four miles west of this place on the road to Winchester, a body of the enemy's skirmishers was found and driven off. The infantry bivouacked in the neighborhood of Berryville on the different roads by which they had approached, the sixth corps on the right, the nineteenth in the centre, the eighth on the left. The cavalry, posted in the advance, held the roads leading to Winchester and Millwood, the latter place being occupied by Colonel Cesnola's regiment. On the 11th the army took the road leading to Winchester, the cavalry in the advance.

Aug. 10.

Custer's brigade on arriving at Sulphur Springs Bridge, three and a half miles east of Winchester, encountered a body of the enemy, when a sharp skirmish took place, lasting two hours, but resulting finally in Custer being flanked and driven back. Meanwhile Devin's brigade, followed by Gibbs', had moved toward White Post, aiming to arrive by a circuitous route at Newtown, with the design of flanking the enemy, who it was now ascertained had begun to withdraw southward, along the road leading to Strasburg. This object, however, was not attained. The advance under Colonel Cesnola encountered the enemy's skirmishers near White Post, and drove them back on the road leading to Newtown, but on arriving at the road leading south to Front Royal, found a brigade of the rebel infantry with three field pieces in a very strong position, and was checked till the remainder of Devin's brigade arrived, when a severe fight ensued, lasting from eleven o'clock till twelve, but without any decisive result. At four o'clock General Crook came up with his infantry and relieved Devin, and the latter then marched on to the assistance of Gibbs, who had got nearly to Newtown and engaged the enemy, and was now falling back. Devin arrived just in time to check the rebels, who then retreated to the woods, unpursued, however, by the Federal troops, who also retired about a mile and bivouacked, with a strong picket guard in front. The enemy thus by hard fighting succeeded in holding Newtown and in covering their trains, which passed down safely toward Strasburg. The total Federal loss was about three hundred, chiefly in cavalry, the infantry not having been much engaged, though they suffered severely in marching, from the extreme heat, and lost many men from sunstroke.

Sheridan's army moved forward again on the morning of the 12th, it having been ascertained that the enemy had retreated. The cavalry advanced, skirmishing most of the way, to Cedar Creek, where about noon they found a force of the enemy on a hill in front of Strasburg, who shelled and drove back the cavalry skirmishers, till they were relieved by the eighth corps, which had now arrived. The remainder of the army in passing through Newtown and Middletown met with no opposition, and on arriving at Cedar Creek bivouacked on the east bank, on the west side of which the enemy held a position in some old breast-works. There was active skirmishing during the remainder of the day, and in the evening some shelling across the creek, but no general engagement. On the 13th, the enemy having fallen back in the night, the Federal skirmishers got into Strasburg, but were compelled to retire again. On the evening of the 14th the heights in front of the town were captured, and on the following morning the small force of the enemy which had held Strasburg for two days withdrew. Their works on Fisher's Hill, however, still commanded the place.

Aug. 12.

But news had now arrived which caused Sheridan with his whole army to

commence a rapid retreat toward Harper's Ferry. In the Blue Ridge range of mountains which runs along the east side of the valley like a continuous wall, and parallel with which flows the Shenandoah, are several gaps, or depressions in the mountain chain, at long intervals, forming the only practicable routes to and from the valley. The most important of these are Snicker's Gap and Island Ford, which might easily have been held by a few troops; but the precaution of guarding them had by some strange oversight been neglected, and on the 13th, while Sheridan's army was lying in front of Strasburg, Mosby with a few light troops dashed through Snicker's Gap, crossed the Shenandoah, and fell suddenly on the rear of Sheridan's supply train near Berryville on its way to Winchester, about four miles from the Gap. The guard, consisting of Kenly's brigade of hundred days' men, became panic-stricken when Mosby made his charge. A few brave men fought well for a while, but the rest made off as rapidly as possible. Mosby captured and destroyed seventy-five wagons, chiefly laden with cavalry baggage, besides securing two hundred prisoners, six hundred horses and mules, and two hundred head of cattle. He then retired, having lost only two men killed and three wounded. The Federal loss beyond prisoners was not much greater. But this disaster in the rear, though not fatal in itself, caused it to be reported that Longstreet with his entire corps was getting into a position across Sheridan's line of communications, and was cutting off his whole army. The consequence was, that on the 15th Sheridan got his three corps and the various cavalry brigades in readiness to retreat, and about eleven at night the retrograde movement commenced, the nineteenth corps taking the lead toward Winchester, succeeded the next day by Crook's command, the sixth corps bringing up the rear. With the view of preventing flanking operations on the part of the enemy from the gaps in the Blue Ridge, and to cover the retreat in that direction, Devin's cavalry brigade on the 14th was sent a few miles to the southeast toward Front Royal. In the mean time a body of the enemy, forming a part of Kershaw's division, which had taken part in the recent actions near Malvern Hill, had come by railroad to Mitchell Station, and marched thence to Front Royal, and on the morning of the 16th Custer's brigade, followed not long afterward by that under Gibbs, was sent to the support of Devin. Custer arrived soon after noon and took position on the left of Devin. The line had not been long formed, however, before the enemy suddenly appeared, marching in two columns, one of infantry, the other of cavalry, along the road leading northward from Front Royal to the Shenandoah. A brisk artillery fight then took place, the enemy using eight pieces, though without much effect. Their cavalry having crossed by the bridge and their infantry by the ford, they advanced to carry the Federal batteries, but were repulsed on the right by a charge from two regiments of Devin's brigade, each

Aug. 15.

of which captured a flag, and the rebels were driven over the river again. Meanwhile, having secured a good position for their artillery, they attempted to turn the Federal left. A series of charges and counter-charges then took place between a brigade of Kershaw's division, which crossed the river, and Custer's division. The fighting continued till after dark, and when the enemy fell back to recross the river, 150 of them were made prisoners at the ford. The killed and wounded did not exceed a hundred on either side. This affair took place near Crooked Run, a small tributary of the Shenandoah, a little below the confluence of the north and south forks. Early the next morning Custer's and Devin's brigades fell back on the road leading northward to Winchester to follow the infantry column, carrying out as they went orders which had been given for the capture or destruction of all the stock, grain, and hay, and everything else which could contribute to the sustenance of man or beast. Fields and gardens were ravaged and swept clean. According to a Richmond paper, Sheridan's army, as it retired from Strasburg, "literally destroyed everything in the way of food for man or beast. With their immense cavalry they extended their lines from Front Royal, in Warren County, to the North Mountains, west of Strasburg, and burnt every bushel of wheat, in stack, barn, or mills, in Frederick, Warren, or Clark, as well as oats and hay. They have really left absolutely nothing in those three counties. They drove before them every horse, cow, sheep, hog, calf, and living animal from the country. What the people are to do, God only knows. General Early, two weeks since, gave orders not to have a bushel of grain taken from below Strasburg, as hardly enough was left for the citizens."

The enemy followed close upon the heels of Sheridan. The sixth corps, which brought up the rear of the infantry column, had left Winchester on the morning of the 17th, Colonel Penrose's brigade, consisting of only about five hundred men, having been left behind as a support to Torbert's cavalry. About one o'clock the advance of the enemy, approaching by the Newtown and Winchester turnpike, attacked Penrose, who had deployed his small brigade in skirmishing order with the cavalry on his flank, about a mile out of the town toward Kearnstown. The cavalry, however, gave way, leaving Penrose to make the best fight he could behind fences, trees, and walls. Just before dark, the enemy having received large accessions of numbers, were able to flank Penrose's little force, and it was soon broken, losing three hundred prisoners; the remainder, with Penrose and a few officers, making their way through Winchester, escaped toward Clifton and Martinsburg. That night the enemy occupied Winchester; the Federal cavalry bivouacked at Berryville, next day taking up the line of retreat toward Harper's Ferry, harassed on the flanks and rear by the rebel cavalry.

Aug. 17.

On the 18th, some men in citizens'

dress, while conversing with them, killed a corporal and two men belonging to an advanced post of the Fifth Michigan Cavalry, picketing at Snicker's Gap, and hastily made off. Several other similar occurrences took place, and on the 19th, General Custer ordered some houses of disloyal citizens to be destroyed in retaliation. While a squad of men from the Fifth Michigan were engaged in carrying out this order, they were set upon by Mosby's men, and fled in confusion. Eighteen of them were overtaken, and of these fifteen were killed. It is said that ten were killed after surrendering. That this was a massacre is evident from the fact that only three were reported as wounded. This affair took place near Snicker's Gap turnpike, and was followed by another retaliatory order for the destruction of more houses of disloyal citizens.

During the retreat of Sheridan's army, General Averill, commanding at Martinsburg, continued to hold the place; but the alarm had become so great there on the 18th, that he abandoned it with his main force, leaving only one company, which was driven out on the following day. Another panic then arose in that neighborhood and spread into Maryland. In Hagerstown, merchants packed their goods and sent them northward; the quartermasters' stores were loaded on railroad trains in readiness to be rapidly transported to Frederick; the sick and wounded were sent to Harrisburg. In the mean while Averill took possession of the fords of the Potomac from Shepherdstown to Williamsport; once more preparations were made to resist an attempt on the part of the enemy to cross over into Maryland, and on the 19th Sheridan's wagon train was reported to be "safe" back at Hagerstown. But the panic soon died out; the enemy, a few of whose advanced cavalry had actually got near the Potomac, began to retire, and on the 20th some of the Federal cavalry again entered Martinsburg.

On the 21st, Sheridan had disposed his army advantageously about two miles out from Charlestown toward Summit Point. It extended in a line from the Smithsfield to the Berryville road, the sixth corps on the right, the eighth on the centre, and the nineteenth on the left. About eight in the morning Early came up, and with a part of his force attacked the advanced cavalry skirmishers on the right and left, easily driving them in. The main body of his army moved off across the Federal right, but with a small force he drove back Wilson's division of cavalry from a good position on Summit Point with severe loss. He then threw a few brigades against the sixth corps and the right of the eighth, and fighting ensued, which lasted from ten o'clock till the close of the day, in the course of which the sixth corps steadily advanced till it came upon the enemy's line of battle; but it sustained heavy losses in the continuous heavy skirmishing, and retired to its original position at dark. Cannonading was kept up for some time, but the result of the battle was, that Sheridan's army again fell back and took

Aug. 21.

a position on Bolivar Heights, his right resting on the Potomac, his left on the Shenandoah, his headquarters at Halltown. The position of the army here was exceedingly strong, and it not only far outnumbered the enemy, but reinforcements were sent to it daily as well as supplies. In the mean time the enemy's cavalry ranged the country in all directions at will. On the 24th, a reconnoitring force of three brigades sent out toward Charlestown discovered that Early was there in force, with his pickets out toward Bunker Hill. On the 25th, Torbert's cavalry was sent to reconnoitre in full force toward Leetown, Wilson's division moving out from Halltown and uniting with Merritt's at Kearneysville, from which point the enemy's skirmishers retired, and the Federal troops had the advantage for a little while; but the face of affairs soon changed, and the rebels drove back the divisions of Wilson and Merritt, which were very badly handled, and abandoning Kearneysville, made the best of their way toward Harper's Ferry. A running fight ensued, lasting from eleven in the forenoon till dark, by which time Merritt's division was safe in camp at Bolivar Heights; but Custer's brigade, which had the rear in the retreat, did not fare so well, and at Shepherdstown Custer found himself cut off from the Halltown road, by which he intended to march, and was finally compelled to seek safety by crossing the Potomac. The enemy did not venture to follow, but held the river from Shepherdstown to Williamsport, and on the following day made demonstrations as if designing to cross at the fords. In the afternoon Thoburn's division of Crook's corps and Lowell's cavalry pushed out on a reconnoissance toward Halltown. The infantry soon encountered the enemy, and after a contest, which lasted only twenty minutes, drove them to the cover of their artillery. Lowell with his cavalry then dashed in on the flank and cut off sixty-nine prisoners, including six officers. The result of this reconnoissance was, that the enemy were found to have left Sheridan's front, and about seven o'clock in the morning of the 28th he was again on the march in the direction of Charlestown, his cavalry in the advance carefully reconnoitring in various directions. By ten o'clock the nineteenth corps reached Charlestown, and the entire army pushed on to the old line of battle held during the engagement a week before, about two miles beyond the town, the sixth corps holding the right, the nineteenth the centre, and the eighth the left. Then having formed line of battle, the army awaited the result of the cavalry advance. On the morning of the 29th the enemy were found near Smithsfield, and General Merritt making a vigorous attack upon their cavalry drove it back through the town and over Opequan Creek. A reconnoissance was then made beyond the creek by General Custer's cavalry with Ransom's battery, but encountering the rebel skirmishing line he retired again across the stream in the direction of Smithsfield, followed by the enemy's infantry, which, however, on the advance of General

Aug. 29.

Ricketts' division fell back again rapidly. Sheridan's army then again retired upon Charlestown, and remained quiet till the morning of the 3d of September, when it was again put in motion in a southwesterly direction, Crook's command occupying the left, the nineteenth corps the centre, and the sixth the right. Sept. 3. Between ten and eleven the second cavalry division on the extreme right was attacked by Lomax's cavalry about seven miles south of Martinsburg, but drove it from the field, sustaining but little loss. About noon Crook's command reached the vicinity of Berryville, where it was attacked by a large rebel force, approaching from the direction of Winchester. Crook hastily formed his men, and a battle ensued, which lasted till dark, when the enemy retired, having suffered severely. The remainder of the army then coming up, got into position in the neighborhood of Berryville, and threw up substantial breastworks. Here Sheridan remained about two weeks, content to hold his own in the valley, without attempting any venturesome expedition, but keeping his force well in hand, so as to be able to check any movement on the part of Early, his cavalry as well as that of the enemy making reconnoissances from time to time.

Sheridan had now been considerably over a month in the valley, with an army decidedly superior to that of Early, and his marches and counter-marches had been a source of much perplexity and some dissatisfaction with the Northern public. His campaign so far had been one of manœuvres, in which decisive fighting was avoided, but in which the enemy had been kept constantly occupied, and a force which Lee could ill spare had been kept away from Petersburg, or from reinforcing Hood at Atlanta. The presence of Early's army in the valley was also made necessary to the security of Lee's army at Petersburg and Richmond, as it interposed between the Federal forces and Lynchburg, upon which Sheridan would otherwise have immediately marched and cut off Lee's communications with the southwest. When Atlanta fell, it ceased to be a part of Grant's policy to keep Early with a large force idle in the valley, and about the middle of September he paid a hasty visit to the upper Potomac, had an interview with Sheridan, and gave him permission to change the character of the campaign by commencing a series of offensive operations.

A reconnoissance made on the 13th by the first cavalry division supported by Getty's division of the sixth corps, to Lock's Ford on the Opequan, showed that the enemy were on the west bank in some force. Three days later it was discovered that they had disappeared entirely from the neighborhood of the left wing of the Federal army on the Winchester and Berryville turnpike, and that they had but a weak line on the right. On the 18th the rebel General Gordon, with his division of infantry, occupied Martinsburg, but was speedily driven out of it again by Averill. Sheridan now having become satisfied that the main body of the enemy had

moved to the vicinity of Bunker Hill and Stephenson's Dépôt, resolved, by a rapid movement westward toward Winchester, to get into their rear. On the afternoon of the 18th, therefore, his troops were placed under arms and held in readiness to march at a moment's notice. On the morning of the 19th the sixth and nineteenth corps were set in motion at three o'clock, the sixth being directed to march in parallel columns on each side of the Winchester and Berryville turnpike with the artillery, ammunition, and supply trains between them on the road, the nineteenth corps following by the same road in similar order. General Crook was ordered to move at five o'clock from his position in the vicinity of Summit Point, across the country in a south-westerly direction, and form a junction with the sixth and nineteenth corps at the point where the Winchester and Berryville turnpike crosses the Opequan, five miles east of Winchester. Generals Torbert and Averill, with their large cavalry force, were directed to occupy the enemy's attention by demonstrating on their left. Shortly after daylight Wilson's division of cavalry crossed the Opequan and skirmished with the enemy, who were discovered to be in force on the west bank. The march of the nineteenth corps was by some means delayed, so that it did not cross the Opequan till about noon, and thus Early had time to draw in his left from its advanced position near Bunker Hill, though engaged in the retreat by Averill, who captured two hundred prisoners from Gordon's division, and the Federal advance was more stubbornly resisted than it otherwise would have been. As it was, the first and second lines were thrown into some confusion, and were forced to retire behind the third; but as soon as Sheridan got his batteries into a position from which they were able to silence the enemy's guns, order was restored, and they again advanced and retook the position from which they had been driven, and held it until reinforced by General Crook, whose troops had been kept in reserve on the east side of the creek. Then followed one of the most fiercely contested battles of the war, the opposing lines being at some points not more than two hundred yards apart. About three in the afternoon General Crook's first division got into position on the right and his second in the rear, supporting a division of the nineteenth corps. About this time, also, General Torbert, with Averill's and Merritt's cavalry divisions, arrived on the extreme right. Sheridan then ordered an advance along the entire line. The enemy stubbornly maintained their ground against the Federal infantry, but gave way finally before a most brilliant and decisive charge of the cavalry, made at a critical moment. The battle lasted till five in the evening, but the victory was of the most decided character; Early's troops were driven from the field in confusion, and, according to a dispatch of Sheridan's, they were sent "whirling through Winchester," whence they retreated rapidly to Fisher's Hill, three miles south of Strasburg. Nearly

Sept. 19.

three thousand prisoners were taken, besides which there were captured fifteen battle-flags and five pieces of artillery. The rebels abandoned their dead and wounded, three thousand of the latter being left in Winchester. The entire Federal loss was estimated at twenty-five hundred. General David Russell, commanding a division of the sixth corps, was killed, and Generals Chapman, McIntosh, and Upton were wounded, besides many other officers in both armies. The rebel Generals Rhodes and Godwin were among the killed.

The position of General Early at Fisher's Hill was one of extraordinary natural strength. His line extended in a westerly direction across the Strasburg valley, the right resting on the North Fork of the Shenandoah, the left on Little North Mountain. From this position Sheridan soon made preparations to drive him, and after a good deal of manœuvring for positions, his army about noon on the 22d lay as follows: Crook's corps on the right, the sixth in the centre, and the nineteenth on the left. While Wright and Emory made demonstrations on the left and centre, and Averill drove in the enemy's skirmishers, Crook moved out to the extreme right. After a long and arduous march he got round and flanked Early's left between four and five in the afternoon, and made a furious attack, sweeping down behind the enemy's breast-works, and driving the rebels out of them in the greatest confusion. While Crook was thus carrying everything before him on the enemy's left, Wright attacked and broke through the centre of their line, separating the two wings, and in great disorganization the enemy broke and fled toward Woodstock, abandoning artillery, horses, wagons, rifles, knapsacks, and canteens, which the pursuers found lining the road. Eleven hundred prisoners and twenty pieces of artillery were captured, besides a great many caissons and artillery horses. The total loss of the rebels at Winchester and Fisher's Hill was estimated at not less than ten thousand men, while that of Sheridan's army in both battles was not over three thousand. Early's precipitate retreat from his almost impregnable position at Fisher's Hill was probably in a measure owing to General Torbert with a large force of cavalry having been sent up the Luray Valley to seek an opportunity to take him in flank or to intercept his retreat.

Sept. 22.

Sheridan marched on the night after the battle to Woodstock, but halted there in the morning to give his troops rest and to await the arrival of rations. Averill, pushing on in advance, drove the enemy to Mount Jackson, ten miles farther, where they made a stand and resisted his farther progress. Sheridan soon afterward advanced to Mount Jackson and thence to New Market, and on the 25th his headquarters were at Harrisonburg, his cavalry moving toward Staunton. On the 24th, Torbert had a sharp engagement near Luray with the enemy's cavalry, who were trying to operate in Sheridan's rear; but he succeeded in driving them up the valley, and on the 26th rejoined the main army.

Early retreated to Port Republic, and thence to Brown's Gap, a depression in the Blue Ridge fifteen miles southeast of Harrisonburg, which he held in force, and retained, in spite of several attempts to drive him from it. Torbert, with Wilson's division of cavalry and a brigade of Merritt's, entered Staunton on the morning of the 26th and destroyed a quantity of the enemy's property there; then marching along the railroad to Waynesboro, he tore up the track for the entire distance, as well as the bridges over Christian's Creek and the South River, and then retired to Harrisonburg by way of Staunton, destroying or carrying off large supplies of forage and grain.

Several reconnoissances made toward Early's position at Brown's Gap showed that he enjoyed there unusual facilities for defence, and had thrown up intrenchments and prepared to make a determined stand. An advance on Lynchburg on the part of Sheridan with Early in his rear, now receiving reinforcements, would have been extremely hazardous; his communications would have been at once interrupted. As it was, numerous guerrilla bands, under the lead of Mosby, White, and other partisan chieftains, kept up an annoying warfare between Strasburg and the Potomac; and ever since the army left Harper's Ferry, every small party and every straggler had been "bushwhacked" by the people of the valley, many of whom had obtained protection passes from earlier commanders. Lieutenant John Meigs, of the engineer corps, was overtaken and murdered in a narrow wooded road between Harrisonburg and Dayton; but in retaliation for this, all the houses within five miles were burned by order of Sheridan. Nothing was to be gained by staying any longer in the neighborhood of Port Republic and Cross Keys, and it remained only to fall back down the valley to some point which could be easily and firmly held, and to which the winter supplies for the army might be conducted in safety. On the 6th of October, therefore, Sheridan withdrew his forces from the various advanced points which they had occupied, and marched northward, destroying on his way, in accordance with orders from Government, all the hay, grain, and forage to be found, beyond what was necessary for the use of his own army. A correspondent, who was present on this march, thus describes some of the scenes he witnessed: "The atmosphere, from horizon to horizon, has been black with the smoke of a hundred conflagrations, and at night a gleam brighter and more lurid than sunset has shot from every verge. The orders have been to destroy all forage in stacks and barns, and to drive the stock before for the subsistence of the army. The execution of these orders has been thorough, and in some instances, where barns near dwelling-houses have been fired, has resulted in the destruction of the latter. In no instance, except in that of the burning of dwellings within five miles in retaliation for the murder of Lieutenant Meigs, have orders been issued for the burning

Oct. 6.

of houses, or have such orders been sanctioned by General Sheridan. Such wholesale incendiarism could not have been pursued, however, without undue license being taken by the worst class of soldiers, and there have been frequent instances of rascality and pillage. Indiscriminating (for with such swift work discrimination is impracticable), relentless, merciless, the torch has done its terrible business in the centre and on either side of the valley. Few barns and stables have escaped. The gardens and cornfields have been desolated. The cattle, hogs, sheep, cows, oxen, nearly five thousand in all, have been driven from every farm. The poor, alike with the rich, have suffered. Some have lost their all. The wailing of women and children, mingling with the crackling of flames, has sounded from scores of dwellings. I have seen mothers weeping over the loss of that which was necessary to their children's lives, setting aside their own; their last cow, their last bit of flour pilfered by stragglers, the last morsel that they had in the world to eat or drink. Young girls with flushed cheeks, or pale with tearful or tearless eyes, have pleaded with and cursed the men whom the necessities of war have forced to burn the buildings reared by their fathers, and turn them into paupers in a day. The completeness of the desolation is awful. Hundreds of nearly starving people are going North. Our trains are crowded with them. They line the wayside. Hundreds more are coming—not half the inhabitants of the valley can subsist on it in its present condition. Absolute want is in mansions used in other days to extravagant luxury."

A committee appointed by the county court of Rockingham to make an estimate of the damage done in that county by Sheridan's troops, reported that there were burnt or otherwise destroyed, 30 dwelling-houses, 450 barns, 31 mills, 3 factories, 1 furnace, 100 miles of fencing, 100,000 bushels of wheat, 50,000 bushels of corn, 6,233 tons of hay, besides an immense number of farming utensils of every description, many of them of great value, such as McCormick's reapers and threshing machines, as well as household and kitchen furniture, money, bonds, plate, etc. Of live stock carried off, there were 1,750 cattle, 1,750 horses, 4,200 sheep, and 3,350 hogs. The loss thus sustained in this county alone was estimated at $25,000,000.

General Sheridan, in a dispatch dated October 7th, says: "The whole country from the Blue Ridge to the North Mountain has been made untenable for a rebel army. I have destroyed over two thousand barns filled with wheat, hay, and farming implements, over seventy mills filled with wheat and flour. Four herds of cattle have been driven before the army, and not less than three thousand sheep have been killed and issued to the troops. This destruction embraces the Luray and Little Fork valleys as well as the main valley." This wholesale devastation of the valley from mountain to mountain, with the intent to render the entire region a desert, embittered the inhabitants to the last degree. Having lost all, and having

no object in life but the destruction of their enemies by fair means or foul, they had no resort or occupation but to fight, in Early's ranks, or in connection with Mosby's bands, or solitary in the fearful guerrilla warfare everywhere raging.

As Sheridan returned down the valley toward Cedar Creek, he was closely followed by the cavalry of the enemy under Rosser, supported by the main body of Early's army. On the 9th, the head of Sheridan's infantry column having entered Strasburg by the east road, while the rear was still some miles farther south, the enemy following the cavalry on the west road, had advanced so far as to get on the left flank of the infantry column. Generals Custer and Merritt then turned and attacked with their cavalry, and a report spreading among Rosser's men that the Federal infantry were at the same time flanking them, they immediately gave way and broke into a stampede. The pursuit was continued seven miles. The enemy's loss was not great, being only about three hundred men including prisoners; but they abandoned eleven guns, four caissons, and an ammunition train. Things remained pretty quiet for several days after this affair, but on the 12th the enemy again appeared in the neighborhood of Strasburg and opened an artillery fire on Emory's and Crook's corps. These troops were then partially withdrawn, and Crook pushed out a reconnoissance, which brought on a smart engagement lasting three hours, but night closed without any advantage and with little loss to either side.

Oct. 9.

On the 15th, General Sheridan went to Washington on important business, leaving the army under the command of General Wright, whose corps was in the mean time intrusted to General Ricketts. Fisher's Hill had been abandoned as not affording any good defensible line on its southern slope, on which side Early would be likely to approach, and the army had now lain for several days in front of Strasburg, behind breast-works thrown up on rising and rolling ground, mostly along the east side of Cedar Creek, Crook with the eighth corps on the left, the nineteenth corps on the centre, the sixth on the right. On the right of the sixth, a little in the rear and in reserve, were the two cavalry divisions of Custer and Merritt. The line was four or five miles long, and following the course of the creek, lay nearly north and south. Crook's corps rested its left flank on the North Fork of the Shenandoah and its right on the Winchester and Strasburg turnpike, the principal highway in that region. Behind Crook's left and at right angles to it, with a view to guard against any turning movement on that flank, lay a force about equivalent to a brigade, known as Kitching's provisional division. North of the turnpike came the nineteenth corps, Grover's division holding its left and resting on the turnpike, where it joined Thoburn's division of Crook's command. The sixth corps on the right, and the second cavalry division, were not strongly protected with works, as all the rest of the line was, but were well posted on high ridges, and held

Oct. 15.

firmly the Middle road, or that which runs next north of the turnpike. A small stream called Meadow Run flows and falls into the creek between the two roads mentioned. In front the Federal position was considered impregnable, except by surprise, and to turn it would be, it was believed, an undertaking of extreme temerity. To guard against surprise on the left, the North Fork was picketed by Powell's cavalry division from Cedar Creek all the way to Front Royal, at which place Weir's battery commanded the fords, supported by cavalry, with which also was carefully picketed the region where the two forks unite to form the main stream of the Shenandoah, to guard against surprise from the direction of the Luray Valley. Artillery was posted in front of the positions of Crook and Emory, so as to command the ford and the bridge over Cedar Creek, as well as the rising ground on the west side. The wagon trains and reserve artillery lay in the rear on the turnpike. On the 17th the cavalry on the right under Custer was attacked along its picket line by rebel cavalry and infantry, and a severe skirmish ensued, resulting in the repulse of the enemy. Next day a careful reconnoissance was made from the left toward Strasburg and Fisher's Hill, but no sign of movement on the part of the enemy was discovered. Dispatches, however, were captured, from which it was ascertained that reinforcements had been sent to Early, for the purpose of enabling him to attack and defeat Sheridan, and General Emory was ordered to prepare to make a reconnoissance in force on the 19th.

Early had in fact just received a reinforcement of twelve thousand men, which increased his strength to twenty-seven thousand, but of this nothing was known in the Federal camp, and if it had been known, it would have caused no apprehensions, as Sheridan's army was still largely superior in numbers, and was besides strongly intrenched. But it encouraged Early to prepare and put in execution the most audacious and most difficult nocturnal flank movement of the war. Soon after midnight, Early, having arranged his troops unperceived at Fisher's Hill, set them in motion toward Sheridan's lines. His cavalry and light artillery were directed to advance against the Federal right, so as to occupy the attention of Torbert and the sixth corps. His infantry marched in five columns, of which Gordon's, Ramseur's, and Pegram's were ordered to place themselves by daybreak on the left rear of the whole Federal position, while Kershaw's and Wharton's were to endeavor to get about the same time close under the intrenched rising ground on which lay Crook's command. To turn the Federal left, it was necessary that Early's columns should descend into the gorge at the base of the Massanutten Mountain, ford the North Fork of the Shenandoah, and skirt Crook's encampment for some distance, in some places within four hundred yards of his pickets. The enterprise was hazardous almost beyond parallel; and though the movement was actually completed ac-

Oct. 19.

cording to the plan laid down by Early, it was at one time very near being discovered. About two o'clock in the morning some pickets in Kitching's provisional division heard a rustling of underbrush and the tread of a body of men. The circumstance was reported to General Crook, but he contented himself with ordering his command to be on the alert and sending the front line into the trenches, without having a reconnoissance made to see if the alarm were well founded. No one believed that Early would venture upon an attack after so many defeats. Nevertheless an hour before daylight the rebel infantry, formed and ready for battle, lay within six hundred yards of the Federal camps. Gordon's column was diagonally in the rear of the nineteenth corps; on the left of Crook, facing Kitching's provisional division, was Ramseur supported by Pegram; in front of Crook was Kershaw supported by Wharton. Under cover of the morning mist, Kershaw's column moved rapidly through Crook's picket line, without regarding its scattering musketry fire, toward the intrenchments, the men in which, unable to see what was going on, fired too late, or, caught with unloaded rifles, did not fire at all. There was a struggle over the breast-works, but it scarcely lasted five minutes, and then the rebels rushed in like a flood. In a quarter of an hour Crook's gallant army of Western Virginia became a disorganized mass of fugitives in rapid rout toward the position of the nineteenth corps. So sudden had been the attack and so brief the resistance made, that though the eighth corps lost several batteries, only seven hundred prisoners fell into the hands of the enemy, and less than a hundred men were killed or wounded. Some regiments indeed fought well for a little while, but nothing could withstand the daring yet silently and dextrously executed charge of Kershaw. The sixth corps was at the same time menaced, and its attention occupied by the enemy's cavalry and light artillery, and it fell to the lot of the nineteenth corps to resist unaided the shock of Gordon's column, now advancing solidly massed up the slope of a broad bare hill which commanded Emory's camp. The rebel force on this side, including the divisions of Ramseur and Pegram, was as strong as Emory's, and was supported by another column coming up through the woods on the left, and along the turnpike in front. The nineteenth corps was thus not only taken in the rear but outnumbered. Still it held out for about an hour, and then its left gave way, leaving a part of the artillery in the enemy's hands. The left and centre of the Federal army had now fallen into complete confusion, and all the trains that could be got away were sent off in haste along the turnpike toward Winchester. It was now also broad day, and the extent of the disaster could be seen. The enemy had succeeded in rolling up the left of the line, and in severing Powell's cavalry division on the extreme left from the rest of the army, and were forcing back the entire centre, and occupying the intrenchments of the

nineteenth corps as they had those of Crook's command. The enemy had also captured eighteen pieces of artillery, thus not only lessening the Federal power for defence, but increasing their own power for attack. The captured cannon were turned with terrible effect on their late possessors, and became an important means of increasing the precipitancy of the Federal retreat. The sixth corps was ordered over from the right, and these troops, executing quickly a change of front which brought them at right angles to their former line, were soon engaged in desperate battle, thus affording cover for the general retreat, which was now ordered. The enemy were now working along on the turnpike toward Middletown, and great exertions were made to get away the remainder of the trains, in the effort to cover which the troops suffered severely from the fire of the enemy, who pursued closely and with great vigor. The resistance made by the sixth corps in covering the retreat afforded opportunity for re-forming the fugitives to some extent; but the enemy increased their artillery and musketry fire to the utmost, and still pressed the Federal left flank, with the view, apparently, of getting full possession of the turnpike, that they might seize the trains and get between the Federal army and Winchester. This they seemed at one time likely to effect, as while pouring in a destructive fire they steadily advanced, while the broken corps of the Federal army lost much time in manœuvring while re-forming their line of battle. The enemy pressing the left much more vigorously than the right, Merritt's and Custer's cavalry were transferred from the right to the left, and a severe contest took place in the thickly wooded country near Middletown, in which the left had been placed by its rapid retreat. About nine o'clock Sheridan's army had got into line of battle again, and made desperate efforts to check the enemy. Both sides used artillery; but the enemy had greatly the advantage in this arm, having not only their own batteries, but those which they had captured. The sixth corps held its ground well, but Crook's corps on the left was forced back, and the whole line gradually gave way, the enemy again getting past the Federal left flank, and finally gaining the village of Middletown, about three miles northeast of the position from which Sheridan's army had been driven. The principal aim of the Federal commanders now was to cover the trains and draw off the army with as little loss as possible to Newtown, in the hope of making another stand there. The battle had been completely lost; camps, lines of earth-works, twenty-four guns, and eighteen hundred prisoners had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and the army, though in a measure re-formed, was in a condition which would justify any commander in withdrawing it from the field. A vast number of stragglers were well on their way to Winchester, and some were already entering the town.

But the tide of affairs was now to be turned. Sheridan, who on his return from Washington had passed the night

at Winchester, where he had got news of Early's attack about the time that it became a decided success, soon after ten o'clock appeared on the field, having come at great speed from the town, meeting on the way, in the shape of hurrying wagon trains and crowds of weary fugitives, painful evidence of a great disaster. His arrival created the greatest enthusiasm among both officers and men. He was received everywhere with cheers; the wounded by the roadside raised their feeble voices for a shout; the fugitives turned about and followed him to the front. The army at this time was just south of Newtown, and the moment he reached it, he ordered it to face about, form line, and prepare for an advance. The line of battle was left as Wright had formed it, except that one cavalry division was sent across to cover the right flank, where it was before the battle. A lull in the fighting had occurred soon after the retreat to Newtown, and continued for some time after Sheridan's arrival, and greatly facilitated the work of reorganization—all in fact that was needed to make the Federal army more than a match for that of the Confederates, which it considerably outnumbered. For two hours, during which all was silence, preparation, reorganization, and suspense, Sheridan rode along the front, studying the ground and encouraging the men. Soon after twelve o'clock the enemy got their artillery into range of the Federal position, and opened fire with new vigor. About one, Early having got his troops well in hand again, sent them to the charge, but this time in vain. The Federal troops were ready, and after a long and desperate struggle the rebels were repulsed, and even followed back a short distance. From two o'clock till three, though the cannonading and the rattle of musketry were incessant, no advance of importance was made on either side. About three o'clock Sheridan determined by a grand effort to force the enemy out of Middletown, which up to this time they had held. The sixth corps was then drawn up in the centre along the turnpike, Getty's division in the advance; Crook's corps re-formed on the left of the sixth, and the nineteenth corps came up on its right under cover of the woods. Merritt's cavalry division was thrown out on the left flank, with Lowell's brigade in the advance, Devin's following closely. Custer's cavalry was on the right flank. Between three and four o'clock Getty's division dashed forward on the charge, and the rest of the line followed. As the troops burst from the woods, a tremendous artillery and musketry fire from the enemy was directed upon them, which at first it seemed impossible could be withstood. But such of the Federal batteries as remained answered those of the enemy with vigor and effect; and though the advancing troops once hesitated and even broke, they were re-formed, and again pressing on, despite obstinate and bloody resistance, carried two successive lines of stone walls, crests and thickets, and drove the discomfited enemy through the town, with as much enthusiasm as though the army had just

come into action. This proved to be the crisis of the battle and the turning of the tide of victory. The enemy at once began to retreat, and the only question that remained was, how far Sheridan's men would have strength to pursue. It must be remembered that they had eaten nothing since the previous evening, that they had lost their canteens and were suffering much from thirst, and that they had been fighting and manœuvring, often at the double-quick, for nearly twelve hours. The cavalry and the sixth and nineteenth corps now pressed the enemy from Middletown to Cedar Creek. The fugitives, wearied and worn as well as their pursuers, but not like them elated with victory, threw away guns, haversacks, clothing, and everything which became an impediment in rapid flight. No time was given them to pause till they arrived at Cedar Creek, when they made an attempt to hold their pursuers in check by planting batteries on the opposite banks to command the bridge and fords. But the Federal troops, animated by success, carried both, and drove the rebels from the creek and through Strasburg to Fisher's Hill. Their retreat being so hasty was necessarily much confused, and they abandoned all the camp equipage, and almost everything they had captured in the morning. In Strasburg, the artillery which they had taken becoming, owing to the demoralization of the drivers, mixed up with their own, the whole of it was abandoned. The prisoners, about eighteen hundred in all, taken mostly in the morning, they had secured by sending on to Staunton. The greater part of the Federal army bivouacked in the old camp at Cedar Creek, a portion of the infantry following the enemy as far as Strasburg, while the cavalry dashed through to Fisher's Hill, from which position the Confederate army fell back during the night toward Woodstock, followed on the morning of the 20th by the Federal cavalry. At this point the pursuit was discontinued, the enemy having made good a hasty retreat to Mount Jackson, whence they subsequently retired to New Market and intrenched. The Federal losses in this battle were very severe, approximating seven thousand, of which eighteen hundred were prisoners; those of Early's army were not so great, according to Confederate accounts being less than twelve hundred, and, exclusive of prisoners, probably did not really exceed two thousand, as in the early part of the day they got possession of many pieces of Sheridan's artillery and turned them on the disorganized masses of the Federal army, which thus sustained much more injury than under the circumstances it was able to inflict. The most decisive evidence of their final defeat is seen in the recapture of the twenty-four cannon, the camp equipage, etc., lost in the morning, and in the capture of twenty-three of Early's cannon, twenty caissons, ten battle-flags, a number of horses and mules, ambulances, wagons, a quantity of artillery ammunition, medical stores, and other material. General Ramseur, of the Confederate army, was killed. In the Federal army, Gen-

eral Bidwell, Colonel Thoburn, Colonel Higginbotham, and Major Smart were killed, and Generals Wright, Ricketts, and Grover wounded. Of all the retrieved battles recorded in history, no one is probably more remarkable than this of Cedar Creek or Middletown. After having sustained a decided defeat, the same men in their turn totally routed the victors without receiving any reinforcements, except one man—Sheridan.

For this and other services in the Valley of the Shenandoah, he was, on the 14th of November following, appointed to the major-generalship in the United States army vacated by the resignation of General McClellan.

Early having, as was said, retired to New Market, remained there some time reorganizing his army, and beyond cavalry skirmishing and reconnoitring, and the ceaseless raids of the ever-active guerrillas under Mosby, Imboden, and Gilmore, nothing of importance occurred till the first week in November, when the enemy's cavalry began to appear upon the flanks of Sheridan's army, and on the 7th the rebel General Rosser with his cavalry division reached Wordensville, on the Cacapon, twelve miles northwest of Strasburg, evidently with the view of threatening the Federal communications north of Winchester. **Nov. 9.** On the morning of the 9th, Sheridan broke camp at Cedar Creek, and moved his whole army back to Newtown, and the next day to Kearnstown, about four miles southwest of Winchester. Early followed, and some cavalry skirmishing occurred, in which the losses were about equal; but on the 12th he withdrew again to Fisher's Hill, and subsequently to Mount Jackson and New Market, in which direction three cavalry divisions under Custer, Powell, and Devin made a reconnoissance during the 21st and 22d.

A raid was made by the rebel General Rosser in the latter part of November toward New Creek, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, where on the **Nov. 28.** 28th he surprised and captured Fort Kelley, and destroyed two hundred wagons and a large quantity of commissary and ordnance stores. He then went on to Piedmont, burning the railroad bridges on his way, and destroyed there all the government buildings, including several machine shops, in which were a number of engines and some rolling stock of the railroad.

During the first week in December a division of the Federal cavalry under General Merritt crossed the Blue Ridge and made a destructive raid in Loudon and Fauquier counties, laying the country waste, burning barns, houses, and mills, and capturing and slaughtering cattle. The value of the property captured or destroyed in this raid was, according to an official statement, over $2,500,000.

About this time the entire sixth corps and some other troops were detached from Sheridan's army to reinforce Grant, as was also the greater part of Early's army to reinforce Lee, and affairs remained comparatively quiet in the Shenandoah Valley for some months.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Grant's Movement from Deep Bottom toward Richmond.—Battle of Chapin's Farm.—Capture of Battery Harrison.—Capture of New Market Heights.—Repulse at Fort Gilmer.—Reconnoissance by Kautz and Terry toward Richmond.—Rebel Attack on Battery Harrison repulsed.—Grant's Movement toward the South Side Railroad.—Capture of Fort McRae.—Repulse of Potter's Division.—Kautz's Cavalry surprised and routed.—Repulse of the Enemy by Terry.—Reconnoissances.—Simultaneous Movements north of the James and toward Hatcher's Run.—Battle of Hatcher's Run.—Operations before Petersburg.—Gregg's Raid to Stony Creek Station.—Warren's Operations on the Weldon Railroad toward Hicksford.—Reconnoissance toward Hatcher's Run.

General Grant resumed active hostilities about the end of September by two important movements from both ends of his long line; one to the north side of the James, the other to the west of the Weldon Railroad. The movement to the north of the James was determined on under the belief that the works in that direction were occupied by only a small portion of the enemy's force. It was hoped that a rapid advance might result in the fall of Richmond, and it was argued that in any event such a movement could be effectually resisted only by the enemy withdrawing a large number of troops from the south side of the river, which would make success probable in the movement contemplated beyond the Weldon Railroad. On the night of the 28th, the Army of the James, under General Butler, consisting of the tenth corps under General Birney, holding the right of the main line before Petersburg; the eighteenth corps, under General Ord, at Bermuda Hundred, and General Kautz's division of cavalry, were quietly but rapidly moved from their positions, in light marching order, to the James, over which they crossed, on muffled pontoon bridges, the tenth corps to Deep Bottom, and the eighteenth to Aiken's Landing, about midway between Deep Bottom and Dutch Gap. At daylight on the morning of the 29th, the eighteenth corps advanced by the Varina road, which runs in a northwesterly direction to the New Market road, meeting with no opposition till the march had been continued about a mile, when the enemy's pickets were met, and skirmishing began between the retreating rebels and Stannard's division in the advance. Two or three miles from Aiken's Landing a long line of intrenchments was found running westward from the road to the James, and ending there in a well-constructed fort. The region traversed by these intrenchments is in the neighborhood of Chapin's and Ball's bluffs, and was known as Chapin's Farm. In front of the fortifications was an open plain. Line of battle was formed in the woods in the edge of this plain, Stannard's division on the left near the river, Heckman's on the right. The third

1864.

Sept. 29.

division under Paine was operating with the tenth corps on a different road. In front of Stannard's division was a series of strong connected forts, including the work known as Battery Harrison, which was well provided with artillery and surrounded by a wide and deep ditch. In front of Heckman's division was a line of rifle-pits defended chiefly by infantry. The troops having been formed under cover of the woods, dashed across the plain under a very heavy fire from the forts and rifle-pits and from the gun-boats in the river, and carried the entire line of works, including Battery Harrison, capturing sixteen pieces of artillery and about two hundred prisoners. The attack was, in fact, a surprise, and fortunately there were but few troops in the works, and these mostly inexperienced, or the affair would have been much more bloody. As it was, the success was purchased at a heavy cost, the Federal loss being not less than eight hundred, sustained chiefly by Stannard's division while crossing the open plain under the murderous artillery fire. Brigadier-General Burnham was killed, and General Ord, Colonel Stevens, and many other officers wounded. The fighting was all over by ten o'clock, and the men were set to work throwing up breast-works and strengthening their position; but the enemy's gun-boats and batteries on the other side of the river kept up such an annoying fire that General Weitzel, who took command of the eighteenth corps after General Ord was wounded, finding it impossible to hold the portion of the works on the left near the river, abandoned them, and moved Heckman's division over from the right to the left, with the view of concentrating his force to repel an attack, should the enemy return in superior numbers.

The tenth corps under General Birney had in the mean time marched from Deep Bottom toward New Market, crossing Four Mile Creek, Paine's colored division of the eighteenth corps in the advance. The pickets were driven in, the Kingsland road reached, and the enemy were found at the junction of that road with the New Market road, where strong breast-works had been constructed in a commanding position called New Market Heights, a marshy tract of ground in front, covered with stunted trees and a dense undergrowth besides being obstructed by an abattis, rendering it very difficult of approach. Over this piece of difficult ground Paine's colored troops were directed to charge, and in spite of the formidable obstacles in their path, and under a very destructive musketry fire, made their way to the works and carried them at the point of the bayonet without firing a shot. This position being the key-point of the line of defences, was stoutly defended by the rebels; but nothing could withstand the impetuous onset of the colored troops. Terry's division of the tenth corps pushed in on the right and flanked the enemy, who fell back from the heights, and Terry immediately occupied them. No artillery was used on either side. The Federal loss was about fifteen hundred,

sustained chiefly by the colored division; that of the enemy was much less, and they retreated so rapidly that no prisoners were taken. General Birney then pushed on in the direction of Richmond, along the New Market road, to the point where the Mill road enters it, three miles west of New Market. After carrying some feebly defended earthworks here, the advance, consisting of the second division, now under Foster, drove the enemy as far as the junction of the Varina and New Market roads, six miles southeast of Richmond. Here, on Laurel Hill, was found a substantial fortification called Fort Gilmer, consisting of a semicircular main work with other works on each side, a wide and deep ditch extending in front of the intrenchments. Foster's division was immediately deployed on the right, and W. Birney's colored brigade on the left. About two o'clock an assault was ordered, and several charges were made, but each time the troops were compelled to retire with great loss, a severe artillery and musketry fire from both flank and front completely sweeping the open space over which the storming parties had to move. The colored troops on the left succeeded in reaching the ditch, but the few men who mounted the parapet never returned. It soon became evident that the position was too strong to be taken, and before dusk the troops were called off. The enemy were left in secure possession of Laurel Hill, having suffered but little loss, while that of the Federals was not less than five hundred.

General Kautz having early in the morning reconnoitred the roads before the advance of the infantry columns, turned off about nine o'clock to the right and moved up the Central road toward Richmond, in which direction he met no opposition till within two or three miles of the city, when a fort near the tollgate opened upon him. General Terry also, whose division had been sent to the support of Kautz, marched across from the New Market to the Central road, and pressing on rapidly came within sight of the spires of Richmond. But both withdrew about sundown. The country had been found full of fortifications, and the enemy everywhere showed a disposition to resist. The line of the army at night was formed with the tenth corps in the centre, the cavalry on the right, and the eighteenth corps on the left.

About two in the afternoon of the 30th, the enemy, having been largely reinforced from Petersburg during the night and morning, appeared in great force in front of Battery Harrison and the line of captured works now held by the eighteenth corps. Their plan of attack was, to break through these and separate the eighteenth and tenth corps. The blow fell therefore on the right of the eighteenth and the left of the tenth. The action was commenced by a cannonade from the enemy of fifteen or twenty minutes' duration, followed by a charge on Paine's colored division, now getting position on the right of the eighteenth corps, and on W. Birney's colored brigade, on the left of

Sept. 30.

the tenth. But Paine and Birney held their ground well, delivering a withering fire of musketry, while the batteries made great devastation in the charging column. The weight of the attack fell, however, on Stannard's division. Forming in three strong lines on the edge of the woods, the enemy charged upon it with great fury under cover of a hot shelling from their gun-boats and an enfilading fire from the batteries on the other side of the river. Stannard's men had been instructed to lower their pieces, and their fire was incessant and murderous. Three times the rebels charged; but each time, though they got near the works, they were driven back with great slaughter to their cover in the woods. They lost in this affair, including two hundred prisoners, of whom twenty were officers, near eight hundred men. Six battle-flags also were taken. The Federal loss did not exceed two hundred. At night heavy rain fell, continuing through the following day and night, and the surface of the country was soon covered with deep mud, rendering the movement of artillery and wagons, and even the march of troops, exceedingly difficult.

These movements on the north side of the James having, as was intended, induced General Lee to send off a great part of his forces in that direction, General Grant, who had for several days been making preparations for the movement, dispatched on the 30th a column from the left flank. The Federal force remaining near Petersburg while the Army of the James was operating toward Richmond, consisted of three corps and the second division of cavalry. Of these the second corps and parts of the fifth and ninth were now left to hold the long line of the Weldon Railroad and Petersburg intrenchments, while two divisions of the ninth corps with two divisions and a brigade of the fifth were constituted a column of advance under General Warren. On the 29th, a reconnoissance had been made by Gregg's cavalry, supported by two brigades of infantry, toward the Poplar Spring Church road beyond the Vaughan turnpike. On reaching the Weldon Railroad Gregg struck off to the south of Yellow Tavern, but after sending the different brigades in various directions fell back again. About five o'clock the enemy, who had followed Gregg on his return, attacked him with two pieces of artillery, and skirmishing, resulting in little loss to either side, continued till dark, when Gregg returned to his former lines.

On the following morning the column under Warren set out from Four Mile Station on the Weldon Railroad, the headquarters of the fifth corps, the cavalry under Gregg on the extreme left, while the divisions of Griffin and Ayres, with Hoffman's brigade of the fifth corps, followed by the divisions of Willcox and Potter and several batteries, moved out in the direction of Poplar Grove, on the South Side Railroad, fifteen miles west of Four Mile Station. The march was made in a northwesterly direction, and soon after twelve o'clock, having struck the Squirrel Level road, Peebles' Farm was reached, about three miles from the

railroad and four or five southwest of Petersburg. Here was discovered a redoubt, called Fort McRae, in which were several small rifled guns, and connected with it a strong line of intrenchments on commanding ridges. In front was an open space of ground swept by the guns of the redoubt. The task of charging over this and capturing the crest was assigned to Griffin's division, which advanced in three lines, one behind another, and carried the works, driving the enemy out at every point and taking about fifty prisoners and one gun. The Federal loss was about a hundred and fifty. The column then re-formed, and the march being resumed the enemy were found occupying a strong work on a hill half a mile farther on. At five o'clock Potter's division, attempting to press up the acclivity on which the rebels were posted, sustained a severe repulse, and being in its turn charged, was thrown into confusion, which was much increased by a flanking column of the enemy, who having received reinforcements now appeared in great force, broke in between the divisions of the fifth and ninth corps, and swept off more than fifteen hundred prisoners, chiefly from Potter's division. The further progress of the rebels however was checked by the rapid approach of Griffin's division; but fighting continued till dark. The total Federal loss was over 2,500, of which 1,600 fell on Potter's division, while that of the enemy was not much over 500. Rain fell heavily all night and during the following day, but skirmishing continued. On the 1st of October the enemy made two attacks on the division under Ayres, but both were easily repulsed. Another was made in the pouring rain by Hampton's cavalry division upon Gregg, who covered the left flank beyond the Vaughan road. Hampton succeeded in driving him back from one line of intrenchments to another, but finally retired discomfited, though taking with him a hundred prisoners. The Federal force continued to hold intrenchments four miles from the South Side Railroad, connecting on the right with the old line of works at Petersburg, but the enemy retained and used the railroad. On the 2d, General Mott moved out toward the Boydton plank-road, over which supplies were now conveyed in wagons to Petersburg; but the enemy were found strongly intrenched in front of the road, and Mott was compelled to retire, losing about a hundred men. From the 2d of October to the 6th there was only skirmishing between the opposing picket lines, which were very near; but both sides continued to fortify industriously.

Oct. 1.

On the north side of the James there had been in the mean time some movements. On the morning of the 1st of October, General Terry, preceded by Kautz's cavalry, made a reconnoissance toward Richmond on the Central or Darbytown and Charles City roads. When within three miles of the city the enemy's skirmishers were encountered and driven in, and Terry continued to advance till he approached the main line of defences, which ran across both roads,

but farther progress was prevented by vigorous shelling on the part of the enemy. After reconnoitring carefully, Terry and Kautz returned at night, having suffered but little loss. The rain and mud caused a suspension of operations, beyond reconnoitring and intrenching, and little of importance occurred till the 7th, when the enemy made a sudden and partially successful attempt to turn the right flank of the Army of the James, which lay in a line running in a northeasterly direction from Battery Harrison, where the eighteenth corps was firmly intrenched about seven miles south of Richmond. To the right of the eighteenth corps lay the tenth, across the New Market and Central roads, and on the extreme right the cavalry of General Kautz, consisting of only two brigades under Spear and West, with two batteries, each of four three-inch rifled guns, resting on the Charles City road, at a distance of five miles southeast of Richmond. At early dawn a large force of the enemy under General Anderson, consisting of two full divisions of infantry under Hoke and Field and a brigade of cavalry, having approached before daylight by the Darbytown and Charles City roads, fell unexpectedly upon Kautz's cavalry, which being taken completely by surprise broke into a perfect rout and scattered over the country in the rear, followed by the batteries, which being left without support could not remain in safety; but these soon stuck fast in the mud, and were captured entire with all the caissons and most of the horses. Three hundred of the cavalrymen were also overtaken and captured, and many were killed and wounded. The enemy having now stampeded the Federal cavalry and got possession of the Central road, advanced toward the tenth corps, which lay in a strongly intrenched line, its right held by General Terry, who with the first division covered the New Market road, his troops in hastily constructed rifle-pits in the thick woods. On the left of the line of the tenth corps the ground was open, and on this side of course was posted the artillery, consisting of four six-gun batteries, so planted as not only to sweep the ground in front, but to some extent that over which the right must be approached by the enemy. In Terry's division, upon which the attack fell, Pond's brigade held the left, Abbott's the centre, and Plaisted's the right. Curtis' brigade of Foster's division was also brought up and placed in line with these. When the enemy approached, between nine and ten o'clock, they found themselves under a cross fire of artillery from the Federal left, and got two batteries in position in reply; but these were soon overpowered. In the mean time Field's infantry division dashed over the open space at the double-quick, and succeeded in gaining the woods on the Federal right, though the trees which had been felled there made an entrance difficult. The Federal troops in the woods remained quiet till the enemy got very close, in front of the centre under Abbott, when all four brigades rose at once from their partial concealment and

Oct. 7.

poured into the advancing column a most destructive fire, that of Abbott's brigade, partly armed with the Spencer repeating rifle, proving very deadly at the short range within which the fighting took place. Nevertheless the rebels protracted the struggle for some time, and finally, after a fierce musketry battle, made a desperate rush on Pond's brigade, but were repulsed, and at length withdrew, though their artillery firing was resumed to cover the retreat of the infantry to the Central road. Terry's division was then put in motion to follow and if possible to flank the enemy, when they again fell back to the Charles City road, leaving the Central road to the Federal troops. While this fighting was going on on the right of the Army of the James, a demonstration was made by the enemy on the left, at Battery Harrison, but without result. The entire Federal loss during the day did not exceed five hundred.

After these events little of importance occurred north of the James for some days. The Federal forces continued to intrench busily along the lines they held. The rebel iron-clads near Cox's Ferry annoyed to some extent the picket line on the left flank of the eighteenth corps with an enfilading fire, but comparatively few casualties occurred. The work on the Dutch Gap Canal was prosecuted industriously, subject to an artillery fire from Howlett's battery, which, however, the Federal gun-boats and batteries succeeded in temporarily silencing on the 11th. On the 13th, General Butler put eighty-seven prisoners at labor under the enemy's fire at the canal, in retaliation for Confederate ill-treatment of Federal colored soldiers at Fort Gilmer.

Oct. 12.

On the 12th, General Terry, temporarily commanding the tenth corps, made a reconnoissance in force toward the right, taking with him the first division under Ames, the colored division under W. Birney, and a part of Kautz's cavalry division. The column set out in the evening, but halted during the night. In the morning it moved again and struck the Central road near the point from which Kautz's command was driven on the 7th. The cavalry then stretching out to the Charles City road, dismounted and deployed as skirmishers, thus covering the extreme right between that road and the Central road, while W. Birney's colored division deployed on the left of the Central road, and that of Ames on the right toward the left of the cavalry. The enemy's videttes were soon encountered on the former, and driven back a mile or more, when they reached a series of intrenchments recently thrown up across the road, from which as soon as the Federal troops got within range, which was between seven and eight o'clock, the enemy opened a sharp fire. This was quickly returned, but Terry's object being to discover the length and strength of this new line of the enemy, he kept most of his troops as much as possible under the shelter of a strip of woods in front of the works, and pushed out brigades in reconnoitring charges at various points till the whole series of

intrenchments was felt, but without making any serious demonstrations, except on the enemy's extreme left, which it was supposed was overlapped by the Federal right, and which Pond's brigade was ordered to turn. The works at this point were however found to be "refused," and the Federal troops rushing forward were caught by an enfilading fire and suffered severely. This encouraged the enemy to sally from their breast-works on other parts of the line, and make a charge with all their available force. It was not attended, however, with much success, and soon after four in the afternoon the Federal troops were withdrawn unbroken, and got back within their own intrenchments by dark. The Federal loss during the day exceeded four hundred; that of the enemy was about two hundred.

On the left, to the west of the Weldon Railroad, a reconnoissance was made on the 8th, somewhat similar to that made by Terry and Kautz. It was a general advance of the fifth and ninth corps to feel the enemy's position, to push forward the lines, and to occupy if possible all the series of works connected with Fort McRae which had been taken. The fifth corps, temporarily under Crawford, moved out on the West Halifax, Vaughan, and Squirrel Level roads; and of the ninth corps, temporarily under Parke, Potter's division pushed out near the Pegram House, and Willcox's took the Church road, Ferrero's division being left in reserve. Willcox got as far as the Boydton plank road, but found it strongly defended by lines of intrenchments. After a day spent in skirmishing and hard marching, both corps returned to camp.

In front of the second corps at Petersburg a great deal of skirmishing and mortar firing occurred from time to time, especially at the redoubt where the picket lines were closest, which was taken from the enemy by De Trobriand during the night about a month before, and since named Fort Sedgwick, but by the soldiers called "Fort Hell." On the 8th this firing was very severe, and on the night of the 11th the enemy's cannonading was so vigorous and prolonged that it was thought a general attack on the Federal lines was intended. From the 11th to the 26th, little of importance occurred in connection with either the Army of the Potomac or that of the James. There was some heavy artillery firing at Dutch Gap and in front of the Petersburg intrenchments; there was also some unimportant cavalry raids, and on the 22d the enemy's gunboats engaged two new Federal batteries at Signal Hill and the Boulware House, on the north side of the James, but were finally compelled to get out of range.

In the mean time General Grant had been completing his plans for another movement against the stubborn defences of Richmond, to consist of a strong feint by the Army of the James on the right, which was to move as if aiming to get round the left flank of the enemy, and of a series of operations in earnest on the part of the Army of the Potomac with the object of turning the enemy's

right flank near the South Side Railroad. On the evening of the 26th the whole army was ordered to be in readiness to move at daybreak on the following morning. Up to this time the proposed movement had been kept, it was supposed, profoundly secret, and nothing was done which could give rise to a suspicion on the part of the enemy that an advance would be made for some days; but on this evening extraordinary preparations were suddenly made on the supposition that if the movement should prove successful the old camp would be permanently abandoned. The sick, the baggage, the commissary stores, camp equipage, and other property, were sent to City Point; the sutlers also took their goods thither. Rations for three days were issued to the cavalry, and for four days to the infantry. The intrenchments at Petersburg were to be held by the artillery, with only such infantry support as was absolutely necessary.

North of the James, the tenth corps under Terry moved out at daybreak on the morning of the 27th along the Darbytown road, and thence in the direction of the Charles City road, occupying the country between the two roads, the first division under Ames on the right, the second under Turner in the centre, near the hamlet of Darbytown, four and a half miles from Richmond, and the colored brigade under Hawley on the left. Skirmishing with the enemy soon commenced all along the front of the tenth corps, but it steadily advanced till it came upon a line of breast-works, a severe fire from which brought the troops to a stand. About noon preparations for an advance having been made, the men dashed forward and drove the rebels back into their intrenchments. These were too strong to be carried, but a hot musketry and artillery fire was kept up on them through the afternoon till dusk, when the fighting ceased, the loss having been principally on the side of the Federal troops. In the mean time the eighteenth corps under Weitzel, leaving its old intrenchments on the left of the tenth corps, had set out at daybreak. with Kautz's division of cavalry in the advance, for a point still farther to the right, and arriving in the rear of the tenth corps, turned off and struck across the country along the road leading to White's Tavern on the Charles City road; then moving in a northerly direction through the White Oak Swamp, Weitzel at length arrived in the neighborhood of the Williamsburg stage road and the Seven Pines battle ground. About four o'clock his command was well across the Williamsburg road at a point of about seven miles east of Richmond. A part of Spear's cavalry was then dismounted, and moving up the road soon found and engaged the enemy's skirmishers. Beyond these the rebels held strong works which completely commanded the road. Weitzel now deployed his corps, Marston's division on the right of the road, Heckman's on the left, Holman's colored division still farther to the left across the Richmond and York River Railroad. Still's Penn-

Oct. 27.

sylvania battery was then moved up the road and opened a rapid fire, which it kept up till a brigade from Marston's division and another from Heckman's had commenced a charge on the enemy's works. The rebels allowed the two brigades to get close to their intrenchments, and then from both right and left directed on them a murderous cross-fire, which made their farther progress impossible. The troops strove for some minutes to maintain their organization, but at length broke. To retreat, however, had become for them as difficult as to advance, the ground on which they stood being completely swept by both the artillery and musketry fire of the enemy, and the rebels, seeing their advantage, sallied from their intrenchments and captured the greater part of the two brigades, a few only of the men escaping to their own lines. Still's battery also, after making a good fight, in which most of the guns were disabled, was forced to retire. The firing in this quarter ceased at dusk, and the troops were withdrawn. Holman, with the colored division on the railroad, had discovered and carried a two-gun redoubt; but the severe check sustained by the other divisions on the Williamsburg road and the fall of night prevented the following up of this success. The troops bivouacked not far from the enemy's positions, and in the morning, orders having come from General Grant for the withdrawal of the force, the corps got in motion again for its old camp, which in its absence had been held by the artillery, aided by some colored troops and recruits. Thus ended the movement on the right. The Federal loss was about fifteen hundred, a large proportion consisting of prisoners; that of the enemy was about two hundred in killed and wounded.

The great movement from the left flank of the Army of the Potomac, to divert attention from which the operations of the Army of the James just described were undertaken in a great measure, was commenced at two in the afternoon of the 26th by the march of Gregg's cavalry and the second corps, which would have in the proposed movement the longest distance to travel, to the left of the line, where they halted about sundown. The entire army, with the exception of the detachments from each corps left in the trenches, were on the march before dawn on the 27th; Gregg's cavalry on the extreme left moving toward Reams' Station and then in a westerly direction; next on the right Egan's second and Mott's third division of the second corps, with three batteries under Major Hazard, moving southwesterly down the Vaughan road; then Warren's fifth corps on the Squirrel Level road; and last of all, on the extreme right, the ninth corps under Parke, moving as did all the columns in a southwesterly direction toward Hatcher's Run, a small stream rising near Sutherland Station on the South Side Railroad, and flowing in a southeasterly direction to Rowanty Creek, a tributary of the Nottoway. It was intended that the two divisions of the second corps and Gregg's cavalry should

march as secretly and as rapidly as possible by a wide detour around the enemy's right flank and then seize the line of defences on Hatcher's Run at the point where the Boydton road crosses it, from which to the South Side Railroad it was supposed little opposition would be met. The fifth and ninth corps were at the same time to demonstrate against the works at Hatcher's Run directly in front, and the fifth was to form connection with the second corps there, the ninth remaining on the right of the fifth. Then, the connection being formed, when the second corps had driven the enemy out of their works, the fifth was to join in, and the whole left of the line thus formed was to be swung round to the South Side Railroad. Hancock and Gregg starting about three in the morning reached Hatcher's Run by the Vaughan road at half-past seven. The road at this point was found much obstructed with felled trees, and the banks of the stream partially cleared so as to give range from a line of rifle-pits on the opposite bank held by a small force of dismounted cavalry. Egan's division then deployed, and Smyth's brigade, forming the first line, quickly forded the stream, carried the slight defences, took about twenty prisoners, and dispersed the remainder of the small rebel force. Both Hancock and Gregg reached the Boydton road about noon; but the enemy were found fully on the alert, and Gregg's troops, covering the left, were opened upon from artillery and the carbines of Young's dismounted cavalry. Generals Grant and Meade were both on the ground at this time; and though it was evident that the enemy had received information of the movement in time to deprive it of the character of a surprise, it was thought that an advance might yet be attended with success. Accordingly Egan's division was deployed on the right of the Boydton plank road, facing toward the bridge over Hatcher's Run, Mott's division on the left of the road, De Trobriand's brigade connecting with Gregg on the extreme left, while McAllister's brigade of Mott's division was placed in the rear to watch the enemy, who had a battery at some distance down the plank road. The bridge was then seized by a skirmish line in the advance of Egan's division and the stream crossed. The next thing to be done was to carry the enemy's works beyond; and with the view of preparing for this, Egan's division was, about one o'clock, disposed with Price's brigade in the centre, Rugg's on the left, and Smyth's on the right, Beck's battery co-operating on that flank. McAllister's brigade was withdrawn from watching the enemy in the rear and deployed in support of Egan. The fifth corps being now heard firing rapidly on the right, the attack on the works was delayed till it should approach and co-operate; but owing to the difficult nature of the thickly wooded country in which the operations were taking place and the intricacy of the roads, the fifth corps failed to connect, and after waiting thus till four o'clock, Hancock made preparations to move upon the works. The enemy in the

mean time had discovered that while the left flank of Hancock's force was covered by Gregg's cavalry, his right was entirely unprotected, and took the offensive. Mahone's strong division of Hill's corps burst suddenly upon Hancock's right and partially turned it, sweeping off at the same time a section of Beck's battery; then getting across the plank road, bore down upon Egan in the rear; but Egan very promptly changed front with his own and McAllister's brigades, and with the aid of three batteries, after a severe and prolonged fight succeeded finally in repulsing Mahone, though in the first fury of his onset the latter had driven back Smyth's brigade, thrown it into disorder, and captured several hundred prisoners. A part of these, however, were recovered, the party in charge of them wandering into the lines of the fifth corps. Egan was then in turn able to attack the enemy in flank, compelling them to abandon the guns they had captured, as well as three of their own flags, besides taking nearly a thousand prisoners and one gun. The loss of the second corps in this affair was estimated at seven hundred in killed and wounded besides prisoners. After this attack by Mahone had been repulsed, and just before dark, the enemy, with a force of five brigades, made a vigorous demonstration on the left against Gregg's cavalry, which recoiled at first, but soon rallying drove back the rebels and re-established its lines, its loss being less than two hundred. Rain had fallen in the afternoon, tending to make manœuvres difficult; the supply of ammunition was nearly exhausted; the enemy had showed themselves not only vigilant but strong, and had inflicted a loss about as great as they had sustained. These considerations, in connection with the belief that the enemy would soon gather in greater force, made it appear that it would be prudent to prosecute the movement by the left flank no further. Soon after dusk, therefore, the retrograde march was commenced by the route taken in the morning, occupying the entire night and part of the next day. The old camps were regained by the second corps with little loss on the march except of stragglers; many of the wounded, however, had been left on the field, the column being unprovided with the means of transportation.

Oct. 27.

The task of the fifth and ninth corps had been to demonstrate against the enemy's works at Hatcher's Run in front, so as to cover the movement of the second corps by the left and finally to co-operate with it; but this they had only partially succeeded in accomplishing. They had indeed, having but a short distance to march, soon made their appearance in front of the works and got into position there, the ninth on the right of the fifth; but though skirmishing was carried on by the infantry through the day, the use of artillery was made extremely difficult in that region by the almost impenetrable woods, which rendered military manœuvres almost impossible without an intimate knowledge of the country, a knowledge which the enemy derived much advantage from

possessing, but the want of which on the part of the Federal commanders probably caused the failure of the entire movement. The officers of Crawford's division, in the left of the fifth corps, not having been able to find the only road which connected their position with that of Hancock at the bridge over Hatcher's Run, endeavored in vain to make their way through the woods, and though the second and fifth corps were through a good part of the day actually not very far apart, a junction was rendered impracticable by the natural obstacles presented in the shape of dark and dense woods and swampy ground. The obscurity of the few miserable roads was such that troops got into the opposing lines, and staff officers lost their way in the forest gloom. The two corps found the enemy's defences too strong in front to be pierced, and had to content themselves with maintaining their position, which they retained all day and through the night till orders arrived from General Grant to fall back. The loss thus sustained in manœuvring and skirmishing was about five hundred. The aggregate losses attending the entire movement by the left flank were not much short of eighteen hundred men. The enemy suffered less in killed and wounded, but lost many more in prisoners.

At dusk in the evening of the 27th, General Miles, who had been left in the Petersburg lines with the first division of the second corps, under cover of a terrific cannonade directed against the enemy's works sent a small storming party, consisting of a hundred volunteers under Captain Price, against a fort near the side of that one under which the mine had been exploded in July. This small party having moved quickly and as silently as possible across the intervening space, clambered over the parapet, and though Captain Price who led the assault was killed, actually drove the enemy out of the works. Had the attack been made by a larger force it might have resulted disastrously for the enemy; but of course so small a body of men could not be expected to hold an important fort against the overwhelming force which was immediately thrown upon them from right and left, and they promptly retreated, losing ten of their number, though they carried off thirty prisoners, among whom were several officers. About ten o'clock on the night of the 30th, the enemy having obtained from deserters some information as to the strength and position of a portion of the Federal picket lines in front of Fort Davis, undertook and successfully carried out a little surprise of a nature similar to one that the Federals had several times practised on them. **Oct. 30.** A body of the rebels getting in the rear of the Federal pickets called to them to "fall in," which these troops, being mostly raw recruits and believing themselves among friends, promptly did, and the entire line, consisting of 380 men, were captured. The Federal intrenchments being then uncovered at that point, which was at the junction of Hancock's and Warren's corps, the enemy threw a strong column against

them. Fortunately, the officers had been put on their guard by a sentinel who had escaped his captors, and when the rebels came within range they found themselves under a heavy musketry fire, to which was soon added that of artillery, and after about an hour's fighting, in which the loss did not exceed a hundred on either side, the enemy withdrew. On the 4th of November there was unusually sharp skirmishing in the neighborhood of "Fort Hell" or Fort Sedgwick, and on the night of the 5th, between eleven and twelve, the enemy succeeded by a sudden attack in getting possession of a considerable portion of the Federal picket line in that vicinity, and immediately began to reverse the works and intrench. At the same time another body of the enemy carried the picket line opposite the crater. The skirmishing was attended with little loss on either side; but it was necessary that the enemy should be promptly dislodged, and a furious cannonade was opened upon them from the forts and batteries to the right and left, and the whole line was aroused. At daybreak, after some desperate fighting, the captured works were recovered, and the line re-established from Fort Sedgwick to the crater. On the 6th a similar attack was made by the enemy on the left, but was quickly repulsed. This desultory fighting, with little result beyond its tendency to wear out both the combatants, had become constant and in fact almost monotonous. The men about this time began to build log-huts, the weather having grown uncomfortably cold. On the 17th of November a portion of General Butler's picket line was surprised and captured, but his main works at Bermuda Hundred remained intact. Artillery and picket firing in the neighborhood of Dutch Gap was maintained with great persistency, and on the 25th the steam dredging machine was sunk by one of the enemy's shells.

Nov. 5.

On the 1st of December a raid was undertaken by General Gregg against the Weldon Railroad, on which the enemy had for a long time kept a dépôt of supplies at Stony Creek Station, eighteen miles south of Petersburg, from which point they had also begun to construct a branch railroad to connect with the South Side Railroad, having for a long time been compelled to wagon supplies along the Dinwiddie and Boydton roads. At half-past three in the morning, Gregg's full division of cavalry broke camp and set out in a southerly direction, the second brigade in the advance, the first brigade next, the third in the rear. The enemy's pickets were met before daybreak; but no serious opposition was encountered till the column arrived at Rowanty Creek, where a company of cavalry disputed the advance, but were quickly dispersed. The third brigade was then left to cover the rear, and the column passed on to Duvall's Station, where the first brigade also was dropped, to destroy some blacksmith shops and mills and protect the flanks. The second brigade then went on to Stony Creek Station, two miles farther; and finding there a

Dec. 1.

well-built fort in which was a garrison of two hundred men, the Fourth Pennsylvania, followed by two other regiments, charged across the open space in front, and then dismounting, in half an hour carried the works by assault, spiked the two guns and threw them into the ditch, and captured the greater part of the garrison. The buildings and supplies at Stony Creek were then fired, with as little delay as possible, and a large quantity of railroad iron intended for the new road was also damaged; but time did not permit of its being thoroughly destroyed. Much property serviceable to the enemy was burnt, including provisions, clothing, ammunition and arms, as well as the long railroad bridge. The bed of the new branch railroad was found graded and ready for the rails, but none had been laid. While this work of destruction was going on, a brigade of Hampton's cavalry came upon the scene, and a rapid retreat was commenced by Gregg's command, and continued, skirmishing being kept up with the pursuers, as far as Rowanty Creek, beyond which point the enemy ceased to follow. The entire loss sustained by Gregg's command was less than forty, all of whom were brought off, along with 175 prisoners and about a hundred negroes.

A few days afterward another movement, on a much larger scale, was made against the Weldon Railroad, which it was of the utmost importance that the enemy should not be allowed to recover the full use of by the completion of their projected branch road from Stony Creek. On the 6th of December, a heavy column, consisting of the fifth corps, Mott's division of the second corps, and Gregg's division of cavalry, in all about twenty thousand men with twenty-two pieces of artillery, under General Warren, was massed on both sides of the Weldon Railroad between the Halifax and Jerusalem roads, and the troops bivouacked for the night. Heavy rain extinguished the camp-fires, but before daybreak the troops were on the march, the cavalry starting at four o'clock. The column took the Jerusalem road and struck the Nottoway at the point where Freeman's Bridge had formerly been, about eighteen miles south-southeast of Petersburg. The cavalry crossed the river, which was about three feet deep, by fording, the infantry by a pontoon bridge, and the whole column was on the south side of the stream before daylight on the morning of the 8th, the cavalry bivouacking at Sussex Court House, the infantry between that place and the river. At three o'clock the cavalry set off in a southwesterly direction toward Jarrett's, a station on the railroad about thirty miles south of Petersburg, the infantry following rapidly. About twelve o'clock the cavalry advance reached the point where the railroad crosses the Nottoway, seized and burnt the bridge, a wooden structure about two hundred feet long, and then began tearing up the track of the railway, a work of destruction which the infantry, arriving soon after, completed in a very effectual way, burning the sleepers and making the rails red-hot

Dec. 6.

and then twisting and bending them in such way as to preclude the possibility of their ever being used again. This was continued for five miles, as far as Jarrett's Station, where the dépôt and water tank were destroyed, and where the troops bivouacked. On the 9th, the column still moving southward, the railroad track was torn up and destroyed nearly as far as Bellfield, on the Meherrin, thirty-seven miles south of Petersburg. At Three Creek, three miles north of Bellfield, the enemy burnt the bridge and disputed the passage of the cavalry; but Dennison's battery opened upon them, and the Tenth New York, fording the stream on the Federal left, flanked the position, and the rebels fell back to Bellfield. Hicksford, on the south bank of the Meherrin, opposite Bellfield, was found protected by strong intrenchments on both sides of the river, within which were some of Hampton's cavalry and a body of militia; and when the Federal troops got within range, a hot fire was directed on them. Several charges were made on the enemy's works, but General Warren finally drew the troops off, and most of the cavalry bivouacked that night north of Three Creek. Up to this time during the march a cold rain had poured down, with a very depressing effect upon the men, making the roads also very bad, and in fact almost impassable; but now the increasing cold was accompanied with a storm of hail and snow, and the situation of the troops became one of extreme discomfort. It was determined under the circumstances not to prosecute any further operations against Hicksford, the strategic value of which was not sufficiently great, taken by itself, to warrant the sacrifice of life which an assault upon its strong defences would have involved. Had circumstances been favorable, General Warren would probably have continued the march to Weldon, about twenty miles farther south, on the railroad and at the head of steamboat navigation on the Roanoke, up which river, in fact, a co-operating gun-boat expedition under Commander Macomb ascended while Warren was marching toward Bellfield; but it was unfortunate, the double-ender Otsego, and the steamer Bazeley, as well as the steam-picket launch No. 5, being all blown to pieces by torpedoes. On the morning of the 10th, therefore, the troops under General Warren began the march back toward Petersburg, the enemy following and attempting to harass the rear; but they were kept in check by a section of Dennison's battery. The column divided near Jarrett's Station, two cavalry brigades continuing the retrograde march by a road on the left, while the infantry, preceded by a brigade of cavalry, moved off to the right toward Sussex Court House, where the court-house building, the jail, a tavern, and a few dwelling-houses were burnt, in retaliation for the alleged shooting of three stragglers. In the afternoon of the 11th the Nottoway was reached and crossed. In this vicinity General Potter's division of the ninth corps was found waiting to co-operate with or reinforce General Warren, had

Dec. 9.

Oct. 10.

the result of the movement been such as to render assistance necessary. The troops got back to camp on the night of the 12th much exhausted, though the entire loss in killed and wounded did not exceed a hundred men.

Reconnoissances were made toward Hatcher's Run on the 8th and 9th, with the object of diverting the attention of the enemy from Warren's movement down the Weldon Railroad. That on the 8th was conducted by Colonel Kirwin, who with a brigade of cavalry moved out in the evening on the Vaughan road, but after a sharp skirmish near the stream returned to camp about ten o'clock. The reconnoissance on the following day was made by the first division of the second corps under General Miles, preceded by Kirwin's cavalry brigade. The column left camp at daylight and arrived about nine o'clock on the bank of the run, on the west side of which the enemy were found strongly intrenched. To strengthen their position they had increased the width and depth of the stream by constructing a dam below the ford, so that the Sixth Ohio Regiment attempting to cross dismounted under the fire of the rebels was compelled to retreat; nevertheless the Second New York heavy artillery succeeded in crossing, though losing three men by drowning, and then carried the works. The cavalry soon after crossed lower down at Armstrong's and drove the enemy to Gravelly Run. General Miles then made dispositions to resist an attack from the enemy in force, who it was not likely would allow him to retain his position quietly. About five in the evening he received a large accession of strength by the arrival of the first and third divisions of the sixth corps under General Wheaton, which had recently come from the Shenandoah Valley. During the night the cold storm of hail and snow which had distressed Warren's column near Hicksford fell also upon that under Miles. He remained, however, through the morning and forenoon of the 11th awaiting an attack from the enemy, and then prepared to return; but about two o'clock the rebels, who had been gathering in front, appeared in force and charged the captured works, but were repulsed with severe loss. Nevertheless the retrograde march was resumed, and continued until the old camps were reached. The entire Federal loss during the movement was about 125 killed and wounded.

Dec. 11

From this time to the end of the year, nothing of great importance occurred in connection with the armies of the Potomac and the James, beyond the accustomed picket and artillery firing, which, however, was sometimes very severe, particularly in the neighborhood of "Fort Hell" and Dutch Gap.

CHAPTER XLV.

Invasion of Missouri by General Price.—Movements of General A. J. Smith.—General Emory's Defence of Pilot Knob. —Concentration of Troops at Jefferson City.—Retreat of Price westward, followed by General Sanborn.—Price issues a Proclamation.—Ravages of Price's Troops.—General Pleasonton's Pursuit of Price.—Battle of Westport.—Battle at Marais des Cygnes.—Battle at Little Osage Crossing.—Final Rout of Price.—Results of his Invasion.—Operations in Southwestern Virginia.—Death of Morgan.—General Burbridge's Movement against Virginia Salt-works.—General Gillem defeated by Breckinridge.—Advance of Breckinridge toward Knoxville.—Operations of General Stoneman.—Defeat of Vaughan by General Gillem.—Retreat of Breckinridge into North Carolina.—Destruction of the Salt-works at Saltville.

1864.

MISSOURI again became the scene of active hostilities in the latter part of the year. Vague rumors of a new invasion of the State with the object of revolutionizing it obtained currency toward September. About the 21st of that month information was received at headquarters that General Sterling Price had crossed the Arkansas with two divisions of cavalry and three batteries of artillery, and joined Shelby near Batesville, sixty miles south of the State line. After reorganizing at this place he found himself at the head of a force of about fifteen thousand mounted veterans, and advanced rapidly toward the southeastern portion of the State. The Federal force at this time in Missouri consisted of about 6,500 mounted men, scattered over a region four hundred miles long and three hundred broad, which, with the partially organized new infantry regiments and dismounted men, constituted the whole of the force left to cover the dépôts at St. Louis, Jefferson City, St. Joseph, Macon, Springfield, Rolla, and Pilot Knob, to guard the railroads and railroad bridges, and protect the lives and property of citizens from the guerrillas swarming in the country bordering on the Missouri. General Rosecrans, however, who had succeeded General Schofield in Missouri, immediately adopted measures to meet the emergency. The citizens were called to arms. In St. Louis business was suspended for a portion of the day to allow opportunity for the militia to drill; discharged officers and soldiers were appealed to to lend their aid, and the employés of the quartermaster's department capable of bearing arms were organized into companies. But Rosecrans thought it best to concentrate the bulk of his troops in the neighborhood of St. Louis, and thus left all that part of the State south of the Maramec open to the invader.

Fortunately, a force under General A. J. Smith, consisting of 4,500 veteran infantry, on its way from Memphis to Nashville to join the army of General Thomas, was at this time passing Cairo. These troops were detained, and ordered

to turn their arms against Price. General Smith, after the unfortunate conclusion of the Red River expedition under General Banks, had returned to Vicksburg, and subsequently moved northward to Memphis, and it had been intended that his troops should join the army of Sherman, of whose force they really constituted a part. But Marmaduke, with a force of about six thousand infantry and cavalry and three batteries, having occupied Lake Village, on the Mississippi, about seventy-five miles north of Vicksburg in a direct line, where he undertook to interrupt the traffic on the river, both above and below Greenville, General Smith proceeded in quest of him. On the 5th of June his force, comprising General Mower's division of the sixteenth corps and one brigade of the seventeenth, disembarked at Sunny Side, and after a march of thirty miles encountered and defeated Marmaduke near Columbia, Arkansas, and on the 7th General Smith re-embarked for Memphis. He was subsequently directed by Sherman to take the offensive against Forrest, and on the 14th of July met and defeated him at Tupelo, Mississippi. He then returned to Memphis. In addition to the troops of General Smith, a cavalry force of 1,500 men was sent from Memphis under Colonel Winslow, and no doubt was entertained that General Rosecrans thus reinforced would check Price and drive him back into Arkansas, where General Steele would be ready to cut off his retreat. But there seems to have been a good deal of hesitation on the part of General Rosecrans, arising from ignorance as to where Price intended to strike, and a consequent unwillingness to move troops in one direction lest it should prove that the enemy were approaching in another.

On the 23d of September, the advance of Price's force under Shelby occupied Bloomfield, in Stoddard County, which had been evacuated by the Federal troops on the night of the 21st. On the 26th the rebels moved on Pilot Knob in St. François County, which fortunately had been occupied the day before by General Ewing with a brigade of General Smith's command. With this force, and the garrison of Pilot Knob and some outlying posts, he undertook to make a stand against the rebels, who without delay made preparations to carry the place by assault. The fort occupied by the Federal forces was a strong one, mounting four twenty-four pounders, four thirty-two pounders, and four six-pounder Parrotts, besides two six-pounder Parrotts mounted outside. The enemy advanced against it on the 27th, in full confidence of being able to carry it by assault, but were driven back with a loss of about a thousand men, by a well-directed artillery and musketry fire at easy range. But the position was commanded by a neighboring height called Shepherd Mountain, and the enemy having occupied this, General Ewing determined to evacuate the fort. He had previously sent away his stores to St. Louis. Blowing up his magazine he fell back, keeping up a

Sept. 26.

running fight with the enemy as far as Harrison Station, on the Southwest Branch Railroad. Here he prepared to make another stand, behind breast-works left by a party of militia who had previously occupied the place. General Ewing in his defence of Pilot Knob rendered important service by detaining the entire force of Price, and affording time to put St. Louis in a state of defence, then covered only by a portion of General Smith's infantry and some regiments of cavalry thrown out as far as practicable toward the enemy. The rebels followed him up closely, and cut the railroad on both sides of him, thus severing his communications with both Rolla and St. Louis. He was only saved from another assault by the opportune arrival of Colonel Beveridge, of the Seventeenth Illinois Cavalry, with five hundred men; the enemy taking these to be only the advance of large reinforcements, delayed the attack which they had intended, and General Ewing in the night, with the main body of his troops, succeeded in reaching Rolla.

In the mean time, Springfield being considered secure, General Sanborn moved with all his available cavalry to reinforce Rolla, where General McNeil was in command and preparing to protect the dépôts and great supply trains. General Smith's infantry, aided by the militia and the citizens, the whole under the command of General Pleasonton, who had relieved General Frank Blair, made St. Louis secure. Senator B. Gratz Brown was placed by Rosecrans in charge of the militia, and he, concentrating at Jefferson City the troops of the Central District, reinforced by General Fisk with all the available troops north of the Missouri, and aided by the enthusiastic exertions of the citizens, made thorough preparations to drive back the invaders from the State capital. Toward this point the enemy, having remained a day or two at Richwood's, threatening St. Louis, were in fact rapidly marching, and on the 7th of October crossed the Osage not far from the city. But Generals McNeil and Sanborn, moving with all their available cavalry, succeeded by forced marches in getting there first, and having united their commands with those of Generals Fisk and Brown, made the defensive force within the city such that Price, though he appeared before the works on the morning of the 8th, thought it prudent not to attack, and moved off in a westerly direction. General Pleasonton, who also arrived at Jefferson City on the morning of the 8th, assumed command of the forces there, and sent General Sanborn the same afternoon with all his mounted troops, about four thousand, to follow the enemy and harass them until the remaining cavalry and infantry supports could come up.

Oct. 8.

On the afternoon of the 9th the rebels entered California, twenty-five miles west of Jefferson City, on the Pacific Railroad, and burnt the dépôts and a train of cars. From California, after tearing up the railroad track some distance on each side of the town, the rebels moved on to Booneville, in

Cooper County. Though they did all the damage they could to the railroad on their march, tearing up the track, burning bridges, and plundering generally, General Price declared in a proclamation which he issued, that he came into the State to remain, and that he wished to make friends, not enemies, and desired that the depredations he committed might be excused on the score of military necessity. He obtained many recruits by conscription, and by voluntary enlistment among the disloyal portion of the inhabitants, so that his force, when he entered the State comprising only about fifteen thousand men, was swelled to near twenty thousand, nearly all mounted.

On the 13th Price withdrew from Booneville, and continuing his march westward, occupied Lexington, in Lafayette County, on the 17th. For the purpose of foraging and obtaining recruits and conscripts, detached bodies of his force were sent in various directions, some as far as the borders of Kansas, exciting considerable alarm in that State; some as far east as Danville and High Hill, Montgomery County, burning buildings, destroying railroad property, and in some instances murdering citizens. The militia were driven out of Sedalia, in Pettis County, with severe loss; and at Glasgow, in Howard County, six companies of the Forty-third Missouri, after a fight of five hours, were compelled to surrender; but they were afterward liberated on parole.

Oct. 17.

The Federal troops did not pursue actively till General Pleasonton came up, when they advanced toward Booneville and harassed Price's rear with Sanborn's troops. Most of the Federal cavalry was concentrated at the Black Water, awaiting the arrival of Colonel Winslow from Washburne's command. He came up on the 19th bringing his force of fifteen hundred cavalry, with which he had followed the enemy from Arkansas. General Pleasonton now, with this addition to his force, having 6,500 mounted men, exclusive of escort guards, moved from Sedalia in pursuit of Price, and came up with and routed the rebel General Fagan at Independence on the 22d, capturing two guns. On the 23d the Big Blue was crossed, and a severe battle, which lasted from seven in the morning till one in the afternoon, was fought near Westport. General Curtis, commanding the Department of Kansas, on the approach of Price had collected what force he could to repel the invaders, and had held this town. He was attacked and driven out by Shelby, but the latter was in turn attacked and defeated by Pleasonton, and by dark driven across the Little Santa Fé. The enemy then turned southward by the Fort Scott road, and from that time had no other object than to get away safely with the large quantity of plunder they had collected. But Generals Pleasonton and Curtis, having now joined their forces, pursued rapidly, and after a march of sixty miles again overtook the rebels at Marais des Cygnes on the morning of the 25th, and at four o'clock, under cover of a dense fog, opening with artillery, attacked and

Oct. 23.

Oct. 25.

routed them, compelling them to abandon their camp equipage, one cannon, several hundred head of cattle, and twenty wagons full of plunder. Thence the enemy, keeping up a running fight, fell back to Little Osage Crossing, where two advanced brigades under Benteen and Phillips charged two rebel divisions, routed them, captured Generals Marmaduke and Cabell, four field officers, near a thousand prisoners, and eight pieces of artillery, besides fifteen hundred stand of arms. Sanborn's brigade again led the pursuit, overtook the rebels, made two more brilliant charges, and drove the enemy across the Marmiton, whence they fled under cover of night toward Arkansas. After thus marching two hundred and four miles in six days, the flying columns of the enemy were pursued by the Kansas troops and Benteen's brigade, while Sanborn following marched a hundred and four miles in thirty-six hours, and overtook the rebels at Newtonia, where they were making their last stand, in time to turn the tide of battle, which was going against General Blunt, and to give the final blow to the demoralized forces of General Price.

The infantry of General A. J. Smith, in the mean time, following from St. Louis, had arrived at Jefferson City on the 21st of October, and at Independence on the 23d, where they heard the sound of cannon on the Big Blue River. They continued their march a few days longer, so as to be in supporting distance of Pleasonton; but it soon became evident that their services were no longer needed, and they returned toward the Mississippi, and subsequently joined the army of General Thomas at Nashville.

Price did not accomplish much by his raid, beyond the destruction of about five millions' worth of property and laying waste a belt of the country through which he passed. He obtained five or six thousand recruits or conscripts, took fifteen hundred stand of arms, one cannon, many horses, and large herds of cattle, and a vast amount of plunder, in the shape of clothing, forage, and provisions; but of this he lost nearly all in his precipitate retreat, besides ten guns and 1,958 prisoners. In his flight from Newtonia, he abandoned or destroyed most of his wagon trains, and the sufferings of his men and horses were very severe. Large numbers of his followers left him, and when he recrossed the Arkansas, his force had been reduced by desertion and losses to less than five thousand men, only partially armed and mounted; his artillery dwindled down to three Parrott guns and one twelve-pounder mountain howitzer; and of his train, which when he entered Missouri consisted of two hundred wagons, but fifty-three remained. The entire Federal loss, according to the official report of General Rosecrans, was, in killed, wounded, and missing, only 346 officers and men.

The unbridled rapacity of the rebels, and their undiscriminating plunder of friends and foes, alienated most of their sympathizers in Missouri, while their disastrous failure completely destroyed the prestige of General Price, which had long been the great strength of the re-

bellion in Missouri. This was the last attempt of the rebels to conquer the State, and it now began to enjoy a greater degree of tranquillity than had been experienced within its borders since the outbreak of the war.

Some minor operations took place in southwestern Virginia and East Tennessee in the fall of the year. It had been a favorite theory with some experienced military men that in the event of General Lee sustaining any great disaster in the East, he would retire with his army to southwestern Virginia, and passing thence into East and Middle Tennessee, concentrate the remaining forces of the Confederacy there, when he would be in a position to threaten Nashville, Chattanooga, or Louisville; and it was predicted that the decisive battle of the war would be fought somewhere in the Southwest. For this reason, so long as the rebels maintained any considerable force in East Tennessee, through which easy access was afforded from Virginia to the Valley of the Mississippi, a considerable Federal force was retained there. Knoxville was well fortified, and outlying bodies of infantry and cavalry were pushed well up the railroad and the Holston River Valley toward the Virginia line. But after the commencement of the great Atlanta and Richmond campaigns in May, affairs in East Tennessee lost much of their interest, the forces on both sides being concentrated as much as possible on the more important scenes of operations. Nevertheless, the presence of scattered bodies of irregular rebel cavalry in southwestern Virginia proved a source of constant alarm in eastern Kentucky. These rough riders, dashing through the gaps of the Cumberland Mountains, would fall upon isolated posts, capture their garrisons, and after plundering in the adjacent country get back again to their mountain retreats before they could be overtaken. It was on one of these plundering expeditions that Morgan, in the month of June, was overtaken and badly defeated by General Burbridge after burning Cynthiana, as has been already narrated. He subsequently rallied his broken forces, but for some time undertook no enterprise of importance. He was of too restless a nature, however, to remain long inactive, and by the beginning of September set his band of guerrillas again in motion for Greenville, in East Tennessee. He occupied the place on the 3d; but his command was the same night surprised by a force under General Gillem, which had made a forced march from Bull's Gap, and in the fight which ensued Morgan lost his life. The death of Morgan was followed by another short season of comparative inaction, both parties being content to remain on the watch, awaiting the development of events around Atlanta. About the beginning of October, General Burbridge with 2,500 men set out on an expedition from Kentucky against the salt-works in southwestern Virginia, which were of great importance to the rebels. After heavy skirmishing he succeeded in driving the enemy from Clinch Mountain and Laurel Gap. Following them to within four miles of

Saltville, he attacked them again on the Oct. 2. 2d of October, and drove them to their defences in the neighborhood of the salt-works, on a high hill covered with underbrush. From this position it was found impossible to dislodge them, and his troops having run short of ammunition, General Burbridge withdrew at night in good order, and returned to Kentucky, having sustained a loss of 350 men.

General Gillem having fallen back after General Burbridge's withdrawal into Kentucky, from Greenville to Bull's Gap, and thence to Morristown, forty-two miles from Knoxville, was followed by the enemy under Vaughan, who venturing to attack Gillem, were repulsed Oct. 26. and driven back on the 26th of October. Two days later Vaughan attacked Gillem again, but received a still more severe repulse, and retreated, pursued by Gillem as far as Limestone, ninety-eight miles east of Knoxville. After remaining in that advanced position till the 7th of November, Gillem, whose force was only fifteen hundred men, consisting of three regiments of Tennessee cavalry, retired to Bull's Gap, where Breckinridge, who had now assumed command of the rebel forces in East Tennessee, estimated at three thousand men, attacked him on the 11th; but was repulsed. On the 12th, General Gillem withdrew his forces from Bull's Gap, and began to retreat in the direction of Knoxville; but in the evening Breckinridge got his force on Gillem's flank and rear by moving through Laurel Gap, Vaughan and Duke with their cavalry being in front. Soon after midnight the rebels attacked Gil- Nov. 13. lem's retreating column near Morristown, charging upon both flanks and at the same time breaking his centre. A complete rout of the Federal force was the consequence, one regiment after another giving way till men and horses became mixed up together in inextricable confusion. A panic ensued. Owing to the darkness few casualties occurred, but the men threw away their arms and sought safety only in flight. All the artillery and the baggage were left in the hands of the enemy, who claimed to have captured seventy wagons, six eleven-pounder Parrott guns with their horses and ammunition, eighteen stand of colors, 316 prisoners, and about two hundred horses and mules. The remainder of General Gillem's command, about a thousand in number, escaped to Strawberry Plains and thence to Knoxville. General Breckinridge assumed the air of a conqueror in East Tennessee, and issued a proclamation promising protection to all who should lay down their arms and become peaceable and quiet citizens. He continued to advance by way of Strawberry Plains toward Knoxville, to the immediate vicinity of which he approached; but did not stay long. On the 18th he withdrew as Nov. 18. rapidly as he had advanced, and on that day General Ammen, reinforced by fifteen hundred troops from Chattanooga, reoccupied Strawberry Plains; and on the 23d of November the main force of the enemy was reported to be at New Market, eight miles north.

About this time General Stoneman, who had been left at Louisville by General Schofield to take charge of the Department of the Ohio during his absence with the army in the field, set out for Knoxville to take general direction of affairs in East Tennessee, having previously ordered General Burbridge to march with all his available force in Kentucky by way of Cumberland Gap, to the relief of General Gillem. General Stoneman was directed by General Thomas to concentrate as large a force as he could, and move against Breckinridge, with the object of either destroying his force or driving it into Virginia. He was also directed to destroy if possible the salt-works at Saltville, and the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad from the Tennessee line as far into Virginia as he could go without endangering his command. It having been reported on the 6th of December that Breckinridge was falling back toward Virginia, General Stoneman made preparations to follow him, and having quietly concentrated the commands of Generals Burbridge and Gillem at Bean's Station, set out on the 12th for Bristol. The advance under Gillem reached Jonesboro on the same day, and drove the rear-guard of Vaughan's cavalry through the town. Gillem then turned northward to Kingsport, on the North Fork of the Holston, crossed the river, scaled the bluff, on which the enemy under Duke were posted, defeated them, and killed, captured, or dispersed the whole command, besides capturing eight wagons and the camp equipage.

Dec. 12.

General Stoneman then sent General Burbridge to Bristol, where he came upon the enemy under Vaughan, and skirmished with them until General Gillem's column came up. At Bristol nearly three hundred prisoners were taken. Five locomotives and several subsistence trains were also destroyed—one on its way to Lynchburg loaded with hogs for Lee's army. General Burbridge was then pushed on to Abingdon, with instructions to send a force to cut the railroad at some point between Saltville and Wytheville, in order to prevent reinforcements coming from Lynchburg to the force defending the salt-works. General Gillem also reached Abingdon on the 15th. The enemy under Vaughan had in the mean time reached Marion, having marched by a road parallel with that by which Stoneman's force had advanced, and had begun to intrench. But General Gillem, having decided merely to make a demonstration toward the salt-works for the present, pushed on with his main force after Vaughan, and after a hard march of twenty-nine miles came up with him early on the 16th, attacked him instantly, and after completely routing him drove him to Wytheville, thirty miles farther, capturing two hundred prisoners, all his artillery, seven pieces, and a large wagon train. All the enemy's stores and supplies there were destroyed, as well as the extensive lead-works near the town and the railroad bridges over Reedy Creek. General Stoneman then turned his attention toward Saltville. The garrison of that

Dec. 16.



George Stoneman

place, reinforced by Giltner's, Crosby's, and Witcher's commands, and what was left of Duke's, all under the command of Breckinridge in person, followed Stoneman's troops as they moved on Wytheville, and on their return met them on the 18th at Marion, where preparations were made to give Breckinridge battle; but he retreated in the night, and was pursued a short distance into North Carolina, abandoning some of his wagons and caissons. Stoneman's troops then moved on Saltville, which they entered on the 20th, capturing there eight pieces of artillery and a large quantity of ammunition of all kinds. They also destroyed the buildings belonging to the Confederate government, as well as nearly all the machinery, kettles, vats, engines, and boilers of the salt-works, said to be among the most extensive in the world, and an immense quantity of salt.

Dec. 20.

In this great raid of General Stoneman, besides the damage done to the salt-works and lead mines, there were captured twenty pieces of artillery, most of which were spiked, nine hundred prisoners, two hundred negroes, eight thousand hogs, many cattle, and two hundred mules. Eleven foundries, ninety flouring and saw mills, thirty bridges, and the dépôts at Glade Spring, Marion, and Wytheville, were destroyed, as well as thirteen locomotives, about a hundred cars, and many miles of railroad track. It was estimated that the loss to the Confederates in stores alone amounted to two millions of dollars. The rapidity with which Stoneman moved enabled him to take the entire region he traversed by surprise, so that the citizens had not time to run off their stock. After these disasters Breckinridge made no more attempts to threaten East Tennessee. General Stoneman returned to Knoxville, accompanied by General Gillem's command, and General Burbridge marched back to Kentucky by way of Cumberland Gap.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Sherman at Atlanta.—Hood rallies at Jonesboro.—Speech of Jefferson Davis at Macon.—New Confederate Policy.—General Thomas sent to Nashville.—Movements of Hood.—General Corse's Defence of Allatoona Pass.—Sherman in Pursuit of Hood.—Defence of Resaca by Colonel Weaver.—Hood destroys the Railroad and captures the Federal Post at Dalton. Affairs at Snake Creek Gap and Ship's Gap.—Rapid Retreat of Hood to Gadsden.—Beauregard assumes command. —Sherman at Gaylesville.—New Plan of Campaign.—Preparations for the March through Georgia. —Atlanta in Flames.—Order of March.—Troops to live on the Country.—Feint on Macon.—Battle of Griswoldville.—Occupation of Milledgeville.

IN and about Atlanta during the month of September the troops composing the Federal army were allowed to rest after the fatigues of military duty. Leaves of absence were freely granted, and many of the sick and wounded officers and men received furloughs. The soldiers remaining busied themselves in constructing huts, for which purpose they procured lumber from the various vacated buildings, and bricks from the Female College, which was torn down to supply materials. The railroad connecting with Chattanooga was employed to its utmost capacity in bringing forward supplies and recruits, and much important work was done in the construction of barracks, and in strengthening the defences of the city, which it seemed to be General Sherman's intention to hold with a strong garrison and make a base for further operations in a southerly direction. Late experience had demonstrated that the long line of railroad communications might be easily interrupted by a cavalry force; and in view of the possibility of an attack being made on tne railroad, such measures were taken that by the end of the month Atlanta was made a considerable dépôt of supplies, and so protected by works that a moderate force could easily hold it against a largely superior enemy. The great body of the inhabitants also having been sent away, thus lessening the number of persons to be subsisted, added to the ability of the garrison to withstand a protracted siege.

1864.

The city was held by the Army of the Cumberland under General Thomas; the Army of the Tennessee, under General Howard, was grouped about East Point, and the Army of the Ohio, under General Schofield, held Decatur. The cavalry consisted of two divisions: one stationed at Decatur, under General Garrard; the other, under General Kilpatrick, was posted near Sandtown, with a pontoon bridge over the Chattahoochee, from which position might be watched any movement of the enemy toward the west. Numerous changes occurred in the composition of the armies in consequence of the expiration of the time of service of many of the regiments, and

the temporary suspension of active operations afforded an opportunity to consolidate and reorganize, to reclothe and equip the men, and make preparations for another campaign. The garrisons in the rear also, and at points along the railroad, were strengthened to make the communications more secure. Wagner's division of the fourth corps and Morgan's division of the fourteenth corps were sent back to Chattanooga.

General Hood, recovering with surprising elasticity from the stunning blow which he received in the loss of Atlanta, rallied and reorganized his forces at Jonesboro, receiving his supplies by the Macon Railroad. His army numbered about forty thousand men, exclusive of the Georgia militia, which, as if to give the impression that no immediate offensive movement was contemplated, were withdrawn by Governor Brown soon after the evacuation of Atlanta. Many of them had left their homes without preparation, expecting to be absent but a few weeks; but they had been retained in the service over three months, most of the time in the trenches, and justice required, said the Governor, that they should be permitted to return to their homes, and look for a time after their own important interests. He expressed a hope, however, that he should be able to return the militia force to Hood's command in greater numbers and with equal efficiency when the interests of the public service should require it.

To let their principal Southern army remain inactive was not, however, the intention of the rebel authorities, who, whatever declarations they might make to the public in the hope to belittle Sherman's successes, were well aware that the capture of Atlanta was a blow at the heart of the Confederacy, and that it would be so considered by the Southern people. It was evident that something must be done, and that without delay, to arrest the victorious progress of the Federal army, or the possession of Georgia, and perhaps the Gulf States, would be seriously endangered. While affairs were in this position, Jefferson Davis set out on a tour of inspection through the South, and at Macon, on the 23d of September, delivered an address on the crisis, marked by so many indiscreet admissions that some of the Confederate journals refused to believe the reports of it to be genuine. In this address he spoke with undisguised vexation of the depletion of Hood's ranks caused by desertion and absenteeism, and promised that if all the men away without leave would return to their duty, General Sherman's army should meet the fate that befell that of the French empire in its retreat from Moscow. "Our cavalry and our people," he said, "will harass and destroy his army as did the Cossacks that of Napoleon; and the Yankee general, like him, will escape with only a body-guard."

Sept. 23.

The new policy to be inaugurated in the South by the Confederates was in a measure foreshadowed by the speech of Davis at Macon. It was borrowed from that which General Sherman had him-

self so successfully carried out in his capture of Atlanta, and had the merit of boldness if not of originality and far-sightedness. In accordance with this new plan of the Confederates, General Hood's whole army was to move rapidly in a compact body to the north of Atlanta, and after breaking up the railroad between the Chattahoochee and Chattanooga, push on to Bridgeport and destroy the great railroad bridge over the Tennessee River at that place. Atlanta would then be cut off from Chattanooga and the latter from Nashville, and General Sherman thus separated from his primary and secondary bases, would find Atlanta but a barren conquest, which he would be compelled to relinquish; or if he remained there, would soon find himself in difficulties from the want of provisions and supplies, which would be intercepted in all directions by the Georgia militia. General Forrest, undoubtedly the best of the Confederate cavalry officers, was already operating in southern Tennessee, where the Federal force was barely adequate to the task of protecting the communications between Nashville and Chattanooga. It was anticipated, also, that the resumption of offensive movements on the part of General Hood would have an important influence in restoring the *morale* of his army, which had become dispirited by its long series of retreats and reverses; and that the opposite effect would be produced on the army of Sherman if compelled to abandon conquests effected at the cost of so many severe battles and painful marches. Such was the plan devised by the Confederate authorities, the vigorous execution of which might have been productive with a less able general than Sherman of the most disastrous consequences to the Federal arms. It will be seen that he was fully equal to the emergency, and that the prophecies of the Southern newspapers, that the "great flanker" was about to be "outflanked," were not to be fulfilled. On the 28th of September, as soon as he became convinced that the enemy intended to assume the offensive, he sent General Thomas, his second in command, to Nashville, to organize the new troops expected to arrive there, to make preliminary preparations, and to look after Forrest.

Sept. 28.

General Hood, in spite of strenuous opposition, was retained at the head of the Confederate army, with Cheatham, S. D. Lee, and Stewart, commanding his three corps; Wheeler remaining in command of his cavalry, which had been largely reinforced. Hood soon moved westward toward the Chattahoochee, taking a position facing Sherman and covering the West Point Railroad about Palmetto Station. He also threw a pontoon bridge over the Chattahoochee, and sent cavalry detachments beyond it in the direction of Carrollton and Powder Springs. About the 2d of October his whole army was over the Chattahoochee, and on the march toward Dallas, where his three corps were directed to concentrate. At this point he was able to threaten Rome and Kingston, as well as the fortified places

Oct. 2.

on the railroad to Chattanooga, while there remained open to him in case of defeat, a line of retreat southwestward into Alabama. Advancing eastward from Dallas to the railroad, he captured Big Shanty and Ackworth Stations, broke the telegraph wires, and effected a thorough destruction of the railroad between those places. He also sent an infantry division under General French against the Federal post at Allatoona Pass, through which lay the railroad and Sherman's line of communications, and where were stored more than a million of rations for the Federal army, the capture of which would have proved an important acquisition to his impoverished commissariat. The natural strength of the position at Allatoona Pass was very great, so that a thousand men could hold it against ten times their number as long as supplies held out. Its redoubts were at this time garrisoned by only three small regiments under Colonel Tourtellotte. In the possession of the rebels it would have effectually interrupted the Federal communications between Chattanooga and Atlanta, and might have necessitated the evacuation of the latter city. It will be seen, therefore, that Hood had excellent reasons for striking suddenly and with a large force at this point.

General Sherman, however, well aware that his seat at Atlanta was insecure while his long line of communications lay exposed to interruption, immediately on hearing that General Hood had crossed the Chattahoochee, dispatched General Corse with the fourth division of the fifteenth corps to Rome, which place he supposed the enemy were aiming at; gave orders that Atlanta and the railroad bridge over the Chattahoochee should be held by General Slocum with the twentieth corps, and on the 4th of October—a freshet of the river having carried away his bridges—laid down three pontoons, put in motion the fifteenth, seventeenth, fourth, fourteenth, and twenty-third corps toward Smyrna camp-ground, and on the 5th moved to the strong position about Kenesaw Mountain. Anticipating the enemy's movement against Allatoona Pass, he had already signalled and telegraphed to General Corse to reinforce that post from Rome, and hold it till the main body of the Federal army could come to his assistance. On receiving the message, General Corse immediately placed a brigade of nine hundred men on the cars and reached Allatoona on the night of the 4th, just in time to be ready to meet the attack of French's division. With this addition the garrison numbered sixteen hundred men, with six guns. Early on the morning of the 5th, General French with six thousand men, and supported by two other divisions, approached Allatoona, and sent a letter to General Corse demanding an immediate surrender, in order to avoid "a useless effusion of blood," giving only five minutes for an answer. This General Corse was ready with in the time specified. It was, that he and his command were ready for the "useless effusion of blood" as soon as it was agreeable to General French. This was

Oct. 5.

followed by an immediate attack on the part of the rebels, commencing at eight o'clock and continued till two in the afternoon. Driven by the desperate assaults of overwhelming numbers, Corse's troops contested their ground foot by foot, from their intrenchments to the hill, and from the hill to the fort, where with their commander bleeding and at times insensible—for he had been wounded early in the action—they yet fought on, with an obstinacy and desperation worthy of the great stake for which they contended. During the heat of the contest, about ten o'clock, General Sherman reached the Kenesaw Mountain—eighteen miles distant from Allatoona—and from its summit could see the smoke of battle and hear faintly the sounds of artillery. The distance was too great for him to send troops to take a share in the battle, but he directed General Cox with the twenty-third corps to move rapidly westward from the base of Kenesaw, to strike the road from Allatoona to Dallas, and thus threaten the rear of the attacking force. He also succeeded in getting a signal message to General Corse notifying him of his presence. He had great confidence in General Corse and in the result of the battle, and said while reviewing it from his remote stand-point: "I know Corse; so long as he lives the Allatoona Pass is safe." The assaulting columns of the enemy, thrown back again and again, were finally compelled to retire toward Dallas, hastened in their retreat by apprehensions of the co-operating movement of General Cox toward the only road by which they could escape. Unfortunate delays, arising from rain and mud, prevented Cox from intercepting the rebels on the road back to Dallas, but they left eight hundred killed, wounded, and prisoners, in the hands of General Corse. The garrison lost nearly half its numbers in killed and wounded. The little town of Allatoona was reduced to a mere wreck by the severe fire of the rebels, and all the artillery and cavalry horses were killed, but the valuable stores were saved, and the important fort and pass held. This battle was the decisive event in the pursuit of Hood. General Corse, though severely wounded, returned the same night to Rome with the remainder of his command. The only important injury done by the rebels in this vicinity was the destruction of six or seven miles of railroad between Big Shanty and Allatoona, which was immediately put in course of restoration by order of General Sherman, who remained several days in the vicinity of Allatoona, watching the movements of Hood, suspecting he would march for Rome, and thence toward Bridgeport, or else to Kingston.

On the 6th and 7th, General Sherman pushed out his cavalry toward Burnt Hickory and Dallas, and discovered that the enemy had moved westward. Inferring from this that Hood would attempt to break the railroad again in the neighborhood of Kingston, he put his army in motion on the morning of the 8th through Allatoona Pass toward that place, and arrived there on the 10th. At Kingston he

learned that Hood had threatened but passed by Rome, and was crossing the Coosa by a pontoon bridge eleven miles below. He therefore, on the 11th, moved his army to Rome, and sent Garrard's cavalry and the twenty-third corps under General Cox across the Oostenaula to threaten the flanks of the enemy as they passed northward. Garrard drove one of their cavalry brigades to and beyond the Narrows leading into the valley of the Chattooga, and captured two field-pieces.

Oct. 11.

But General Hood moved with great rapidity on his northward march. On the 12th he appeared with Stewart's corps in front of Resaca, and in person demanded its immediate and unconditional surrender, promising that all the white officers and soldiers should be parolled in a few days, but threatening that if the place should be captured by assault no prisoners would be taken. To this demand Colonel Weaver, who held the defences of the place with six hundred men and three pieces of artillery, replied: "If you want it, come and take it." The garrison manned the rifle-pits surrounding the works, and kept the enemy's skirmishers at bay; but though during the whole day masses of rebel troops continued to pass the forts, no serious attack was made on them, the enemy being more intent on destroying the railroad toward Dalton, wisely considering that the possession of Resaca would be of no particular advantage to them. General Sherman had at first intended to move his army into the Chattooga valley, to interpose between the enemy and his line of retreat down the Coosa, but fearing that Hood would then move eastward by Spring Place and down the Federal road, determined to move against him at Resaca. Though repulsed at that place by Colonel Weaver, Hood had succeeded in breaking up the railroad from Tilton to Dalton, and at the former place, during the night of the 12th, captured a blockhouse garrisoned by a part of the Seventeenth Iowa, after a gallant defence. At Dalton, owing to the negligence of the Federal scouts, the rebels were able to surround the fort garrisoned by the Forty-fourth colored regiment, under Colonel Johnston, before adequate preparations for defence could be made. A summons to surrender, signed by Hood himself, similar to that sent to Colonel Weaver being sent in, Colonel Johnston, finding that Buzzard Roost and other important points commanding his position were already in the enemy's hands, surrendered his entire command. During the 14th and 15th the enemy occupied themselves in completing the destruction of the railroad as far as Tunnel Hill, which, however, either from hurry or a short supply of gunpowder, they neglected to mine. The rolling stock had been mostly removed, and of this kind of property they were able to destroy only a few box cars.

Oct. 12.

General Sherman arrived at Resaca with the main body of his army on the 14th, and encamped there for the night. Determining to strike Hood in flank or force him to battle, he directed the

Army of the Tennessee, under General Howard, to move to Snake Creek Gap, where a portion of the enemy's forces held the old Federal lines, and General Stanley with the fourth and fourteenth corps to march by way of Tilton across the mountains to the rear of the Gap in the neighborhood of Villanow. Howard skirmished with the enemy during the forenoon of the 15th with the view of detaining them till Stanley should have time to get in their rear; but they gave way about noon, and though followed through the Gap, escaped before Stanley had been able to reach the farther end of the pass. [Oct. 15.]

The approach of the Federal columns now warned Hood to move off westward, and the 16th of October found him in full retreat for Lafayette. Toward that place also Sherman moved his army, with the view of cutting off Hood's retreat. At Ship's Gap, Hood left some troops intrenched, to detain his pursuers; but Wood's division of the fifteenth corps rapidly carried the advanced posts held by two companies of a South Carolina regiment, making the men prisoners. The remainder of the regiment escaped to the main body near Lafayette. Next morning Sherman's force passed over into the valley of the Chattooga, the Army of the Tennessee moving in pursuit, by way of Lafayette and Alpine, toward Blue Pond; the Army of the Cumberland by Summerville and Melville Post Office to Gaylesville, and the Army of the Ohio and Garrard's cavalry from Villanow, Dirttown, and Goover's Gap to Gaylesville. Hood, however, was little encumbered with trains, and marching with great rapidity in a southwesterly direction, through a broken and mountainous country, succeeded in getting into the narrow gorge formed by the Lookout range abutting against the Coosa River in the neighborhood of Gadsden.

During this retreat of General Hood into northern Alabama, he had frequent opportunities to join battle with his pursuers, but these he uniformly declined. He remained at Gadsden till near the end of October, receiving a few reinforcements brought up by Beauregard, who on the 17th assumed command of the Confederate Military Division of the West, Hood still retaining his special command, though subject to the supervision or direction of Beauregard. The latter published an address appealing to his countrymen of all classes and sections for their support and confidence, and urging soldiers absent without leave to return to the army; but it seems to have had very little effect. Hood's force continued less than half that of the armies opposed to him. [Oct. 17.]

On the 19th the Federal armies lay grouped about Gaylesville, in the rich valley of the Chattooga, a region abounding in corn and cattle, and Sherman resolved to let his men live on the country for a while, content for the present to watch his enemy without wearing out his troops in a useless pursuit. Hoping that Hood would turn toward Huntersville and Bridgeport, he posted the Army of the Tennessee near Little River, with orders to keep within [Oct. 19.]

supporting distance of the cavalry, which was directed to watch Hood in the neighborhood of Hill's Valley, and to give the earliest notice possible of his turning northward. The Army of the Ohio was posted at Cedar Bluff, with orders to lay a pontoon bridge across the Coosa and reconnoitre toward Center and in the direction of Blue Mountain. The Army of the Cumberland was kept in reserve at Gaylesville. All the troops were instructed to draw their supplies as much as possible from the surrounding country. In the mean time communications were opened to Rome, and a large force was set to work to repair the railroads. The injuries done to these were confined to two sections, one of seven miles long between Big Shanty and Allatoona, and the other twenty-one miles long, between Resaca and Tunnel Hill. The repairs were rapidly effected, and by the 20th the road was in running order again from Resaca to Atlanta. On the 28th, trains left Chattanooga for the latter place. Atlanta was abundantly supplied with provisions, but forage was scarce, and General Slocum was instructed to send strong detachments out in the direction of South River, collect all the corn and fodder he could, and put his wagon trains in good condition for further service.

Hood had failed to interrupt the Federal communications to a degree that would compel the evacuation of Atlanta. Without having been able permanently to disable the railroad, he had been driven into northern Alabama, and was now separated from that admirable railroad system by means of which his army had been so well and so long supplied. He had left Georgia and the whole southeast open to the invaders; but on the other hand there seemed open to him the opportunity of carrying the war into Middle Tennessee and Kentucky, where the richly stored cities and farms afforded tempting chances for plunder. His movements and strategy had demonstrated that he had an army capable of endangering Sherman's communications at any time, though unable to meet him in open fight. He was so little encumbered with trains, and moved so rapidly when on the retreat, that for Sherman to follow him would amount simply to abandoning Georgia, with little hope of overtaking and destroying his army. To remain inactive or on the defensive would have been making but poor use of such a fine army as that commanded by Sherman, and he determined to adopt a bolder course, and one promising greater and more important results. He had previously submitted to General Grant the outlines of a plan for the destruction of Atlanta and the railroad back to Chattanooga, to be followed by a march through the heart of Georgia to one of the Atlantic seaports. This proposition he now renewed from Gaylesville, and it received the sanction of the commander-in-chief. The original plan of the campaign had been, after capturing Atlanta, to hold it, and, using that city as a secondary base, to move an army eastward through Georgia, leaving garrisons at points along the railroads across the State, and thus cut

the Confederacy in two from west to east, as had been done from north to south by the opening of the Mississippi. The execution of this plan would have required large details of troops, and it was willingly abandoned. Sherman's plan, which was substituted for this, effectually secured the same advantages. When Hood crossed the Chattahoochee on his flanking march upon the Federal communications, he was moving in the very direction in which Sherman wished him to go, and it was with feelings not unmixed with anxiety that the Federal general watched his movements till, instead of returning to Jonesboro, he moved off from Gadsden to the neighborhood of Decatur. The ill-advised strategy of General Hood gave Sherman the very opportunity which he desired, and he prepared at once to avail himself of it.

On the 26th of October, considering his army unnecessarily large for his purpose, and having ascertained that Hood had moved westward across Sand Mountain, Sherman detached the fourth corps under General Stanley, with orders to proceed to Chattanooga and report to General Thomas at Nashville. On the 30th, the twenty-third corps, commanded by General Schofield, was, also sent to General Thomas, to whom General Sherman delegated full power over all the troops subject to his command, except the four corps with which he designed to move into Georgia. This gave to General Thomas the fourth and twenty-third corps, the two divisions under General A. J. Smith—then *en route* for Tennessee from Missouri—all the garrisons in Tennessee, as well as all the cavalry of Sherman's Military Division, except one division under Kilpatrick, which was ordered to rendezvous at Marietta. General Wilson also, who arrived from the Army of the Potomac to take command of the cavalry of Sherman's army, was sent back to Nashville, with all dismounted detachments, and with directions to collect as rapidly as possible the cavalry serving in Kentucky and Tennessee, to mount, organize, and equip them, and report to General Thomas for duty. These forces it was hoped would enable General Thomas to defend the railroad from Chattanooga to Nashville, and at the same time leave him an army which would be a match for that of Hood, should he cross the Tennessee and move northward. General Thomas was also fully informed of General Sherman's plans, and at the same time assured that till he felt fully confident of being able to cope with Hood, the eastward movement on the part of Sherman would not be commenced.

Oct. 26.

By the 1st of November, Hood had moved his army from Gadsden and appeared in the neighborhood of Decatur. Sherman then began preparations for his march through Georgia. The Army of the Tennessee was moved by slow and easy marches back to the neighborhood of Smyrna camp-ground, and the fourteenth corps under General Davis to Kingston, from which point Sherman directed all surplus artillery, all baggage not needed for his contem-

Nov. 1.

plated movement, and all the sick and wounded, and the refugees, to be sent back to Chattanooga. The troops were at the same time put in the most efficient condition possible for a long and difficult march. From the 2d to the 11th of November every locomotive and car on the Chattanooga and Atlanta Railroad was put in requisition. The vast supplies of provisions, forage, stores, and machinery, which had been accumulated at Atlanta, Rome, and other points, and everything likely to impede the movements of the army, were sent safely to Chattanooga. On the night of the 11th the last train left Atlanta for the north. Everything being now ready, General Corse, who still remained in Rome, was ordered to destroy the bridges there, as well as all the foundries, mills, shops, warehouses, or other property that could be useful to the enemy, and move on Kingston. At the same time the railroad near Atlanta and between the Etowah and the Chattahoochee was directed to be effectually destroyed. The garrisons north of Kingston were ordered to withdraw to Chattanooga, taking with them all public property and railroad stock, and to take up the rails north of Resaca and preserve them for future use. The railroad between the Etowah and the Oostenaula was left untouched, as it was thought probable it might be necessary to reoccupy the country as far as the line of the Etowah.

Nov. 12. On the 12th of November the message "All is well" was telegraphed to General Thomas; the wire was then cut, and Sherman's army stood alone, without any communication with the rear. It was composed of four corps of an aggregate strength of sixty thousand men, all infantry: the fifteenth, commanded by General Osterhaus, in the absence of General Logan, to which was added one division of the sixteenth corps, and the seventeenth corps, under General Blair, constituting the right wing, under Major-General Howard; the fourteenth corps, under General Davis, and the twentieth corps, under General Slocum, constituting the left wing under Major-General Slocum. The cavalry corps numbered six thousand five hundred, under General Kilpatrick, who took his orders directly from General Sherman. The artillery was reduced to the minimum, or one gun to every thousand men. General Barry, in fitting out this arm, withdrew every doubtful or suspicious horse, and supplied serviceable animals enough to give each artillery carriage eight horses, and each battery a reserve of twelve. General Sherman issued orders* to regulate the

* "SPECIAL FIELD ORDERS—No. 120.

"HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISS., IN THE FIELD,
"KINGSTON, GA., *November* 9, 1864.

"I. For the purpose of military operations this army is divided into two wings, viz.: the right wing, Major-General O. O. Howard commanding, the fifteenth and seventeenth corps; the left wing, Major-General H. W. Slocum commanding, the fourteenth and twentieth corps.

"II. The habitual order of march will be, whenever practicable, by four roads, as nearly parallel as possible, and converging at points hereafter to be indicated in orders. The cavalry, Brigadier-General Kilpatrick commanding, will receive special orders from the commander-in-chief.

"III. There will be no general trains of supplies, but each corps will have its ammunition and provision train, distributed habitually as follows: Behind each regiment should follow one wagon and one ambulance; behind

conduct of the troops on the march, the whole force moved rapidly southward, and on the 14th of November lay again around Atlanta.

On the 15th all the buildings in the city, except the dwelling-houses and churches, were destroyed under the direction of Captain Poe, the chief of engineers, by order of General Sherman. The several corps having been supplied with clothing and such equipments as were necessary, from the dépôts, and everything valuable to the Government removed, the torch was applied in the evening to the various buildings, the most substantial of which had been previously mined. For many hours the heavens were lighted up by the flames of this vast conflagration, which was rendered more awful by the explosion of shells and magazines. By the dawn of the 16th all that was valuable of the city lay in ashes. The property destroyed included all the buildings connected with the railroads, the passenger dépôts, freight houses, a number of locomotives, cars, and every description of rolling stock; the machine shops, mills, arsenals; the laboratory, the armory, many business houses, the institutions of learning, and all the hotels except the Gate City; in all about

Oct. 15.

each brigade should follow a due proportion of ammunition wagons, provision wagons, and ambulances. In case of danger, each army corps should change this order of march by having his advance and rear brigade unencumbered by wheels. The separate columns will start habitually at seven A.M., and make about fifteen miles per day, unless otherwise fixed in orders.

"IV. The army will forage liberally on the country during the march. To this end, each brigade commander will organize a good and sufficient foraging party, under the command of one or more discreet officers, who will gather near the route travelled corn or forage of any kind, meat of any kind, vegetables, corn-meal, or whatever is needed by the command; aiming at all times to keep in the wagon trains at least ten days' provisions for the command, and three days' forage. Soldiers must not enter the dwellings of the inhabitants, or commit any trespass; during the halt or a camp, they may be permitted to gather turnips, potatoes, and other vegetables, and drive in stock in front of their camps. To regular foraging parties must be intrusted the gathering of provisions and forage at any distance from the road travelled.

"V. To army corps commanders is intrusted the power to destroy mills, houses, cotton-gins, etc., and for them this general principle is laid down: In districts and neighborhoods where the army is unmolested, no destruction of such property should be permitted; but should guerrillas or bushwhackers molest our march, or should the inhabitants burn bridges, obstruct roads, or otherwise manifest local hostility, then army corps commanders should order and enforce a devastation more or less relentless, according to the measure of such hostility.

"VI. As for horses, mules, wagons, etc., belonging to the inhabitants, the cavalry and artillery may appropriate freely and without limit, discriminating, however, between the rich, who are usually hostile, and the poor or industrious, usually neutral or friendly. Foraging parties may also take mules or horses to replace the jaded animals of their trains, or to serve as pack mules for the regiments or brigades. In all foraging, of whatever kind, the parties engaged will refrain from abusive or threatening language, and may, when the officer in command thinks proper, give written certificates of the facts, but no receipts; and they will endeavor to leave with each family a reasonable portion for their maintenance.

"VII. Negroes who are able-bodied, and can be of service to the several columns, may be taken along; but each army commander will bear in mind that the question of supplies is a very important one, and that his first duty is to see to those who bear arms.

"VIII. The organization at once of a good pioneer battalion for each corps, composed, if possible, of negroes, should be attended to. This battalion should follow the advance-guard, should repair roads, and double them if possible, so that the columns will not be delayed after reaching bad places. Also, army commanders should study the habit of giving the artillery and wagons the road, and marching their troops on one side; and also instruct their troops to assist wagons at steep hills or bad crossings of streams.

"IX. Captain O. M. Poe, Chief Engineer, will assign to each wing of the army a pontoon train, fully equipped and organized, and the commanders thereof will see to its being properly protected at all times.

"By order of Major-General W. T. SHERMAN,

"L. M. DAYTON, Aid-de-Camp."

eighteen hundred buildings, not including woodsheds and outhouses, the whole valued at about two millions of dollars. As far as possible private property was spared—the object being simply to make the city of no use to the enemy when they should reoccupy it.

Two great lines of railway, nearly parallel and having a general southeasterly direction, connected Atlanta with the Atlantic seaboard, one terminating at Charleston, 308 miles distant, the other at Savannah, 293 miles distant. The former line, composed of the Georgia Railroad, 171 miles long, extending from Atlanta to Augusta, and of the South Carolina Railroad, 137 miles long, extending from Augusta to Charleston; and the latter, consisting of the Western and Macon road, 103 miles long, connecting Atlanta and Macon, and of the Central Georgia Railroad, 190 miles long, connecting Macon with Savannah. From Augusta there also ran a cross railroad due south to Millen, on the Georgia Central Railroad, 53 miles long, affording a second route to Savannah from Atlanta, ten miles longer than that through Macon. The belt of country between the two main lines of railroad, as far east as Augusta and Millen, is of an average breadth of about forty miles; east of those points the country between the roads gradually expands to a width of nearly a hundred miles. The Georgia road since the capture of Atlanta had lost much of its importance, but all the others, including that between Augusta and Millen, were important links in the chain of communications between the northern and southern portions of the Confederacy, and their destruction, therefore, which was one of the objects of the expedition, would be a severe blow to the enemy. The region included within these railroads was probably the richest and most populous of Georgia, containing Milledgeville, the capital of the State, and other important towns. It was said to be rich in all kinds of agricultural produce and abundantly able to supply the wants of a large invading army. To this region had also been transported large numbers of slaves for greater security, from the more exposed parts of other rebel States Besides these considerations was the fact that there were but few rebel troops there, a few brigades of cavalry under General Wheeler, and such troops as could be spared from Wilmington, Charleston, and Savannah, and the inexperienced Georgia militia, constituting the entire force that could be concentrated to oppose the march of Sherman's well-appointed and magnificent army.

While Atlanta was yet in flames, Sherman's army began its march eastward in four columns, the two constituting the left wing under Slocum, with whom was General Sherman himself, following the railroad toward Augusta, while the two constituting the right wing under Howard, accompanied by Kilpatrick's cavalry, marched in the direction of Jonesboro and McDonough, with orders to make a strong feint on Macon, to cross the Ocmulgee about Planter's Mills, and rendezvous in the

neighborhood of Gordon in seven days. General Slocum with the twentieth corps moved by way of Decatur and Stone Mountain, with orders to tear up the railroad from Social Circle to Madison, to burn the important railroad bridge across the Oconee, east of Madison, and then turn southward and rendezvous at Milledgeville on the seventh day. General Sherman himself left Atlanta on the 16th in company with the fourteenth corps, commanded by General Davis, which marched by way of Lithonia, Covington, and Shady Dale, also toward Milledgeville. All the corps were provided with good wagon trains, in which the supplies of ammunition were abundant, but with only twenty days' bread, forty days' sugar and coffee, beef cattle equal to forty days' supplies, and a double allowance of salt. Three days' forage in grain was also taken. At the same time all were instructed to live during the march chiefly if not altogether on the country, which abounded in corn, sweet potatoes, and cattle.

At what point on the seaboard Sherman would come out could not be definitely fixed. It was not impossible, as he would be obliged to subsist at least partially on the country, that a force inferior to his own might compel him to turn aside for such a point as he could reach, instead of following to the sea such a route as he chose. The blindness of the Confederate authorities, however, allowed them to send Hood's army—the only considerable force they had between Richmond and the Mississippi—northward on an offensive campaign, and left the whole southeast open, with little opposition to be apprehended on the part of General Sherman whatever route he might take. His first object was to place his army in the heart of Georgia, interposing it between Macon and Augusta, and thus oblige the enemy to scatter what forces they had, to defend not only those points, but Millen, Savannah, and Charleston. To perplex the rebels, and divide their forces by pretended demonstrations on places widely separated, leaving it doubtful whether the immediate objective was Augusta or Macon, or both, would be most likely to insure a speedy and uninterrupted march to the coast.

General Howard's command, of which the fifteenth corps formed the right, following the railroad southward as far as Jonesboro, encountered the mounted troops of Iverson; but these were quickly dispersed by Kilpatrick's cavalry. The column then moved eastward through McDonough and Jackson to the Ocmulgee, crossed it at Planter's Factory, and passing southward through Monticello and Hillsboro, and between Milledgeville and Clinton, struck the Georgia Central Railroad on the 22d, the left at Gordon, twenty miles east of Macon, the right extending westward toward Griswoldville. In conjunction with the operations of Howard's column, the greater part of the Federal cavalry under Kilpatrick made a circuit by the right, through Griffin and Forsyth, toward Macon. At first the rebels supposed this to be only a raid on a grand scale, but on the approach of Howard's

Oct. 22.

column—and still remaining ignorant of Slocum's movement in the direction of Augusta—they began to think the capture of Macon to be what Sherman was aiming at, and concentrated at that place all their available force, consisting of some cavalry under Wheeler, a small body of veterans, and several brigades of militia. On the 20th, eight hundred of Kilpatrick's cavalry with four cannon, made a pretended attack on East Macon, two miles east of the city, and drove the enemy within their intrenchments. Little loss was sustained on either side, but the movement very effectually accomplished its purpose of confirming the rebels in the belief that Macon was Sherman's objective. The Federal cavalry then, after destroying several miles of railroad east of Walnut Creek, withdrew to Griswoldville. The fifteenth and seventeenth corps having struck the Central Georgia Railroad on the 22d, as was said above, immediately went to work to destroy the track and the road bed between Gordon and Griswoldville. It was while this work was going on that the severest battle of the campaign up to this date took place. General Walcott's brigade of infantry, with a section of artillery and some cavalry, forming the extreme right of the fifteenth corps, had been thrown forward to Griswoldville to cover that flank—while Howard's trains were closing up and his men destroying the railroads—and at the same time to continue the demonstration on Macon commenced by Kilpatrick two days before. After burning the principal buildings in Griswoldville, the troops took position in a wood protected in front by an open morass, and threw up a rail breast-work. About two in the afternoon a force of the enemy, about five thousand strong, moved out of Macon and approached Walcott's position. The Federal cavalry fell back slowly and placed themselves in connection with the infantry so as to protect them in flank and rear, and leave the enemy no alternative but to make a direct front attack. The rebel force, consisting of a part of Hardee's old command brought up from Savannah and several brigades of militia, under General Phillips, advanced boldly, and, being mostly inexperienced troops, not understanding the strength of the Federal position, attempted to carry it by storm. They made six desperate assaults, which General Walcott's veterans, well protected by their breast-works, repelled with ease, and with little loss, while the rebels moving with difficulty through the morass, and exposed to a steady fire from men conscious of security, suffered severely, leaving when they retired three hundred dead upon the field. Their total loss, according to their own account, was 614, including General Anderson severely wounded, but was probably nearer two thousand. After this battle, Macon might easily have been taken by General Howard, but now that its railroad connections were destroyed, the possession of that place was no longer an important object.

In the mean time the left wing of Sherman's army continued its march

along the Augusta and Macon Railroad in two parallel columns, the twentieth corps on the left, the fourteenth accompanied by General Sherman on the right. The latter corps having thoroughly destroyed the railroad as far as Covington, turned southward on the 19th toward Milledgeville, while the twentieth corps, which had previously marched on the north side of the railroad, continued the work of destroying the track and the bridges as far as Madison, a beautiful village thirty miles north of Milledgeville and about ninety miles in a direct line west of Augusta, which this movement was intended to threaten. To strengthen the impression that Augusta was the point aimed at, the cavalry moving on the left wing was sent as far east as Union Point, about seventy miles west of that city. From Madison the twentieth corps turned off nearly due south, and passing through Eatonton, its advance arrived at Milledgeville on the 21st, followed next day by the fourteenth corps, which passed through Shady Dale and Eatonton, neither corps having encountered any opposition during its march.

Oct. 21.

When General Sherman's army set out from Atlanta, the Georgia legislature was in session at Milledgeville, but the approach of Kilpatrick's cavalry caused no alarm there, as the movement was supposed to be only a raid, and that its object was Macon. When, however, on the 18th, it was discovered that General Howard with the right wing was moving through McDonough in a southeasterly direction, and that General Slocum was also approaching from the north, a panic seized the whole body of legislators, who fled with all possible haste to Augusta, with household furniture, books, and pictures, and such other valuables as could be easily carried off. Governor Brown took with him the entire furniture of the executive mansion. After this exodus, several days of quiet passed, when on a bright sunshiny morning an advanced regiment of the twentieth corps entered the capital of Georgia with the band playing the national airs.

But few of the Federal troops entered Milledgeville. Two or three regiments were detailed under the orders of engineers to destroy government and certain other property. The magazines, arsenals, dépôt buildings, factories of various kinds, with storehouses containing large amounts of government property, and about seventeen hundred bales of cotton, were burned. Private houses, even those of noted rebels, were left uninjured, as well as the Capitol, and the inhabitants were protected as far as possible from pillage or insult from the soldiery. The hospital surgeons, the principal of the Insane Asylum, and others, expressed their thankfulness for the excellent order preserved during the Federal occupation. Some stores and about 2,500 small-arms fell into the possession of the Federal troops, a number of Union prisoners were liberated from the penitentiary, some sick rebel soldiers were found in the hospital, and one or two well-known rebels were made prisoners of war.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Alarm in Georgia.—Action of Governor Brown.—Appeals to the People.—Predictions of Sherman's Failure.—The Advance from Milledgeville.—Occupation of Sandersville.—Defeat of Wheeler by Kilpatrick.—Crossing the Ogeechee.—Approach to Savannah.—The Gulf Railroad cut.—Investment of Savannah.—Co-operative Movement of General Foster.—Capture of Fort McAllister.—Communication established with the Fleet.—Kilpatrick's Raid along the Gulf Railroad.—Evacuation of Savannah by Hardee.—Cotton and Supplies captured.—Results of the Expedition.—General Geary appointed Military Governor of Savannah.—Conduct of the Inhabitants.

FOR some time before Sherman finally abandoned Atlanta, rumors that **1864.** such an event was impending obtained circulation, not only in the North but among the Confederates. The movement was believed by the latter to have been forced upon Sherman by the operations of Hood against the Federal communications and in Tennessee; and the rebels at first derived much encouragement from the belief, no doubt being entertained that Sherman, finding himself unable to guard the long line of railroad in his rear, had determined to abandon his recent conquest and return to Tennessee. The evacuation of Atlanta was in fact claimed as a rebel triumph. Appearances favored this belief very much, especially when Sherman sent back his vast accumulation of stores to the north. It was evident to the Southern mind—very willing to believe what it wished to be true—that the invasion of Georgia was at an end; and even when the cavalry of Kilpatrick appeared in the neighborhood of Macon, it was supposed to be merely making a demonstration with a view to cover the withdrawal of Sherman's army. When at last a perception of the real purpose of the Federal commander dawned in a disagreeable manner on the minds of the State and Confederate authorities, it became apparent that Georgia was in an almost utterly defenceless condition, and a degree of alarm was exhibited only equalled by the blind confidence which had been previously indulged in. One of the last acts of Governor Brown before his flight from Milledgeville to Augusta was to issue a proclamation ordering a levy of the whole white population of the State between the ages of sixteen and forty-five, for forty days' service, except members of the legislature and judiciary, ordained clergymen, railroad employés, and telegraph operators, and all persons physically disqualified. Every man liable was required to report at a certain designated place under penalty of being considered and treated as a deserter. Railroad directors and superintendents neglecting to co-operate with the military authorities were to be sent immediately to the front. Governor Brown also, in accordance with a resolution of the legislature,

offered pardon to the prisoners in the Milledgeville penitentiary on condition that they should volunteer and prove faithful soldiers, and about a hundred of them entered the service on these terms.

Appeals also were made to the people, urging them to fly to arms for the defence of their State. A characteristic one was issued by Beauregard on the 18th of November, from his headquarters at Corinth. "Arise," said he, "for the defence of your native soil! Rally around your patriotic Governor and gallant soldiers. Obstruct and destroy all the roads in Sherman's front, flank, and rear, and his army will soon starve in your midst. Be confident. Be resolute. Trust in an overruling Providence, and success will soon crown your efforts. I hasten to join you in the defence of your homes and firesides." Another of the same date was made by Senator B. H. Hill, of the Confederate Congress: "You have now the best opportunity ever yet presented to destroy the enemy. Put everything at the disposal of our generals, remove all provisions from the path of the invader, and put all obstructions in his path. Every citizen with his gun, and every negro with his spade and axe, can do the work of a soldier. You can destroy the enemy by retarding his march. Georgians, be firm, act promptly, and fear not." The Georgia delegation in the lower house of the Confederate Congress issued an appeal urging the people to action, as follows: "We have had a special conference with President Davis and the Secretary of War, and are able to assure you that they have done, and are still doing, all that can be done to meet the emergency that presses upon you. Let every man fly to arms. Remove your negroes, horses, cattle, and provisions from Sherman's army, and burn what you cannot carry. Burn all bridges and block up the roads in his route. Assail the invader in front, flank, and rear, by night and by day. Let him have no rest." But these appeals and preparations came too late to make it possible to present any other than a very feeble opposition to the advance of Sherman's magnificent and well-organized army of veterans. The little resistance that it did meet was made by a few fragmentary bodies of Confederate troops, or such organized State militia as could be hastily concentrated.

Nevertheless predictions were freely uttered of the failure of Sherman's expedition. Of these, the following, from the Richmond *Sentinel*, may be taken as a specimen: "While his course through Georgia will have been that of an arrow through the air, or a ship over the sea, leaving no track behind; while his exploits and his honors will have been those of the baffled fox hounded from the barn-yard, or the disappointed wolf chased and pelted by the shepherds, he will return to Tennessee to find Hood, we trust, in possession of the State. He will return to find that his campaign into Georgia, so boastfully entered upon, has but lost the territories won by his predecessors."

While the left wing was enjoying a temporary rest at Milledgeville, the right, under General Howard, moved eastward along the Georgia Central Railroad, with orders to destroy it thoroughly as they went as far as Tennille Station. The Confederates now became aware that Macon was not to be seriously attacked, and General Wheeler, marching with all speed, got across the Oconee near the railroad bridge, and, aided by a body of militia under General Wayne, prepared to dispute the passage. When General Howard arrived on the 23d, he found the guard there so strong that a crossing could be effected only at considerable loss. After skirmishing near the river a day or two to occupy the enemy's attention, the fifteenth corps was moved to a ford eight miles below, and a pontoon bridge was laid without much difficulty. The rebels then retreated, and by the 26th the whole right wing was across the river and moving eastward along and destroying the railroad. The left wing crossed the Oconee near Milledgeville on the 24th, and moved by two roads in a southeasterly direction toward Sandersville, a small town thirty-three miles from Milledgeville, and a little north of the railroad. The fourteenth corps now took position on the left of Slocum's column, and Sherman accompanied the twentieth corps toward Sandersville. **Nov. 25.** On approaching this place on the 25th, the bridges across Buffalo Creek were found burned, which caused a delay of three hours. Next day the two corps, marching by parallel roads, entered the town almost at the same moment, skirmishing with and driving out Wheeler's cavalry, which had attempted to impede their progress. On the 27th and 28th both wings lay encamped between Sandersville and Irwin's Cross-Roads, a few miles south of the railroad. About this time also General Sherman shifted his quarters from the left wing to the seventeenth corps, then at Tennille Station, opposite Sandersville.

General Kilpatrick, after the demonstration at Macon which ended with the action at Griswoldville, shifted his cavalry force to the left wing, and remaining a day at Milledgeville to recruit, was directed to move rapidly eastward and break the railroad which connects Millen with Augusta, thus at the same time to threaten Augusta and cover the passage of the main body of the army across the Ogeechee, the next great river on Sherman's route east of the Oconee. He was directed also, after breaking the railroad, to turn southward and move rapidly upon Millen, to rescue the Union prisoners supposed to be confined there. On the 27th, a few hundred **Nov. 27.** of his cavalry, under Captains Hays and Estes, dashed into Waynesboro, on the railroad, thirty miles south of Augusta, and did some damage; but it having been ascertained that the prisoners had for several weeks previous been in the course of removal from Millen to some less exposed point in southern Georgia, no demonstration was made on that town, and the advanced cavalry detachment fell back to its main body, which lay east of the Ogeechee near

Louisville, to which place Kilpatrick had retired to meet the infantry, in pursuance of instructions from Sherman not to risk a battle except under circumstances in which he would have greatly the advantage. But as Wheeler's cavalry kept hovering around him, keeping between him and Augusta—which the rebels now supposed from the appearance of the cavalry on the left flank of the Federal army was the real objective of the campaign—Sherman directed Kilpatrick to leave all his wagons and other incumbrances with the left wing and move in the direction of Augusta; and if Wheeler desired fighting to give him all he wanted. Accordingly Kilpatrick, supported by Baird's division of infantry of the fourteenth corps, again moved in the direction of Waynesboro, and encountering Wheeler in the neighborhood of Thomas' Station, on the 3d of December attacked him in position, driving him from three successive lines of barricades, through Waynesboro and across Brier Creek, the bridges over which he burned, and then with Baird's division marching rapidly southward from Waynesboro, rejoined the left wing at Jacksonboro, twenty miles east of Millen, on the 5th.

Dec. 3.

On the 28th of November the fourteenth corps struck the Ogeechee at Fenn's Bridge, fifteen miles north of Sandersville, crossed by pontoons, and marching along the north bank of the river, arrived at Louisville on the 29th. Upon reaching Buckhead Creek this corps turned eastward to Lumpkin's Station, on the Augusta and Millen Railroad, ten miles south of Waynesboro, on the 3d and 4th of December destroyed a considerable portion of the track, and then marched in a southeasterly direction for Jacksonboro. At the same time the twentieth corps moved along the railroad, which from Davisboro Station runs parallel with the Ogeechee for about twenty miles. The fifteenth and seventeenth corps moved along the south side of the railroad, the fifteenth, with which was General Howard in person, keeping on the right flank and about a day's march ahead, so as to be ready to turn against the flank of any force of the enemy that should attempt to oppose the progress of the main body. On the 30th, the twentieth and seventeenth corps, which had been some days engaged in destroying the railroad between Tennille Station and the Ogeechee—though this river, here about sixty yards wide, naturally a strong defensive line to the enemy, might have been rendered a serious obstacle—effected a crossing with little difficulty, the twentieth at the railroad bridge and the seventeenth near Barton Station, a few miles farther east. These two corps advanced steadily along the railroad, and on the 2d of December the seventeenth reached Millen; the twentieth, passing a little north of that town through Birdsville, moved in a southeasterly direction, while the fifteenth in two columns, still a day's march in advance of the main body, kept along the west bank of the Ogeechee. The whole army then turning slowly round from its easterly course,

Nov. 30.

moved directly southward in parallel columns, all except the fifteenth corps—which was directed to cross to the east bank on arriving at Eden Station—between the Ogeechee and Savannah rivers, the seventeenth corps following the railroad and tearing it up while advancing, the fourteenth corps keeping along the Savannah River road, and the twentieth marching down the middle road by way of Springfield. Kilpatrick covered the rear, and kept at bay such scattered bodies of rebel cavalry as attempted to harass the columns while in motion.

The advantage of the feint which had been made toward Augusta now became apparent in the fact that a considerable number of rebel troops had been concentrated there, which, had General Sherman's true object been known, might have been used to obstruct his march to Savannah, toward which he was now moving without any probability of meeting opposition on his way, and without any possibility of the force at Augusta being used against him in such a manner as to delay his progress for an hour.

The weather, which had been for the most part favorable during the first half of the campaign, became rainy after the columns passed Millen. As the army approached Savannah, the country was found more marshy and difficult, and more obstructions were met in the shape of felled trees where the roads crossed the creek swamps or narrow causeways; but these the well-organized pioneer companies rapidly removed. No important opposition was encountered till the heads of the columns were within fifteen miles of Savannah, when all the roads leading to the city were found more or less obstructed with felled timber; but the imperfect defences thus formed were easily turned and the enemy driven away.

By the 10th of December the enemy had retired within their lines at Savannah. These followed a swampy creek which falls into the Savannah River about three miles above the city and extended from this to the head of a corresponding creek which falls into the Little Ogeechee. These streams formed excellent cover for the enemy, flowing through marshes and rice fields, which could be flooded either by the tide-water or from inland ponds, the gates of which were covered by heavy artillery.

Dec. 10.

For the purpose of preventing an attack upon the Gulf Railroad, at that time employed to its utmost capacity in bringing supplies and reinforcements to the city, the rebels sent a force across the Ogeechee which they supposed would be able to check the advance of the fifteenth corps. The greater part of this corps had, however, passed over to the east bank of the river on the 7th near Eden Station, and the next day General Corse's division was pushed forward between the Little and Great Ogeechee in advance of the main column to the canal connecting the Ogeechee with the Savannah, on the south side of which a position was taken up and intrenched, the enemy abandoning the portion of their advanced line there and

retiring within the fortifications of Savannah. Reinforcements from the fifteenth corps were sent to General Corse, and on the 9th a detachment moved forward to the Gulf Railroad, tore up the track for several miles, and captured a train of eighteen cars with many prisoners, thus cutting off communications between Savannah and the south, so that no supplies could reach the city by the accustomed channels, while the investing forces had large herds of cattle, brought with the army or gathered from the country on the march, and though still without communication with the fleet, had yet remaining in the army wagons a considerable supply of breadstuffs and other necessaries. The fine rice crops along the Savannah and Ogeechee rivers afforded abundance of fodder for the cattle as well as food for the men. The country south of the Ogeechee was also open as foraging ground.

The only approaches to the city were the two railroads, and the Augusta, Louisville, and Ogeechee dirt roads, all narrow causeways and commanded by heavy ordnance, against which it would have been useless to oppose the light field guns with which only Sherman's army was provided. The strength of the enemy at that time was also unknown to the Federal commander, and he determined not to assault immediately, trusting that the operation of time would bring about the desired result. He therefore instructed his army commanders to invest the city as closely as possible from the north and west and to reconnoitre the ground well in their front. The 11th and 12th of December were passed in putting the troops in position, erecting breast-works, and establishing batteries, and on the latter day the army lay in a semicircular line about ten miles long—the left resting on the Savannah River at a point about three miles distant from the city, the right on the Gulf Railroad at a distance of about eleven miles—everywhere confronted by the enemy's strong line of earth-works, constituting the exterior fortifications of the city.

Dec. 12.

In the mean time, as communication with the fleet, which it was known was on the coast waiting to co-operate, was of vital importance, Captain Duncan with two scouts, as early as the night of the 9th, had been sent from the fifteenth corps down the Ogeechee in a small skiff. Concealing themselves in the rice swamps during the following day they resumed their perilous voyage at night, succeeded in getting past Fort McAllister and the rebel picket-boats during a rain-storm, and made their way into Ossabaw Sound, where on the morning of the 11th they were picked up by the Federal gun-boat Flag, and immediately conveyed to Hilton Head. General Foster was at that time operating against the Charleston and Savannah Railroad with the view of destroying the communications of Savannah with the north. He was immediately sent for, and received from Captain Duncan General Howard's dispatch of the 9th: "We have had perfect success, and the army is in fine spirits." This was the

first direct intelligence from Sherman's army since its departure from Atlanta, and its reception caused universal rejoicing in the North.

The co-operative movement of General Foster against the Charleston and Savannah Railroad, the immediate object of which was to effect a lodgment at Pocotaligo or Grahamville, had only partially succeeded. The expedition dispatched for this purpose, consisting of 5,500 men under General Hatch, together with a naval brigade under Commander Preble, and gun-boats from Admiral Dahlgren's squadron, arrived soon after daylight at Boyd's Point, where the troops were landed. They advanced skirmishing some miles, but not being acquainted with the country did not succeed in reaching the railroad, and at night were compelled to withdraw. Next day, however, the march was resumed, and the troops were pushed on toward the enemy's position near Grahamville. Strong works, consisting of a fort and battery, with rifle-pits, were found at Honey Hill, three miles from Grahamville. The enemy had, however, only 1,500 men, under General Gustavus W. Smith, with seven pieces of artillery, and the position was attacked. An engagement ensued, lasting six hours, and the Federal troops came near carrying the works, when reinforcements arrived for the enemy, consisting of a regiment of infantry and some cavalry, under General Robertson, who brought also another battery. It being found impossible now to contend against the increased force of the enemy, protected as they were by their defences, the Federal force was withdrawn to a good position on the Savannah road, having sustained a loss of 740 men. The operations on the part of General Foster, in which there was a good deal of desultory fighting, were continued for several days, and though he did not succeed in getting possession of the railroad, in guarding which the rebels displayed great tenacity, his troops under General Hatch secured a position on the peninsula or neck between the Coosawatchie and Tullafinney Creek, about three-quarters of a mile from the railroad, from which, the intervening woods having been cut down for the purpose, they could direct the fire of their artillery on the passing trains.

As the greater part of the fleet was already in or at the entrance of the Savannah River, nothing remained to be done but to send a few vessels to Warsaw and Ossabaw Sounds to open communications with the army. The latter sound, the estuary of the Ogeechee, affording the most practicable mode of accomplishing this object, General Sherman took measures to reduce Fort McAllister—a strong redoubt on the right bank of the river, which its guns commanded, and highly important to the security of Savannah in the rear—about six miles from the sound and about eighteen miles southwest of Savannah. This was one of the strongest forts of its class in the South, and had successfully resisted the attacks of a small fleet of iron-clads in the early part of the year 1863. It mounted twenty-three guns

en barbette and one mortar, including several eight-inch and ten-inch pieces. Every line of approach to the fort was commanded by howitzers and field pieces placed on the bastions. A deep ditch forty feet wide, into the bottom of which were driven palisades, extended along its front, and a formidable line of abattis ran along the outer edge of the ditch, beyond which the approaches were thickly planted with torpedoes. Fortunately the garrison was not strong, consisting of only two companies of artillery and three of infantry, in all about two hundred men, in command of Major Anderson. It would doubtless have been reinforced in a few days. On the evening of the 12th, General Hazen's division of the fifteenth corps was marched from its position on the Gulf Railroad to the Ogeechee, just below the mouth of the Canoochie—where the bridge, known as King's Bridge, having been destroyed was rapidly reconstructed in a substantial manner—at daybreak of the 13th crossed to the west bank and pushed on toward Fort McAllister, with orders to carry it by assault. General Hazen reached the vicinity of the fort about one o'clock, and deployed his division in such a manner that both flanks rested on the river—posting his skirmishers behind the trunks of the trees whose branches had been used by the enemy in constructing their abattis. About five o'clock the assault was made with nine regiments at three points. In a very short time the intervening space of six hundred yards was crossed, the abattis surmounted, and the ditch reached. A few minutes sufficed to tear down enough of the palisades to permit the passage of the troops, who with loud cheers and great enthusiasm—fighting under the eye of Sherman himself, who was watching General Hazen's operations from a rice mill on the opposite bank of the river—rushed in swarms over the parapet and planted their colors on the rampart. In twenty minutes from the time the assault was commenced the fort was won, and, the troops having been under fire so short a time, with little loss on either side—that of the assailants being but twenty-three killed and eighty-two wounded, that of the enemy fourteen killed and twenty-one wounded. Next day the prisoners were set to removing the torpedoes buried around the fort.

Dec. 13.

No communication had yet been effected with the fleet. From a signal station at the rice mill Sherman's officers had been for two days gazing anxiously over the rice fields and salt marsh, in the direction of Ossabaw Sound, but no vessel came in sight. While the preparations for assaulting Fort McAllister had been going on, the smoke-stack of a small steamer became visible on the horizon, evidently approaching. Just before the assault commenced signal was made to her, which was answered, and, as soon as he saw the colors fairly planted on the fort, General Sherman, in company with General Howard, proceeded in a small boat to meet General Hazen; but finding that he had not yet been able to communicate with the steamer, which was hid from him by

some intervening woods, he took another small boat with a crew, and pulled down the river to it. It proved to be the tug Dandelion, Captain Williamson, who announced that Admiral Dahlgren and General Foster were on their way and might be hourly expected in the sound. General Sherman then writing a dispatch to the War Department, his first since leaving Atlanta, returned immediately to Fort McAllister, where before daylight on the 14th he received intelligence that General Foster had actually arrived in the steamer Nemaha and was anxious for an interview. General Sherman immediately went on board the Nemaha, and after a consultation proceeded in that steamer to meet Admiral Dahlgren, whose flag-ship the Harvest Moon was in Wassaw Sound. Measures were at once concerted for opening permanent communication between the army and the fleet, and Admiral Dahlgren having agreed to engage the attention of the forts at Wilmington and Rosedew, General Sherman returned to Fort McAllister on the 15th, confident of being able to carry the defences of Savannah as soon as the heavy ordnance which he had arranged to have brought from Hilton Head should arrive. On the 17th a number of thirty-two pounder Parrott guns were landed from transports at King's Bridge on the Ogeechee, where the new base was established—the obstructions in the river below having been removed—and General Sherman dispatched from the headquarters of General Slocum on the Augusta road, by flag of truce, a formal demand for the surrender of the city. This was refused by General Hardee, who was in command there with about fifteen thousand men. He expressed a determination to hold the city to the last, saying that his communications were yet open, that he was fully supplied with subsistence stores, and was able to withstand a long siege. On the same day a large body of cavalry under General Kilpatrick, with infantry supports, was sent down the Gulf Railroad as far as the Altamaha River, for the purpose of destroying the track This work was thoroughly accomplished for the entire distance, including four miles of trestle-work immediately adjoining the river.

Dec. 14.

Dec. 17.

The city was now invested on every side except the north, along the Savannah River, which, by means of obstructions and the guns of Forts Jackson, Lee, and Lawton, the enemy had possession of nearly as far toward the sea as Fort Pulaski. Opposite the city is Hutchinson's Island, several miles long, the west end of which was in possession of General Slocum's troops, but the lower end still remained in the hands of the enemy. A little below the island, on the South Carolina side, was the Union Causeway, running north through the swamps intervening between Savannah and Charleston, and affording a way of escape to General Hardee, should he desire to retreat. Reconnoissances from the left flank had shown that it was impracticable to push a considerable force across the Savannah River with a view to occupy the causeway, as the

enemy holding the river opposite the city with iron-clad gun-boats, would be able to destroy any pontoons laid down between Hutchinson's Island and the South Carolina shore. General Sherman therefore ordered General Slocum to get his siege guns into position, and prepare for an assault, while he proceeded in person to Port Royal and made arrangements to have the Union Causeway occupied from the north by the troops of General Foster. In the mean time a substantial corduroy road had been constructed across the swamps and rice fields from the Ogeechee at King's Bridge to the vicinity of the city, by means of which the heavy siege guns were transported to their position, as well as supplies for the army.

General Hardee seeing this, and well aware that the avenue of escape northward would not be allowed to remain open to him long, immediately made preparations for evacuating the city. Dec. 20. On the afternoon of the 20th he set his troops to destroying the navy yard and Confederate Government property, while the two iron-clads Georgia and Savannah moved up the river, and, supported by several batteries, began a furious fire on the Federal left, which was continued all night, with a view to cover the retreat. The Confederate troops were conveyed across the river during the night, in steamboats and row-boats and on rafts, and on the morning of the 21st, having blown up the iron-clads and the forts below the city, were well on their way toward Charleston.

Hardee's evacuation was discovered by the Federal pickets at dawn on the 21st, and several regiments were sent forward to occupy the deserted intrenchments. A few hours later General Sherman, who had just returned from Hilton Head, entered the city at Dec. 21. the head of his body-guard and received the formal surrender from the municipal authorities.* On the same day General Foster opened communications with the city with his steamers, taking up what torpedoes could be found and passing safely over others. Measures were also taken for clearing the channel of all obstructions. The captures included eight hundred prisoners, 150 guns, thirteen locomotives in good order, 190 cars, a large supply of ammunition and material of war, four steamboats, besides the iron-clad, ram, and transports blown up by the enemy, and thirty-three thousand bales of cotton safely stored in the warehouses.

Thus just five weeks after the army of General Sherman left Atlanta, the great winter campaign through Georgia was terminated by the fall of Savannah. Sherman's army had traversed at its leisure, and with a total loss of not more than fifteen hundred men, a tract of country from twenty to sixty miles in width, completely destroying the rail-

* General Sherman announced his being in possession of the city in the following characteristic dispatch:

"Savannah, Georgia, *December* 22.

"To His Excellency President Lincoln:

"I beg to present you, as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with one hundred and fifty heavy guns and plenty of ammunition, and also about twenty-five thousand bales of cotton.

"W. T. Sherman, Major General."

roads connecting Atlanta, Macon, Augusta, and Savannah. The work of railroad destruction was carried on in the most thorough manner. Every piece of railroad iron was twisted and made red-hot, and treated in such a way that it could never again be made available. All the ties, bridges, tanks, woodsheds, and dépôts were burnt, and every culvert torn up. For many miles, where the roads were carried over marshy ground by means of trestle-work, all the trestles were burned or otherwise injured to such a degree as to make their immediate replacement impossible. During the entire march the army lived on the best the land afforded. Live-stock, poultry, Indian meal, sweet potatoes, and sorghum syrup were found in great abundance, and appropriated by the troops. Many thousand head of cattle, horses, and mules were collected and conveyed safely to the coast, so that when the army encamped around Savannah, it is said to have had "fifty days' rations on the hoof." The corn and fodder in a belt of country sixty miles wide all the way from Atlanta to Savannah was consumed. General Sherman estimated the damage done to the State of Georgia and its military resources at $100,000,000, and that of this amount only about $20,000,000 inured to the advantage of the Federal Government, the remainder being merely wasted or destroyed. The regulations prohibiting pillage by the troops were not observed to the letter. In spite of the orders of General Sherman, there were many instances of the plunder of private property, the places where it was hidden being very often betrayed to the soldiers by the negroes. To use the words of General Sherman, the men were "a little loose in foraging, and 'did some things they ought not to have done,' yet on the whole they supplied the wants of the army with as little violence as could be expected, and as little loss as he had calculated on." Large numbers of slaves of both sexes and of all ages followed in the tracks of the several army corps. Many of them did good service as pioneers, teamsters, or laborers, and in showing where the inhabitants had concealed provisions, cattle, horses, or cotton, of which about fifteen thousand bales were destroyed on the march. Others, unable to endure the fatigues of keeping up with the army, or from other causes, dropped off, but from eight to ten thousand freed slaves succeeded in reaching the coast.

General Geary was appointed military governor of Savannah after the surrender.* As the Federal cannon had

---

* "HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
"IN THE FIELD, SAVANNAH, GA., *December* 26, 1864.

"SPECIAL FIELD ORDERS—No. 143.

"The city of Savannah and surrounding country will be held as a military post and adapted to future military uses; but as it contains a population of some twenty thousand people, who must be provided for, and as other citizens may come, it is proper to lay down certain general principles, that all within its military jurisdiction may understand their relative duties and obligations.

"I. During war, the military is superior to civil authority, and where interests clash the civil must give way; yet, where there is no conflict, every encouragement should be given to well-disposed and peaceful inhabitants to resume their usual pursuits. Families should be disturbed as little as possible in their residences, and tradesmen allowed the free use of their shops, tools, etc. Churches, schools, and all places of amusement and recreation should be encouraged, and streets and roads made

never opened on the city, it was found uninjured, but crowded with refugees from the interior of the State, many of whom were without the means of procuring subsistence, and measures were adopted for supplying their wants. The immense quantities of cotton found stored in the city were appropriated by the Federal Government, and subsequently shipped to the North for sale, but stringent orders were issued by General Geary for the protection of the persons and property of peaceful citizens against outrage or pillage on the part of ill-disposed soldiers, and several times severe punishments were inflicted on men attached to the army, convicted of pillaging, disorderly conduct, or drunkenness.

The people of Savannah, in marked contrast with the inhabitants of other rebellious cities captured during the war, showed a disposition to conduct themselves with propriety, and took care to avoid openly insulting or irritating the Federal officers and soldiers. Even while the evacuation of Hardee was in progress, no attempt was made by the inhabitants to destroy any property of value to prevent its falling into the hands of the Federal troops. A meeting of influential citizens was held on the 28th of December, in pursuance of a call made by Mayor Arnold, at which a series of resolutions were adopted, expressive of submission to the national authority, acknowledging the duty of obedience to the United States, asking the protection guaranteed by those laws, and tendering thanks to General Geary for his kind and gentlemanly conduct as governor. During the Federal occupation nothing occurred

perfectly safe to persons in their usual pursuits. Passes should not be exacted within the line of our pickets; but if any person shall abuse these privileges, by communicating with the enemy or doing any act of hostility to the Government of the United States, he or she will be punished with the utmost rigor of the law.

"Commerce with the outer world will be resumed to an extent commensurate with the wants of the citizens, governed by the restrictions and rules of the Treasury Department.

"II. The Chief Quartermaster and Commissary of the army may give suitable employment to the people, white and black, or transport them to such points as they choose, where employment may be had, and may extend temporary relief in the way of provisions and vacant houses to the worthy and needy until such times as they can help themselves. They will select, first, the buildings for the necessary uses of the army; next, a sufficient number of stores to be turned over to the Treasury agent for trade stores. All vacant store-houses or dwellings, and all buildings belonging to absent rebels, will be construed and used as belonging to the United States until such time as their titles can be settled by the courts of the United States.

"III. The Mayor and City Council of Savannah will continue, and exercise their functions as such, and will, in concert with the commanding officer of the post and the Chief Quartermaster, see that the fire companies are kept in organization, the streets cleaned and lighted, and keep up a good understanding between the citizens and soldiers They will ascertain and report to the Chief Commissary of Subsistence, as soon as possible, the names and number of worthy families that need assistance and support.

"The Mayor will forthwith give public notice that the time has come when all must choose their course, viz.: to remain within our lines and conduct themselves as good citizens, or depart in peace. He will ascertain the names of all who choose to leave Savannah, and report their names and residences to the Chief Quartermaster, that measures may be taken to transport them beyond the lines.

"IV. Not more than two newspapers will be published in Savannah, and their editors and proprietors will be held to the strictest accountability, and will be punished severely in person and property for any libellous publication, mischievous matter, premature news, exaggerated statements, or any comments whatever upon the acts of the constituted authorities; they will be held accountable even for such articles though copied from other papers.

"L. M. DAYTON, Aid-de-Camp.

"By order of Major-General W. T. SHERMAN."

to disturb the general quiet. Never before, some of the citizens averred, had such complete order been preserved, or had they felt the security of life and property to be so complete. The close of the year found General Sherman at Savannah planning his campaign in the Carolinas.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Raid of Forrest in Middle Tennessee.—Surrender of Colonel Campbell at Athens.—Pulaski saved by General Rousseau.—Retreat of Forrest.—General Thomas arrives at Nashville.—Defence of Decatur by General Granger.—Hood crosses the Tennessee at Florence.—Forrest at Johnsonville.—Comparative Force of Hood and Thomas. Hood moves Northward.—General Schofield compelled to evacuate Pulaski and Columbia.—General Thomas reinforced.—General Schofield falls back on Franklin.—Battle of Franklin.—Severe Losses of Hood.—General Schofield falls back to Nashville.—Position of the Armies of Hood and Thomas at Nashville.—Defence of Murfreesboro by General Rousseau.

1864. WHILE General Sherman was pursuing his triumphant march through Georgia to the seaboard, important events were occurring in Tennessee. In the latter part of September, General Forrest, with a cavalry force of seven thousand men, made some partially successful efforts to destroy the communications of Nashville with the southeast. Moving northward about the 20th he crossed the Tennessee near Waterloo, Alabama, and on the 23d made his appearance before Athens, a small town on the railroad running northward from Decatur to Nashville, and about ninety miles south of the latter place. After some skirmishing, the garrison, consisting of parts of three colored regiments and 150 men of the Third Tennessee Cavalry, in all about 450 men, under Colonel Campbell, withdrew to the fort. Before night Forrest had completely invested the town and destroyed several government buildings, and on the morning of the 24th opened fire upon the garrison from the north and west at the same time, with a twelve-pounder battery, which was replied to by the guns of the fort. When this artillery fight had continued about two hours, Forrest sent in two flags of truce demanding a surrender, and this being refused, requested a personal interview with Colonel Campbell, the result of which was, that the latter—ignorant of the fact that large reinforcements were rapidly approaching, which would have enabled him to defy the enemy—became convinced that it was useless to think of resisting the largely superior force under Forrest. He therefore surrendered at once. Half an hour afterward the reinforcements, consisting of the Nineteenth Michigan and the One Hundred and Second Ohio regiments, arrived, but after a severe fight were also made prisoners. Forrest then moved northward toward Pulaski,

Sept. 23.

destroying the railroad as he advanced, captured the garrison at Sulphur Branch Trestle, and on the 27th skirmished with that at Pulaski. At this place, however, General Rousseau had concentrated all the troops he could spare from other parts of his district, and Forrest toward nightfall thought it best to retire. After completing the destruction of the railroad from Athens to within five miles of Pulaski, he moved eastward, and on the 29th small parties from his command cut the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad near Decherd and Tullahoma; but General Rousseau moved a body of troops rapidly to the latter place by rail, passing through Nashville, to check his progress in that direction. On the 29th also, General Steedman, with five thousand men from the district of the Etowah, crossed to the north side of the Tennessee, to operate against Forrest and assist in protecting the railroad. Newton's division of the fourth corps was sent from Atlanta on the 26th and replaced Steedman's command at Chattanooga on the 28th. Morgan's division of the fourteenth corps was also sent from Atlanta on the 29th to aid in the operations against Forrest. With this division General Thomas himself left Atlanta to take immediate charge of affairs in Tennessee, and arrived at Nashville on the 3d of October.

Forrest passed through Fayetteville on the night of the 29th, and moved some distance toward Decherd, but soon afterward divided his forces, sending four thousand men under Buford southward toward Huntsville, and with the remainder, three thousand men, moved through Lynchburg toward Columbia. Buford appeared before Huntsville on the evening of the 30th, but the garrison refused to surrender. After repeating the summons on the morning of the 1st of October, he moved off in the direction of Athens, which place, after Forrest left it, had received a new garrison, consisting of the Seventy-third Indiana Regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Slade. Buford attacked at three in the afternoon, and again early on the following morning, but was repulsed, and retreated toward the Elk River, pursued by a small body of cavalry belonging to General Granger's command. Forrest, with the second column, appeared near Columbia, but made no attack, and after destroying about five miles of the railroad between Carter's Creek and Spring Hill, on the morning of the 3d, parolled all the prisoners he had taken and moved off in the direction of Mount Pleasant. It now became apparent that the enemy were aiming to make good their escape to the south side of the Tennessee, and General Morgan—who had arrived at Stevenson on the morning of the 1st of October, at Huntsville the same night, and then pushed on toward Athens, repairing the railroad as he advanced—received orders to move with his division toward Bainbridge and endeavor to secure the crossing at that place before the arrival of Forrest, while General Rousseau moved rapidly from Nashville with four thousand cavalry through

Mount Pleasant, to press the enemy in the rear, and Croxton's brigade of cavalry set out from Farmington, and passing through Lewisburg, marched in a southwesterly direction toward Lawrenceburg. In the mean time General Washburne, with three thousand cavalry and fifteen hundred infantry, was moving up the Tennessee River to take part in the operations against Forrest. He was directed on the 4th to leave his infantry at Johnsonville and as soon as possible join his forces to those of General Rousseau at Pulaski. Lieutenant-Commander Forrest was also requested to send some gun-boats down the river to Florence, Alabama, and prevent the enemy from crossing in that vicinity. General Morgan's division having been delayed by high water did not reach Rodgersville till the evening of the 4th, and the same night Forrest passed through Lawrenceburg. Buford's command crossed the Tennessee River on the 3d. General Washburne reached Waynesboro on the 6th, and on the same day General Morgan came up with the enemy's rear-guard at Shoal Creek Bridge, but not in time to prevent the main body of the enemy from effecting a safe crossing at Bainbridge. Thus both columns, though closely pursued, succeeded in getting back to the south side of the Tennessee River. General Morgan was then ordered to return to Athens, and General Rousseau to destroy the ferry-boats and other means of crossing, and retire to Florence.

Oct. 6.

On the 11th, General Croxton's brigade was directed to move to some point in the neighborhood of Athens where he might be near his supplies and at the same time be able to watch the crossings of the Tennessee River between Decatur and Eastport; General Morgan's division was ordered to move by railroad without delay from Athens to Chattanooga; Steedman's command to move from Decatur to Bridgeport; and General Rousseau to return from below Florence and concentrate at Athens. The posts at Decatur, Huntsville, Stevenson, and intermediate points, were left with their ordinary garrisons, and the whole attention of the forces under the command of Thomas turned toward Hood's movements in northern Georgia. On the 14th, General Morgan arrived at Chattanooga and General Steedman at Bridgeport, where he also received orders to proceed to Chattanooga. Morgan's and Wagner's divisions were subsequently sent to rejoin their respective corps at Summerville, in northern Georgia.

After the movements of Hood and Sherman described in the previous chapter, which terminated in the retreat of the former to Gadsden, General Sherman, having made General Thomas fully acquainted with his plan of operations in Georgia, delegated to him the command of all troops and garrisons "not absolutely in the presence of the commander-in-chief," with instructions at the same time to pursue Hood, should he follow Sherman's columns, but in any event to hold Tennessee. On the 26th a large force of the en-

Oct. 26.

emy's infantry appeared before Decatur, Alabama, and attacked the garrison, but without effect, and on the following day reinforcements amounting to two full regiments were sent from Chattanooga to that point, and General Granger, the officer in command there, was directed to hold the point at all hazards. The enemy then began to intrench their position around Decatur, drove in the Federal pickets at night, and established a line of rifle-pits within five hundred yards of the town. On the 28th, part of the garrison made a sortie, advancing under cover of the guns of the fort down the river bank and around to the rear of the enemy's pits, and took 120 prisoners. The same day a colored regiment under Colonel Morgan carried one of the enemy's batteries above the town and spiked the guns; and on the 29th the rebels withdrew from Decatur toward Courtland. The same day General Croxton, picketing the north bank of the river, reported that the enemy were crossing at the mouth of Cypress Creek, two miles below Florence, and General Hatch, with a division of cavalry, was immediately sent from Clifton to his assistance, with instructions to keep the enemy on the south side of the river, if possible, till the fourth corps, on its way from Georgia, should arrive.

It now became evident that Hood intended to invade Middle Tennessee. He had been for some time repairing the Mobile and Ohio Railroad for the purpose of supplying his army, and trains were running as far north as Corinth and thence eastward to Cherokee Station, transporting supplies from Selma and Montgomery. Wood's division of the fourth corps reached Athens on the 31st of October, and the other two divisions rapidly followed. The twenty-third corps under General Schofield, awaiting at Resaca the orders of General Thomas, as soon as it was known that Hood had appeared in force along the south side of the Tennessee River, was directed to concentrate at Pulaski, and was now also on its way in the rear of the fourth corps. The enemy having on the 31st effected a lodgment for their infantry on the north side of the Tennessee River about three miles above Florence, and driven Croxton above Shoal Creek, General Stanley was directed also to concentrate the fourth corps at Pulaski.

In the mean time Forrest, with seventeen regiments of cavalry and nine pieces of artillery, had commenced moving northward from Corinth, and from Paris, Tennessee, and on the 28th of October appeared before Fort Hieman, an earthwork on the west bank of the Tennessee about seventy-five miles from Paducah, and captured there a gun-boat and three transports, having previously burned the steamer Empress. On the 2d of November he had succeeded in planting batteries both above and below Johnsonville, an important base of supplies, and the terminus of the Northwestern Railroad, thus completely blockading the river and preventing the escape in either direction of three gun-boats, eight transports, and about a dozen barges. The garrison consisted of about a thousand



men under the command of Colonel Thompson. The naval forces under Lieutenant King attacked the enemy's batteries below Johnsonville, but were repulsed after a severe contest, not, however, before they had recaptured a transport, with two twenty-pounder Parrotts and a quantity of ammunition and stores on board, and compelled the enemy to destroy one of the captured gun-boats. On the 4th the rebels opened fire on the town as well as on the gun-boats and transports from batteries on the west bank. In the artillery contest which ensued the gun-boats were soon disabled, and to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy they were set on fire, as well as the transports. But the flames spread to the buildings of the commissary and quartermaster departments, which together with a large amount of stores on the levee, were totally destroyed, involving a loss to the Government of not less than a million and a half of dollars, sustained principally by the quartermaster's department. On the morning of the 5th, after directing upon the garrison a furious cannonade of an hour's duration, the enemy withdrew, crossed to the east bank above the town, and marched off in the direction of Clifton. On the same day General Schofield, with the advance of the twenty-third corps, arrived at Nashville, and being sent immediately by railroad to Johnsonville, arrived there at night, but only to find that the enemy had already disappeared. General Schofield was then directed to leave a body of troops at Johnsonville sufficiently numerous for its defence, and with the rest of his force join the fourth corps at Pulaski, assume command of all the troops in that vicinity, and, watching the movements of Hood, retard his advance into Tennessee as much as possible; but not to risk a general engagement till General A. J. Smith should arrive from Missouri, and till General Wilson had remounted the cavalry regiments whose horses had been taken for the use of Kilpatrick's division in Georgia.

Nov. 4.

General Thomas now found himself confronted by that army of veteran troops which under General Johnston had made such persistent opposition to the advance of General Sherman's largely superior force from Dalton to the Chattahoochee, reinforced by twelve thousand well-equipped cavalry under Forrest—perhaps the boldest and ablest, as well as the most unscrupulous of the rebel cavalry officers. This army, now under Hood, consisted of about forty-five thousand infantry and from twelve to fifteen thousand cavalry. The available force of General Thomas at this time was less than half that of Hood, comprising only about twelve thousand men under General Stanley, ten thousand under General Schofield, about four thousand cavalry under General Hatch, Croxton's brigade of twenty-five hundred men, and Capron's of twelve hundred, in all about thirty thousand men. The remainder of his force was stationed along the railroad to keep open communications at Chattanooga, Decatur, Huntsville, Bridgeport, Stevenson, Murfrees-

boro, and intermediate posts. Till it should become evident at what point Hood would strike, it was necessary that the garrisons should be retained at all these points, and that General Thomas should act entirely on the defensive.

General Hood nevertheless remained inactive in the neighborhood of Florence from the 1st to the 17th of November, influenced doubtless by his uncertainty respecting the movements of General Sherman. He had laid a pontoon bridge over the Tennessee River in place of the destroyed railroad bridge, and had sent over to the north side General S. D. Lee's infantry corps and two cavalry divisions, which skirmished continually with Hatch's and Croxton's commands along the line of Shoal Creek, but advanced no farther. His other two corps remained on the south side of the **Nov. 17.** Tennessee till the 17th of November, when Cheatham's corps also crossed to the north side, and Stewart's prepared to follow. On the same day a portion of Lee's corps moved up the Lawrenceburg road to Bough's Mill on Shoal Creek, skirmished a little with Hatch's cavalry, and then retiring to some neighboring bluffs, went into camp. This delay on the part of Hood was very much to the advantage of General Thomas, as the two divisions of infantry under General A. J. Smith were on their way to join him, as well as twenty one-year regiments—most of which, however, only came to replace regiments whose term of service had expired—and detachments from various points of minor importance, besides about seven thousand convalescents and others collected at Chattanooga, who had been organized into brigades for service at points where they might be needed. These forces, when all concentrated, would increase his available force to an army nearly as large as that of the enemy. Had Hood delayed his advance one week or ten days longer, General Thomas would have been able to meet him at some point south of the Duck River. Hood, however, began his **Nov. 19.** advance on the 19th, moving by parallel roads from Florence toward Waynesboro, and drove Hatch's cavalry out of Lawrenceburg on the 22d. It then became the policy of General Thomas to retire in the direction in which his reinforcements were approaching, and at the same time to delay the enemy as much as possible. General Schofield began removing the public property from Pulaski preparatory to falling back toward Columbia, two divisions of Stanley's corps having been sent to Lynnville, fifteen miles north, to protect the railroad and secure the passage of the wagon trains. Capron's brigade of cavalry was stationed at Mount Pleasant to cover the approaches to Columbia from the southwest, and, to add to the security of the latter place, a brigade of General Ruger's division of the twenty-third corps was stationed there. The other two divisions of that corps were directed to move, one to Columbia, and the other by way of Waverly to Centerville, and occupy the crossings of the Duck River near Columbia, Williamsport, and Gordon's

Ferry. On the 23d General Granger withdrew by rail, without any opposition on the part of the enemy, the garrisons at Athens, Decatur, and Huntsville to Stevenson, sending five new regiments from that place to Murfreesboro, and retaining the original troops of his command. On the same night General Schofield evacuated Pulaski and retired toward Columbia, where he arrived on the 24th. The officer commanding at Johnsonville was ordered to remove all public property and retire to Fort Donelson and thence to Clarksville.

During the 24th and 25th some dismounted cavalry of the enemy skirmished with General Schofield's troops at Columbia, and during the 26th and 27th, their infantry having come up, made more decided demonstrations, but no assault. Their movements, however, indicating an intention to cross the Duck River above or below the town, General Schofield withdrew to the north bank on the night of the 27th, and took up a new position, in which he remained undisturbed during the 28th. In front of the town two divisions of the twenty-third corps were placed in line, holding all the neighboring crossings, while Stanley's corps, posted in reserve on the Franklin turnpike, was held in readiness to repel any attempt on the part of the enemy to force a passage. General Wilson with a body of cavalry held the crossings above those guarded by the infantry; but about two o'clock on the morning of the 29th the enemy drove him back and pushed over the river at the Lewisburg turnpike, and a little later a body of their infantry crossed at Huey's Mills, six miles above Columbia. General Schofield now finding his communication with the cavalry interrupted, and his line of retreat toward Franklin threatened, prepared again to fall back. General Stanley with a division of infantry was sent to Spring Hill to protect the passage of the trains and keep open the road for the retreat of the main force in that direction. He arrived only just in time to drive off the enemy's cavalry and save the trains. Soon afterward he was attacked by both infantry and cavalry, and had considerable difficulty in maintaining his position till dark. General Schofield, though not attacked at Huey's Mills, was actively engaged all day at Columbia resisting attempts of the enemy to effect a crossing there, in which he caused them heavy loss. Late in the afternoon, after giving directions for the retreat of all the troops northward at dark, taking with him Ruger's division he hastened to the relief of General Stanley at Spring Hill. Leaving a brigade to hold the turnpike at this point, he pushed on to the cross-roads near Thompson's Station, three miles farther, from which point a body of the enemy's cavalry hastily made off at his approach, leaving their camp-fires burning, when General Ruger quietly occupied the position. The main body of General Schofield's command withdrew safely from Columbia after dark on the 29th, passed Spring Hill without molestation at midnight, the cavalry moving

Nov. 29.

on the Lewisburg turnpike on the right of the infantry line of march. The whole command got into position at Franklin, eighteen miles south of Nashville, early on the morning of the 30th. Line of battle was formed at once on the south side of the town in expectation of the enemy's immediate approach.

On the evacuation of Columbia orders were sent to General Milroy, at Tullahoma, to abandon that post and join his forces to those of General Rousseau at Murfreesboro. Nashville was as rapidly as possible put into an efficient state of defence; the garrison was reinforced by volunteers from the quartermasters' and commissary departments, organized into a division under General Donaldson, and, aided by a large number of railroad employés, were set to work constructing additional defences. General Steedman, who left Chattanooga on the 29th with five thousand men, moving rapidly by rail, reached Cowan on the morning of the 30th, and was ordered to proceed at once to Nashville. Early on the morning of the same day the advance of General A. J. Smith's command arrived at Nashville in transports from St. Louis. The infantry force of General Thomas was now nearly equal to that under Hood, but in cavalry he was still largely outnumbered.

The enemy followed General Schofield up closely, and during the forenoon of the 30th the skirmishers were actively engaged. The position of the Federal army was excellently chosen. Franklin, a place of about a thousand inhabitants, is situated on the west bank of the Harpeth River, a bend of which incloses more than half of the town on the east and north, leaving only a part of the west and south sides exposed. The troops were disposed in a line running southeast, both flanks resting on the river—the fourth corps on the right, the twenty-third on the left. The cavalry were posted on both sides of the town on the north bank, where also was a fort on a hill commanding the town and the railroad, besides earth-works and some artillery. From the moment of going into position the troops worked energetically in the erection of breast-works of logs and earth, while the skirmishers in front endeavored to check the enemy's advance Between the lines of the two armies extended a broad plain broken by slight undulations and little hills, with here and there clumps of bushes and groves of trees. The object of General Schofield in making a stand at Franklin was to detain Hood till the trains could be got off safely over the Harpeth Bridge and well on their way to Nashville, which would require at least a day. To refuse battle would have been to expose his command to certain attack from superior forces while on the march, the result of which would doubtless have been the destruction of the wagon trains and most of the artillery. Such a calamity might have been followed by the fall of Nashville and the abandonment of a large part of Tennessee. Hood's object was, therefore, to overwhelm Schofield at once, or at least compel him to sacrifice his artillery and stores. He

Nov. 30.

therefore hurried up his troops and massed them behind a screen of thick woods in a line parallel with that of Schofield, with Stewart's corps on the right, Cheatham's on the left, and Lee's in reserve on the centre. These movements were made with such celerity that Hood came near taking Schofield by surprise. He then rode along his lines, telling his men that the Federal lines were weak, and that when these were once broken, Thomas would be compelled to leave Tennessee. His army was in excellent condition, its *morale* restored, its equipments, in arms, shoes, and clothing, complete, its numbers largely superior. With his usual boldness and confidence of success, Hood determined to attack the centre of Schofield's line, hoping to break through it, and then to push in through the town to the bridges, when he would capture the trains, and at the same time cut the army in two. At four o'clock in the afternoon the enemy advanced to the attack. The Federal skirmishers slowly retreated to their works, exchanging a sharp fire with those of the enemy, and then a tremendous cannonade was opened from the artillery along Schofield's line. The cloud of hostile skirmishers was quickly followed by the long and dense lines, four deep, of Cheatham and Stewart. As they rushed on with loud yells, a tremendous musketry fire was added to that of the artillery along the Federal line, to within a short distance of which the enemy approached, notwithstanding the fearful havoc caused in their ranks by the artillery, when a terrific struggle ensued. At length Many's division of Cheatham's corps gained the outworks held by Wagner, driving his division back on the stronger lines held by Cox and Ruger. The enemy then re-forming their lines, again rushed on, and after a most desperate and bloody contest, forced their way within the second line of defences, and captured two guns. The result of the battle now seemed very doubtful; but at this critical moment General Stanley, putting himself at the head of Opdyke's brigade, with Conrad's in support, rushed with great spirit on such of the enemy as had obtained a foothold within the Federal works and expelled them, recapturing the guns; but while thus engaged his horse was shot under him and he himself severely wounded in the shoulder. Again and again, and till long after dark, the enemy repeated their attacks, with wonderful bravery and tenacity, but in vain. A desultory firing was kept up as late as ten o'clock. Not willing to risk a renewal of the battle on the morrow, and having secured the withdrawal of his trains, the object of the day's operations, General Schofield, by the direction of General Thomas, fell back during the night to Nashville, leaving his killed and wounded in the hands of the enemy. Hood's loss in the battle of Franklin was very severe: he buried 1,750 of his dead on the field of battle; 3,800 men were disabled and placed in hospital at Franklin, and 702 were made prisoners—an aggregate of 6,252, including thirteen general officers —Cleburne, John Williams, Adams,

Gist, Strahl, and Granberry, killed; John Brown, S. Carter, Manigault, Quarles, Cockerill, and Scott, wounded; and Gordon captured. The Federal loss was much less, only 189 being reported killed; 1,033 wounded, and 1,104 missing—an aggregate of 2,326. Of the Federal generals only Stanley and Bradley were wounded. The results of this signal victory—among the most decisive of the war—were very important. It not only checked Hood's advance, and gave General Schofield time to remove all his stores and troops to Nashville, but it greatly discouraged the men of the rebel army, and went far to destroy the *morale* which their reorganization and late successful advance had in a great measure restored. It was the first of the several successive blows which broke Hood's army to pieces, and finally caused its disappearance altogether as an organization.

General Schofield having retired to Nashville on the night after the victory at Franklin, line of battle was formed in front of the city by noon of the 1st of December, on the neighboring heights—General A. G. Smith's command occupying the right and resting on the Cumberland below the city; the fourth corps, temporarily under General Wood, in the centre, and the twenty-third corps under General Schofield on the left, extending as far as the Nolensville turnpike. On its left, General Wilson, with the cavalry, was stationed, to secure the interval between Schofield and the Cumberland above the city. General Steedman arrived in the evening, and took up a position about a mile in advance of the left centre of the main line and on the left of the Nolensville turnpike; but this position being considered too much exposed, the cavalry were directed to take post on the north side of the river at Edgefield, and General Steedman's troops took their place in the line between Schofield and the river. In the afternoon of the 2d of December small parties of the enemy's cavalry engaged the Federal skirmishers, but their infantry did not appear in force till the latter part of the following day, when, driving in the skirmishers, Hood began to establish his main line. This on the morning of the 4th occupied the high ground on the southeast side of Brown's Creek, extending from the Nolensville turnpike, his extreme right, in a westerly direction across the Franklin and Granny White turnpikes to the hills south and southwest of Richland Creek, and along that stream to the Hillsboro turnpike, his cavalry extending from both flanks to the river. The enemy's salient was on Montgomery Hill, within six hundred yards of the Federal centre. An artillery fire was opened on their lines from several points, but brought no reply. In this position Hood's army remained till the 15th of December, nothing of importance occurring beyond occasional picket firing.

In the mean time some minor operations took place, in connection with detached posts. The blockhouse at the railroad crossing of Overall's Creek, five miles north of Murfreesboro, was attacked with artillery on the 4th by

Dec. 1.

Bates' division of Cheatham's corps, but held out till assistance arrived from the garrison at Murfreesboro. General Milroy coming up with three regiments of infantry, four companies of the Thirteenth Indiana, and a section of artillery, attacked and drove away the enemy. But during the 5th, 6th, and 7th, reinforced by a division from Lee's corps and 2,500 of Forrest's cavalry, they appeared again before Murfreesboro and made demonstrations against Fortress Rosecrans, at that time garrisoned by about eight thousand men under General Rousseau, making no direct assault, however, and on the 8th, General Milroy, with seven regiments of infantry, was sent out to engage them. They were found at no great distance, on the Wilkerson turnpike, posted behind rail breast-works, and were immediately attacked and routed, with a loss of 30 killed and 175 wounded, besides 207 prisoners and two guns. On the same day Buford's cavalry entered the town of Murfreesboro, after having shelled it for some time, but were speedily driven out again. After leaving Murfreesboro the enemy's cavalry moved northward to Lebanon, and along the Cumberland, threatening to cross to the north side of the river, and interrupt the Federal communications with Louisville, the only source of supplies at that time, the enemy having blockaded the river below Nashville by batteries planted along the bank. But the gun-boats in the Cumberland patrolled it effectively, and prevented the enemy from crossing. A cavalry force was also sent by General Wilson to Gallatin to guard that vicinity. Meantime, General Thomas was preparing to take the offensive without delay, and General Wilson was remounting the cavalry as rapidly as possible.

Dec. 8.

CHAPTER XLIX.

General Thomas takes the Offensive against Hood. -Battle of Nashville.—Total Rout of Hood's Forces.—The Pursuit by Wilson's Cavalry and the Fourth Corps.—Delays from heavy Rains and swollen Rivers.—Hood's Rear-guard.—Total Disorganization of the main body of the Rebel Army.—Hood evacuates Pulaski and escapes across the Tennessee.—Colonel Palmer continues the Pursuit in Alabama and Mississippi.—Lyon's Raid into Kentucky.- Losses of Hood and Thomas in the Middle Tennessee Campaign.—Co-operative Expeditions from Vicksburg, Baton Rouge, and Pensacola.—General Grierson's Raid against Hood's Southern Communications.

ON the 14th of December, General Thomas—having got his army into complete readiness to take the offensive, and the weather, which for a week previous had been extremely cold, causing great suffering to Hood's troops in their exposed position, having moderated and become more suitable for military operations—called a meeting of his corps commanders in the after-

1864.

noon, at which a plan of attack* was thoroughly discussed and agreed upon, Dec. 15. and on the morning of the 15th, at an early hour was formed and ready to carry it into execution. A dense fog, which did not rise till toward noon, and the broken nature of the ground, partially concealed the formation of the troops from the view of the enemy, who seemed to be totally unaware of the impending attack, and least of all suspicious of any movement against their left flank. Still further to divert their attention from the real point of attack, General Steedman was instructed to make a demonstration against the enemy's right, east of the Nolensville turnpike, which he did, and though sustaining some loss, succeeded in drawing the enemy's attention to that part of their line, inducing them to strengthen it at the expense of their centre and left.

Immediately after the completion of General Steedman's movement, Generals Smith and Wilson moved out along the Harding turnpike, and wheeling to the left advanced against Hood's position across the Harding and Hillsboro turnpikes. At the same time Johnson's division of cavalry was sent to operate against a battery of the enemy at Ball's Landing, on the Cumberland, eight miles below Nashville, and late in the afternoon, in conjunction with some gunboats, engaged it, continuing the firing till dark, and with such effect that the rebels disappeared from that vicinity during the night. The remainder of General

* This was explained to the various subordinate commanders in the following special field order issued by General Thomas:

"As soon as the state of the weather will admit of offensive operations, the troops will move against the enemy's position in the following order:

"Major-General A. J. Smith, commanding detachment of the Army of the Tennessee, after forming his troops on and near the Harding pike, in front of his present position, will make a vigorous assault on the enemy's left.

"Major-General Wilson, commanding the cavalry corps, Military Division of Mississippi, with three divisions, will move on and support General Smith's right, assisting as far as possible in carrying the left of the enemy's position, and be in readiness to throw his force upon the enemy the moment a favorable opportunity occurs. Major-General Wilson will also send one division on the Charlotte pike to clear that road of the enemy, and observe in the direction of Bell's Landing to protect our right rear until the enemy's position is fairly turned, when it will rejoin the main force.

"Brigadier-General T. J. Wood, commanding fourth army corps, after leaving a strong skirmish line in his works from Laurens' Hill to his extreme right, will form the remainder of the fourth corps on the Hillsboro pike to support General Smith's left, and operate on the left and rear of the enemy's advanced position on the Montgomery Hill.

"Major-General Schofield, commanding twenty-third army corps, will replace Brigadier-General Kimball's division of the fourth corps with his troops, and occupy the trenches from Fort Negley to Laurens' Hill with a strong skirmish line. He will move with the remainder of his force in front of the works and co-operate with General Wood, protecting the latter's left flank against an attack by the enemy.

"Major-General Steedman, commanding District of the Etowah, will occupy the interior line in rear of his present position, stretching from the reservoir on the Cumberland River to Fort Negley, with a strong skirmish line, and mass the remainder of his force in its present position, to act according to the exigencies which may arise during these operations.

"Brigadier-General Miller, with his troops forming the garrison of Nashville, will occupy the exterior line from the battery on hill 210 to the extreme right, including the inclosed work on the Hyde's Ferry road.

"The quartermaster's troops, under command of Brigadier-General Donaldson, will, if necessary, be posted on the interior line from Fort Morton to the battery on hill 210.

"The troops occupying the interior line will be under the direction of Major-General Steedman, who is charged with the immediate defence of Nashville during the operations around the city.

"Should the weather permit, the troops will be formed to commence operations at six A.M. on the 15th, or as soon thereafter as practicable."

Wilson's cavalry, moving on the right flank of General A. J. Smith's troops, General Hatch's division leading and General Knipe's in reserve, struck the enemy along Richland Creek, near Harding's House, drove them back rapidly—capturing a number of prisoners and wagons—and continued to advance, still swinging a little toward the left, till they came upon a redoubt containing four guns. This was carried by assault by a portion of Hatch's division, dismounted, aided by infantry from McArthur's division of General A. J. Smith's command, and the captured guns turned upon the enemy. The same troops then advanced against another and stronger four-gun redoubt, and carried it also, capturing about three hundred prisoners. General Smith not having got as far to the right as General Thomas had hoped he would, General Schofield with the twenty-third corps was directed to leave his position in reserve and advance to the right of General Smith's troops. This movement General Schofield rapidly accomplished, and the cavalry were thus enabled to operate more freely on the enemy's rear. The fourth corps, under General Wood, formed on the left of General Smith's command, and as soon as the latter had struck the enemy's flank, assaulted Montgomery Hill. This position, the most advanced in Hood's line, was carried at one o'clock by the third brigade of the second division, and a number of prisoners captured. The fourth corps, still connecting with the left of General Smith's command, continued to advance, carried by assault all that portion of Hood's line in its immediate front, and captured several pieces of artillery, about five hundred prisoners, and some colors. The enemy were driven out of their original line of works, and forced back to a position along the base of the Harpeth Hills, still holding their line of retreat by the Franklin and Granny White turnpikes.

The Federal line was readjusted at nightfall so as to run along the east side of the Hillsboro turnpike—Schofield on the right, Smith in the centre, and Wood on the left, with the cavalry on the right of Schofield. Steedman continued to hold the position he had gained in the morning, east of the Nolensville turnpike. The results of the day's operations were, the forcing back of the enemy at all points with heavy loss, while the casualties occurring among the Federal troops—whose behavior had been remarkable for steadiness and alacrity in every movement—were unusually light, and the capture of sixteen pieces of artillery, twelve hundred prisoners, several hundred stand of small-arms, and about forty wagons. The original plan of battle was strictly adhered to, and with but few alterations fully carried out. The entire army bivouacked in the line of battle formed at dark, and preparations were made to renew the contest on the following day at an early hour.

Dec. 16.

On the 16th, at six in the morning, operations were commenced on the part of the Federal army by General Wood, who pressed back the en-

emy's skirmishers across the Franklin turnpike, and then swinging a little to the right advanced in a southerly direction, driving the enemy before him till he came upon their new main line of works, which they had constructed in the night on Overton's Hill, about five miles south of the city and on the east side of the Franklin turnpike. General Steedman moved out from Nashville by the Nolensville turnpike, and formed his command on the left of General Wood, whose left flank he thus effectually secured. General Smith moved on the right of Wood's corps and established connection with it, thus completing a new line of battle. General Schofield's corps remained in the position taken up at dark on the 15th, in which his troops faced eastward and toward the enemy's left flank, while those of Smith and Wood faced toward the south. General Wilson's cavalry was dismounted and formed on the right of Schofield. These dispositions having been completed, it was determined to continue the movement against the enemy's left flank which had been so successfully commenced on the preceding day, and the entire Federal line moved to within six hundred yards of that of the enemy at all points. About three in the afternoon an assault on Overton's Hill was ordered to be made by two brigades of General Wood's corps, aided by a colored brigade from General Steedman's command. But the ground on which the assaulting columns were formed being open and exposed to the view of the enemy, they anticipated the movement, and drew reinforcements from their left and centre to strengthen the position threatened, and when the assault was made, directed a tremendous fire of grape, canister, and musketry upon the Federal troops, who, however, moved steadily onward up the hill until near its crest, when the reserves of the enemy rose suddenly and opened upon their assailants a most destructive fire, which caused them to waver and ultimately to fall back, leaving their dead and wounded lying amid the abattis. The troops were immediately re-formed in their old position by General Wood, in readiness for a renewal of the assault.

Generals Smith and Schofield then moved against the works in their respective fronts, and carried all before them with very little loss, capturing all the enemy's artillery and thousands of prisoners, including four general officers. General Wilson's cavalry also, dismounted, attacking the enemy at the same moment, gained firm possession of the Granny White turnpike, and thus closed one of the routes which had remained open to the rebels for retreat in the direction of Franklin. Wood's and Steedman's troops now hearing the shouts of their victorious comrades on the right, again rushed impetuously forward to renew the assault on Overton's Hill. Though received with a very heavy fire, their onset proved irresistible. The enemy broke, and leaving their artillery and a large number of prisoners, fled in confusion to the Brentwood pass, through which runs the Franklin turnpike, closely followed till dark by

the fourth corps, while General Wilson, hastily mounting Knipe's and Hatch's divisions of his command, sent them in pursuit along the Granny White turnpike, with directions to reach Franklin if possible in advance of the enemy. After proceeding about a mile they came upon a body of rebel cavalry under Chalmers, behind barricades constructed across the road. A charge was made upon them at once by Colonel Spalding with the Twelfth Tennessee Cavalry, when they broke and scattered in all directions, losing a number of prisoners, among whom was General Rucker.

During the two days' operations 4,462 prisoners were taken, including 287 officers, from the grade of major-general downward, besides fifty-three pieces of artillery and thousands of small-arms. The enemy left three thousand of their dead and wounded on the field of battle. The total Federal loss did not exceed three thousand, and of this number very few were killed.

Dec. 17.

At daylight on the 17th the pursuit was continued, the fourth corps pushing toward Franklin by the direct turnpike, and the cavalry by the Granny White turnpike to its intersection with that road, beyond which point they moved in advance of the infantry. Johnson's cavalry division was sent by General Wilson direct to the Harpeth River by the Hillsboro turnpike, with instructions to cross and move rapidly toward Franklin. The main cavalry column, Knipe's division in the advance, overtook the enemy's rear-guard four miles north of Franklin, at Hollow Tree Gap, and carried the position by simultaneous charges in both front and flank, capturing 413 prisoners and three stand of colors. The enemy then fell back rapidly to Franklin, and endeavored to defend the crossing of the Harpeth there ; but Johnson's division coming up from below on the south side of the stream, they were compelled to retire from the river, and the Federal forces took possession of the town, in which were the enemy's hospitals, containing over two thousand wounded, of whom about two hundred were Union soldiers. General Wilson then continued the pursuit toward Columbia, the enemy's rear-guard slowly retiring before him to about five miles south of Franklin, where they halted in some open fields on the north side of the West Harpeth River, apparently disposed to make a stand, but General Wilson deploying Knipe's division as skirmishers, with Hatch's division in close support, ordered his body-guard, the Fourth United States Cavalry regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Hedges, to attack them. Forming on the turnpike in column of fours, the small but gallant band charged with drawn sabres, and succeeded in breaking the enemy's centre, while Knipe's and Hatch's men drove back their flanks, scattering the entire command and capturing their artillery. Night coming on prevented effective pursuit and enabled most of the fugitives to escape. The fourth corps followed the cavalry as far as the Harpeth River, but found the bridges destroyed, and too much water in the stream to permit the crossing of

infantry. The construction of a trestle bridge was commenced from such materials as could be procured, but it was not completed before nightfall. General Steedman's command followed the fourth corps and encamped near it on the banks of the Harpeth. Generals Smith and Schofield with their corps also joined in the pursuit, marching along the Granny White turnpike to its intersection with the direct road to Franklin, and at that point encamped for the night.

Dec. 18. General Wilson resumed the pursuit on the 18th and pushed on as far as Rutherford Creek, three miles from Columbia. The fourth corps crossed to the south side of the Harpeth and closed up with the cavalry, the enemy offering no opposition during the day. Heavy rains succeeded to the cold which had delayed General Thomas' operations at Nashville, and not only made the roads almost impassable, but swelled the streams and rivers to such an extent that the pursuit became extremely difficult. Rutherford's Creek became a torrent, and quite unfordable soon after the enemy's crossing it. The splendid pontoon train with its experienced train of pontoniers, belonging to the army of General Thomas, had been taken by Sherman for his Georgia campaign. A pontoon bridge hastily constructed at Nashville was on its way, but the wretched condition of the roads retarded its arrival. Dec. 19. During the 19th, efforts were made by the advanced troops to get across Rutherford's Creek, but without success, only a few skirmishers of General Hatch's division effecting a lodgment on the south bank. Smith's and Schofield's commands crossed to the south side of the Harpeth, the former advancing to Spring Hill, the latter to Franklin. On the morning of the 20th, General Hatch succeeded in making a floating bridge over Rutherford's Creek, from the remains of the old bridge, got his entire division over, and pushed on for Columbia, but found on arriving at the Duck River that the enemy had got everything across the night before by a pontoon bridge, which they had carried off, and that the river was very much swollen, and quite impassable without a bridge. In the course of the day General Wood managed to have a foot bridge constructed over Rutherford's Creek, by means of which he got all his infantry over, as well as one or two of his batteries, and then pushed on toward the Duck River. The pontoon train came up about noon on the 21st; but the continuous heavy rain had in the mean time ceased, and been succeeded by bitter cold, which caused so much suffering to the colored troops employed to lay the bridge as to occasion considerable delay.* On the completion of the bridge, General Smith's command moved to the south side of the river, and materials sufficient for the construction of another bridge were hurried forward to the Duck River, which, though annoying delays occurred in consequence of the rapid fall of the water, was finished in time to permit Wood's command to cross to the south side late in the afternoon of the 22d, and to get into position on the Pulaski road, about two miles

south of Columbia. Several fine pieces of artillery which the enemy had thrown into the stream came into view as the water fell.

Notwithstanding the many delays which occurred in the pursuit of Hood's shattered army, General Thomas determined to continue it, and to employ for this purpose General Wilson's cavalry and the fourth corps; the infantry to move along the turnpike, while the cavalry marched on its flanks across the fields; Smith's and Schofield's corps following leisurely, to be used as occasion demanded. Hood had now formed a powerful rear-guard, composed of Forrest's cavalry and such other detachments as he had sent off from his main army while besieging Nashville, which had rejoined him at Columbia, and about four thousand infantry under General Walthall, made up of detachments from all his organized force. This rear-guard, undaunted and firm, did its duty to the last. All the rest of Hood's once noble army became a disheartened rabble of ragged, barefooted, and half-armed men, whose privations and discouragement led them to take every opportunity of escape from the Confederate service.

On the 23d, General Wilson crossed the Duck River, and continuing the advance on the 24th, supported by General Wood, came up with the enemy at Lynnville and at Buford's Station. They made a stand at both these places, but were quickly dislodged with considerable loss, and followed up so rapidly that they had not time to destroy the bridges over Richland Creek. On the morning of the 25th the enemy evacuated Pulaski, and were pursued toward Lamb's Ferry over an almost impracticable road and through a country devoid of sustenance for men or horses. During the afternoon Colonel Harrison's brigade found them strongly intrenched at the head of a deep and heavily wooded ravine, through which the road ran, but after driving their skirmishers into it, delayed attacking till the remainder of the cavalry could close up with him. The enemy then recovering some of their old audacity took the opportunity to sally from their breastworks and drive back Colonel Harrison's skirmishers, in doing which they captured and carried off one gun, which, though the rebels were driven from their position before night, with a loss of about fifty prisoners, was not recovered. The cavalry in pursuit moved so rapidly that their supply trains were left far in the rear, and both men and animals suffered much in consequence. General Wood's corps following the cavalry on the night of the 26th encamped six miles out from Pulaski on the Lamb's Ferry road, and reached Lexington, Alabama, thirty miles from Pulaski, on the 28th, by which time the enemy had made good their escape across the Tennessee River at Bainbridge, and General Thomas ordered the pursuit to cease. At Pulaski two hundred of the enemy's wounded and sick were found in the hospital, and four guns were taken out of Richland Creek. About a mile south of the town the rebels destroyed twenty wagons

25. Dec.

Dec. 28.

loaded with ammunition belonging to Cheatham's corps, and took the animals to draw the pontoons. The road all the way from Nashville to Bainbridge was strewn with wagons, limbers, small-arms, and blankets, affording conclusive evidence that the retreat of Hood's troops had been of the most disorderly character.

On the 30th of December, General Thomas announced to the army the successful termination of the campaign, and gave directions for the disposition of the various bodies of troops under his command, at Eastport, Athens, Dalton, and Huntsville, for the purpose of going into winter quarters; but this arrangement not meeting the views of the War Department, orders were issued on the 31st of December for Generals Schofield, Smith, and Wilson to concentrate at Eastport, Mississippi, and for General Wood to remain at Huntsville, to await a renewal of the campaign in Mississippi and Alabama.

The pursuit of Hood by the main body of the army had been discontinued on the 29th of December, but a force of six hundred cavalry under Colonel Palmer, made up from various regiments, set out about that time from Decatur, moving in the direction of Hood's line of retreat. Having ascertained at Leighton that Hood had passed through that place on the 28th, and marched in the direction of Columbus, Mississippi, Colonel Palmer, avoiding the enemy's cavalry, and moving rapidly by way of La Grange, Russellville, and the Cotton-Gin road, overtook the enemy's pontoon train, consisting of two hundred wagons and seventy-eight pontoon boats, when ten miles out from Russellville, the whole of which he destroyed. Then having ascertained that a large supply train was on its way to Tuscaloosa, he set out on the 1st of January toward Aberdeen, Mississippi, and succeeded in surprising it about ten o'clock the same night, just beyond the Mississippi boundary line. This train, consisting of over a hundred wagons and five hundred mules, he also destroyed, burning the wagons and sabering or shooting the animals. Returning then by way of Tollgate, Alabama, along the old military and Hacksburg roads, he found the enemy under Roddy, Biffles, and Russell, near Russellville and along Bear Creek, while another force, under Armstrong, was reported to be in pursuit of him. Moving off to the right under cover of night to avoid the enemy in front, he pushed on for Moulton, but when within twelve miles of that place and near Thorn Hill, came suddenly upon Russell and attacked and utterly routed him, capturing some prisoners and burning five wagons. He then proceeded with his command to Decatur without molestation, arriving there on the 6th of January, bringing one hundred and fifty prisoners, and having lost only one man killed and wounded on a march of two hundred and fifty miles.

While Hood was before Nashville, he sent into Kentucky a force of about eight hundred cavalry with two guns, under General Lyon, with instructions to operate against the railroad com-

munications with Louisville. To protect these, McCook's division of cavalry was on the 14th of December sent to Bowling Green and Franklin. Lyon captured Hopkinsville, but was soon afterward met and routed by Lagrange's brigade near Greenburg. Then making a wide detour by way of Elizabethtown and Glasgow, he succeeded in getting to the Cumberland River at Burkville, where he crossed. Proceeding thence by way of McMinnville and Winchester to Larkinsville, Alabama, on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, he attacked the little garrison at Scottsboro on the 10th of January, but was again repulsed, and this time his command scattered and was pursued to the Tennessee River, beyond which he managed to escape with about two hundred men and his remaining piece of artillery, the rest of his force dispersing in squads among the mountains. Colonel Palmer then with a hundred and fifty men crossed the Tennessee River and went in pursuit of Lyon, and on the 14th of January surprised him in camp at Red Hill, on the road from Warrentown to Tuscaloosa, capturing one hundred of his men with their horses, as well as Lyon himself and his piece of artillery. Lyon, however, shooting a sentinel, effected his escape.

The total Federal losses in the various operations of the campaign in Tennessee, including killed, wounded, and missing, did not exceed ten thousand men, while that of the enemy in prisoners alone was 13,189, including nearly one thousand officers of all ranks, seventy-two serviceable pieces of artillery, and a large number of battle-flags. More than two thousand deserters also came within the Federal lines and took the oath of allegiance.

While Thomas' campaign was in progress, several co-operative expeditions were undertaken. One of these was sent out from Vicksburg in the latter part of November against Hood's communications with Mobile. The force employed, consisting of about two thousand cavalry with eight pieces of artillery under Colonel Osband, after a well-executed flank movement on Jackson on the 24th, started northward for the Mississippi Central Railroad Bridge over the Big Black River, arrived there on the 27th, captured it after a sharp fight, and destroyed it, as well as the wagon-road bridge and thirty miles of railroad track, with all the intermediate dépôts and buildings, besides 2,600 bales of cotton, several locomotives and cars, and a large amount of stores at Vaughn Station, thus cutting off from Hood's army the supplies accumulated for its use at Jackson, and making the railroad unavailable for months. The expedition, though considerably harassed on its return by bodies of the enemy, got back to Vicksburg on the 4th without having suffered any material losses.

Nov. 24.

Another expedition, under General Davidson, set out from Baton Rouge with a similar object, on the 27th of November, comprising a force of 4,200 men in two divisions, commanded by General Bailey and Colonel Davis, with ninety-six wagons and eight

Nov. 27.

guns, and reached Tangipahoe, on the Jackson Railroad, on the 1st of December. Five miles of the track were torn up and the railroad buildings and bridges burned. Unfortunately, some dwelling-houses caught fire, and a part of the town was consumed. The column then proceeded to Franklinville, and there also the track was torn up. Columbia and Augusta were also visited. The enemy's cavalry under Scott now made its appearance, and a sharp skirmish occurred on the Yazoo City and Vicksburg road on the 2d. After a weary march over roads rendered almost impassable by heavy rains, the command arrived at West Pascagoula on the 12th. On the 16th, the Mobile and Great Northern Railroad was cut at Pollard's, seventy-two miles northeast of Mobile, by a column of infantry and cavalry under Colonel Robinson, who started from Pensacola on the 13th. A few miles of the track were torn up, and the dépôt, eight cars, and a large amount of stores, including two thousand stand of arms, was destroyed.

Another co-operative movement, from Memphis, a little later, had greater success. On the 21st of December, General Dana sent General Grierson at the head of about three thousand cavalry to cut the Mobile and Ohio Railroad. The column set out at a time when the weather was very unfavorable, but moved directly eastward, threatening Corinth. Detachments sent for the purpose cut the telegraph wire between Grand Junction and Corinth, as well as between Booneville and Guntown on the Mobile and Ohio road. On the latter road they also destroyed four bridges between the same points. The main column, moving rapidly on Tupelo, surprised and captured or dispersed Forrest's camp of dismounted men at Verona. At this place thirty-two cars, loaded with new wagons, pontoons, and supplies for Hood, were destroyed, as well as three hundred army wagons, most of which had been captured from General Sturgis at Guntown, besides four thousand new English-made carbines intended for the use of Forrest's troops, large amounts of ordnance stores and ammunition, and quartermasters' and commissary stores for Hood's army. On leaving Verona the column moved southward along the line of railroad, which was thoroughly destroyed to a point between Egypt and Prairie Stations. Telegrams were taken from the wires at Okalona from Generals Taylor and Gardner, ordering Egypt to be held at all hazards, and promising reinforcements from Mobile and elsewhere; but on the 28th, General Grierson attacked that place, held at the time by about twelve hundred infantry and cavalry, with four guns on platform cars. While the attack was going on, two trains loaded with infantry under General Gardner came in sight. Their nearer approach was prevented by a force thrown between them and the garrison, which after a fight of about two hours was dispersed with a loss of five hundred prisoners and General Gholson killed. Here also a train of fourteen cars was destroyed. The fur-

Dec. 21.

Dec. 28.

ther prosecution of the raid was now given up, the hostile force in front and the great number of prisoners and captured animals making rapid movement impossible. The column accordingly turned toward the southwest, and marching through Houston and Bellefontaine, struck the Mississippi Central Railroad at Winona. A detachment sent to Bankston destroyed there the large and valuable factories which supplied the rebel army with clothing and shoes, as well as large quantities of wool, cloth, and leather. Another detachment destroyed the new machine shops and all the Confederate Government property at Granada. A brigade sent southward from this place tore up the railroad track and pulled down the telegraph wires for thirty-five miles, and meeting a brigade of rebel troops under Wirt Adams at Franklin, charged and drove it from the field with a loss of twenty-five killed. The column arrived safely at Vicksburg on the 5th of January, bringing in five hundred and fifty prisoners, a thousand negroes, and eight hundred horses and mules. About forty miles of the track on each of the railroads was destroyed, including a great number of bridges, dépôts, water tanks, etc., besides fourteen locomotives, about a hundred cars, large amounts of corn and wheat, seven hundred hogs, and a thousand stand of arms at Egypt, in addition to those destroyed at Verona.

CHAPTER L.

The Albemarle sunk in the Roanoke by Lieutenant Cushing.—Recapture of Plymouth.—Blockade-Running at Wilmington.—Peculiarities of the Coast.—Joint Naval and Military Expedition against Wilmington under Admiral Porter and General Weitzel.—Description of Fort Fisher.—Admiral Porter's Fleet off New Inlet.—Great Gunpowder Explosion.—Tremendous Bombardment of Fort Fisher.—Arrival and Operations of the Land Forces.—Troops withdrawn by Order of General Butler.—Correspondence between General Butler and Admiral Porter.—General Butler relieved at the request of General Grant.—Little Damage sustained by Fort Fisher.—Co-operative Movement from Plymouth.

1864.

PLYMOUTH, in North Carolina, which had fallen into the hands of the Confederates in the spring, was regained in the fall of the year. The formidable ram Albemarle, whose appearance during the siege had made the town untenable by the Federal troops, and whose presence enabled the rebels to retain their capture, though not attempting any offensive movement, still remained in the waters of the sound. Her destruction seemed to be a necessary preliminary to the re-occupation of Plymouth, and various plans were devised in the course of the summer with this object, but without effect. At last one was proposed by Lieutenant W. B. Cushing, a young officer already distinguished for skill and daring in the execution of hazardous enterprises.

After submitting his plans to Admiral Lee and the Navy Department, he was detached from the Monticello, of which vessel he had been for some time in command, and sent to New York to procure everything necessary for his purpose. Having obtained what he required, he returned to Albemarle Sound, and the picket steam launch No. 1 having been placed at his disposal, supplied it with a newly contrived torpedo apparatus, arranged so that it might be fired without much risk to the boat or crew. The Albemarle was at the time lying in the Roanoke River, about eight miles from its mouth in the sound. Having made all his arrangements and selected thirteen daring associates, six of whom were officers, to aid him in his perilous undertaking, he set out on the **Oct. 27.** night of the 27th of October, and succeeded in reaching the Albemarle, and in exploding the torpedo under her bows in such a manner as to cause her to sink near the wharf and become almost totally submerged. His launch was however destroyed by a shell from the Albemarle, and with the exception of himself and one man, the entire crew were either killed, drowned, or captured.* To the daring and executive skill of this young officer the country was indebted not only for the sinking of the Albemarle, but for the important results which immediately followed—the clearance of the North Carolina sounds, the release of sixteen vessels employed to watch the iron-clad, and the recovery of Plymouth. Commander Macomb, almost immediately after the disabling of the ram, pushed up the sound to Plymouth with the vessels under his command, drove the

* The following is Lieutenant Cushing's own account of the affair:

"Our boat succeeded in passing the picket, and even the Southfield, within twenty yards, without discovery, and we were not hailed until by the lookouts on the ram. The cutter was then cast off and ordered below, while we made for our enemy under a full head of steam. The rebels sprung their rattles, rang the bell, and commenced firing, at the same time repeating their hail, and seeming much confused. The light of a fire ashore showed me the iron clad, made fast to the wharf, with a pen of logs around her about thirty feet from her side. Passing her closely, we made a complete circle, so as to strike her fairly, and went into her bows on. By this time the enemy's fire was very severe, but a dose of canister, at short range, served to moderate their zeal and disturb their aim. Paymaster Swan, of the Otsego, was wounded near me, but how many more I know not. Three bullets struck my clothing, and the air seemed full of them. In a moment we had struck the logs just abreast of the quarter-port, breasting them in some feet, and our bows resting on them. The torpedo-boom was then lowered, and, by a vigorous pull, I succeeded in driving the torpedo under the overhang, and exploded it at the same time that the Albemarle's gun was fired. A shot seemed to go crashing through my boat, and a dense mass of water rushed in from the torpedo, filling the launch and completely disabling her. The enemy then continued his fire at fifteen feet range, and demanded our surrender, which I twice refused, ordering the men to save themselves, and removing my own coat and shoes. Springing into the river, I swam, with others, into the middle of the stream, the rebels failing to hit us. The most of our party were captured, some drowned, and only one escaped besides myself, and he in a different direction. Acting Master's Mate Woodman, of the Commodore Hull, I met in the water half a mile below the town, and assisted him as best I could, but failed to get him ashore. Completely exhausted, I managed to reach the shore, but was too weak to crawl out of the water until just at daylight, when I managed to creep into the swamp, close to the fort. While hiding a few feet from the path, two of the Albemarle's officers passed, and I judged from their conversation that the ship was destroyed. Some hours' travelling in the swamp served to bring me out well below the town, when I sent a negro in to gain information, and found that the ram was truly sunk. Proceeding through another swamp, I came to a creek and captured a skiff belonging to a picket of the enemy, and with this, by eleven o'clock the next night, had made my way out to the Valley City."

rebels from their rifle-pits and batteries, and retook the town on the 31st of October. Thirty-two guns were found in the abandoned forts, and a large quantity of ammunition. Thirty-seven prisoners, the flags of the fort and of the Albemarle, which was found lying at the wharf, were also taken. From this time the Federal forces retained undisturbed possession of the North Carolina sounds.

Oct. 31.

Wilmington, however, a place of great strategic value, remained in the possession of the rebels, and the almost total closing of Charleston harbor, the capture of the Mobile forts, and the vigilant and effective blockade kept up at other points, made it the only port accessible to blockade runners east of the Mississippi. The illicit trade carried on at this port was known to be very large.* So daring, and in most cases so successful, were the blockade runners in evading the Federal cruisers, of which two squadrons were stationed off the mouth of Cape Fear River and the adjacent inlets, that much dissatisfaction was expressed in various quarters with the management of the Naval Department, which seemed to permit the rebels to enter and depart at their pleasure. But from various causes Wilmington is more difficult to blockade effectually than any port on the entire United States coast. Cape Fear River, through which a vessel must pass to arrive at Wilmington, flows for about thirty-five miles in a direction nearly due south, and opposite its mouth lies Smith's Island, forming two main channels of which the southwest or main channel is about two and a half miles wide, with a depth of from ten to fourteen feet water on the bar, and was protected by Fort Caswell, a casemated work on Oak Island, adjoining the mainland, and by the Light-house battery on Smith's Island. The northeast channel called New Inlet, less than two miles wide and shallower than the other, was protected by Fort Fisher, a first-class casemated earth-work on the mainland near Federal Point, and by a series of batteries extending along the shore in a northerly direction for about six miles. An extensive shoal called the Frying Pan, extending from the south and west shores of Smith's Island, makes the distance by sea between the two entrances not less than forty miles, while on the north side of the island, the distance is not more than eight miles. Another natural difficulty is the shallowness of the water at this part of the coast, which gradually and regularly decreases in depth to the shore line, so that vessels of light draught were not under the necessity of making directly for either entrance, but, using the lead, could run close under the shore, and, protected by the batteries, pass in at their leisure. Outward bound vessels

* The following extract from the Richmond *Dispatch* of January 3d, 1865, may serve to give some idea of the activity of this trade :

"The special report of the Secretary of the Treasury in relation to the matter shows that there have been imported into the Confederacy at the ports of Wilmington and Charleston, since October 26, 1864, 8,632,000 pounds of meat, 1,507,000 pounds of lead, 1,933,000 pounds saltpetre, 546,000 pairs of shoes, 316,000 pairs of blankets, 520,000 pounds of coffee, 69,000 rifles, 97 packages of revolvers, 2,639 packages of medicine, 43 cannon, with a large quantity of other articles of which we need make no mention."

had still less difficulty in evading the blockading fleet, as they could creep for a long distance up or down the coast before making an offing, or, with a full head of steam proceed at once to sea, trusting for safety to their speed, or to darkness or fog. Many small steamers of light draught and great swiftness, and peculiarly adapted in other respects to this trade, were built in England, and—so great were the profits of a successful voyage, the returns of a single trip sometimes much more than equalling the cost of the vessel—with little regard to expense. Nassau, Bermuda, and Halifax were the chief places of rendezvous of the blockade runners, and from one or other of these ports there was an almost daily arrival at Wilmington. The vessels of the blockading squadrons, on the other hand, were for the most part large, and drew too much water to be able to run near the shore, or to follow the blockade runners into the numerous shallow inlets at various points along the coast. Another difficulty in keeping up a permanent and effective blockade of the entrances to Cape Fear River, was that at some seasons of the year the weather is almost constantly stormy, rendering it impossible to keep vessels of light draught near the shore on permanent duty.* The chances in favor of the blockade runners were also increased by the fact that, being able to choose their own time, they could have a full head of steam on at the critical moment, while the Federal cruisers could not be always so prepared. Thus it happened that, though not less than fifty Federal cruisers, some of them the fastest steamers in the service, were kept constantly on the watch off the entrances to the river, officered by vigilant, brave, and skilful men, and to whose zeal for the service was added the stimulus afforded by the chances of prize money, the blockade of Wilmington was really very inefficient, and that port became the central one of the Confederacy for supplies from Europe and elsewhere. Nevertheless, though much the greater part of the blockade runners ran in and out of the harbor without molestation, their movements had to be made with great circumspection, and as many as one a week were destroyed or captured after the closing of Charleston harbor by the monitor fleet under Admiral Dahlgren. An evidence that the blockade was not without effect was, that all articles of commerce which could be obtained only from abroad commanded throughout the Confederacy prices almost fabulous. Had there been deep water at Wilming-

* The editor of the Richmond *Dispatch* said, "It is a matter of absolute impossibility for the Federals to stop our blockade-running at the port of Wilmington. If the wind blows off the coast, the blockading fleet is driven off. If the wind blows landward, they are compelled to haul off to a great distance to escape the terrible sea which dashes on a rocky coast, without a harbor within three days' sail. The shoals on the North Carolina coast are from five to twenty miles wide, and they are, moreover, composed of the most treacherous and bottomless quicksands. The whole coast is scarcely equalled in the world for danger and fearful appearance, particularly when a strong easterly wind meets the ebb-tide. It is an easy matter for a good pilot to run a vessel directly out to sea or into port; but in the stormy months, from October to April, no blockading vessel can lie at anchor in safety off the Carolina coast. Therefore supplies will be brought in despite the keenest vigilance."

ton, as at Port Royal, New Orleans, and the Mobile forts, the modes of attack which succeeded at those ports might have been repeated with a similar result.

Early in the summer the capture of Wilmington became a consideration of great importance from the fact that the railroad running thence directly north to Weldon, Petersburg, and Richmond became to General Lee his most valuable source of supplies. General Grant fought some severe battles to establish himself upon it; but the rebels managed to neutralize in a great measure the advantages he hoped to gain from the possession of it, by wagoning their supplies from Stony Point to Richmond. The Naval Department on several occasions offered to close the port of Wilmington with the aid of a co-operating land force, but, in view of the difficulties which had been experienced at Charleston, declined making the attempt without such a force. The severe losses which the army sustained in the battles between the Rapidan and the James made it necessary that all surplus troops at the disposal of the Government should be sent to fill up the ranks of the armies of the Potomac and the James, and the contemplated expedition remained unorganized for several months. At last, when operations seemed to have assumed the character of a permanent dead-lock at Petersburg and Richmond, General Grant was able to promise the requisite land force, and then was immediately commenced the assemblage in Hampton Roads, under Admiral Porter, of the most formidable armada ever collected for concentrated operations on one point. This of course could not be concealed from the loyal North, and through the imprudence of the public press, and probably of officers of both branches of the service, its object obtained so much publicity that it became a common subject of discussion in the South also, and the enemy, fully warned, made proportionate preparations to meet attack at the point threatened. The expedition was consequently delayed till the latter part of November, when General Grant being called upon, agreed to furnish the troops at once, went himself, in company with General Butler, to Hampton Roads, and had a conference with Admiral Porter. It was thought that a force of 6,500 men would be sufficient, and that everything would be in readiness for the sailing of the expedition by the 5th of December. As it was reported that General Bragg had taken most of the forces about Wilmington to Georgia, it was deemed of the utmost importance that the expedition should reach its destination while they were absent, and General Butler was directed to make all the necessary arrangements at once for the departure of General Weitzel, to whom was intrusted the command of the land forces, so that the navy might not be detained a moment.*

* The following were the instructions prepared by General Grant for the commander of the land forces:

"HEADQUARTERS, ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES, }
"CITY POINT, *December* 6, 1864. }

"MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, commanding Army of James:—

GENERAL—the first object of the expedition under General Weitzel is to close to the enemy the port of Wilmington. If successful in this, the second will be the capture

On the 9th of December, Admiral Porter was notified by General Butler that the land forces—consisting of General Ames' division of the twenty-fourth corps and General Paine's division of the twenty-fifth corps, comprising 6,500 men, with two batteries and fifty cavalry, the whole under the command of General Weitzel—were ready to move; but owing to the prevalence of stormy weather none of the vessels put to sea till the 12th, when the transports and smaller war vessels took their departure, followed next day by the New Ironsides, the five monitors, and the heavy steam frigates. The entire fleet, including transports, comprised seventy-five vessels, carrying 655 guns.

Dec. 9.

Of the two entrances to Cape Fear River, it was decided that New Inlet should be attacked, as offering more chances of success. Better facilities for landing troops were afforded by the narrow strip of land terminating with Federal Point on the east side of the river than by any other part of the coast in the vicinity, and the capture of the works on it would give to the fleet not only command of the river, but by cutting off Fort Caswell, which controlled the west entrance, and rendering it of little further value to the rebels, would virtually close the port of Wilmington. For the defence of New Inlet, reliance was placed by the rebels chiefly on Fort Fisher, about a mile and a half northeast of Federal Point, and a series of batteries connected by lines of rifle-pits, running from the "Mound Battery" near the extremity of Federal Point, in a northeasterly direction along the seacoast, at an average distance of two hundred yards from the beach. For five miles north of Federal Point the peninsula is low and sandy, not rising more than fifteen feet above high tide, the interior abounding in fresh-water swamps, often wooded and almost im-

of Wilmington itself. There are reasonable grounds to hope for success, if advantage can be taken of the absence of the great part of the enemy's forces, now looking after Sherman in Georgia. The directions you have given for the number and equipment of the expedition are all right, except in the unimportant ones of where they embark and the amount of intrenching tools to be taken. The object of the expedition will be gained by effecting a landing on the mainland between Cape Fear River and the Atlantic, north of the north entrance to the river. Should such landing be effected, whether the enemy hold Fort Fisher or the batteries guarding the entrance to the river there, the troops should intrench themselves, and, by co-operating with the navy, effect the reduction and capture of those places. These in our hands, the navy could enter the harbor, and the port of Wilmington would be sealed. Should Fort Fisher and the point of land on which it is built fall into the hands of our troops immediately on landing, it will be worth the attempt to capture Wilmington by a forced march and surprise. If time is consumed in gaining the first object of the expedition, the second will become a matter of after-consideration. The details for the execution are intrusted to you and the officer immediately in command of the troops. Should the troops under General Weitzel fail to effect a landing at or near Fort Fisher, they will be returned to the army operating against Richmond without delay.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

"T. S. BOWERS, Assistant Adjutant-General."

As the troops for this enterprise were taken from the army of General Butler, and the operations were to take place within his territorial department, military courtesy required that all orders and instructions to subordinates should pass through his hands. But General Weitzel never received the instructions intended for his guidance, and never knew even of their existence till he read General Butler's report of the failure of the expedition. General Grant says in his report, "I had no idea of General Butler's accompanying the expedition until the evening before it got off from Bermuda Hundred, and then I did not dream but that General Weitzel had received all the instructions, and would be in command. I rather formed the idea that General Butler was actuated by a desire to witness the effect of the explosion of the powder boat."

passable, and much of the dry land is covered with wood or low undergrowth. The fort, with its commanding batteries forming practically one work, consisted of two fronts, the first or land front running in a direction across the peninsula—at this point seven hundred yards wide—being four hundred and eighty yards in length, while the second or sea front, running parallel with the beach from the right of the land front to the Mound Battery, is thirteen hundred yards long. The land front was intended to resist any attack from the north, while the sea front was intended to command New Inlet or prevent the landing of troops at Federal Point. The following extracts from the report of Colonel Comstock, the engineer who accompanied the land forces, gives more minute details respecting these defences: "The land front consists of a half bastion on the left or Cape Fear River side, connected by a curtain with a bastion on the ocean side. The parapet is twenty-five feet thick, averages twenty feet in height, with traverses rising ten feet above it and running back on their tops, which were from twelve to eight feet in thickness, to a distance of from twenty to thirty feet from the interior crest. The traverses on the left half bastion were about twenty-five feet in length on top. The earth for this heavy parapet and the enormous traverses at their inner ends, more than thirty feet in height, was obtained partly from a shallow exterior ditch, but mainly from the interior of the work. Between each pair of traverses there were one or two guns. The traverses on the right of this front were only partially completed. A palisade, which is loopholed and has a banquette, runs in front of this place at a distance of about fifty feet in front of the foot of the exterior slope from the Cape Fear River to the ocean, with a position for a gun between the left of the front and the river, and another between the right of the front and the ocean. Through the middle traverse on the curtain was a bomb-proof postern whose exterior opening was covered by a small redan for two field-pieces, to give flank fire along the curtain. The traverses were generally bomb-proofed for men or magazines. The slopes of the work appear to have been revetted with marsh sod, or covered with grass, and to have had an inclination of forty-five degrees, or a little less." "The sea front consists of a series of batteries, mounting in all twenty-four guns, the different batteries being connected by a strong infantry parapet, so as to form a continuous line. The same system of heavy traverses for the protection of the guns is used as on the land front, and these traverses are also generally bomb-proofed." In addition to these strong works there were also, a battery commanding the New Inlet channel, on Zeeke's Island, and several miles north of Fort Fisher the Flag Pond Hill and Half-Moon batteries.

The transports arrived off New Inlet on the 15th of December, and on the 18th and 19th were joined by the iron-clads, which had been obliged to put into Beaufort, in North Carolina,

Dec. 15.

for coal and ammunition. The heavy-armed frigates also arrived at the rendezvous a day or two after the transports. The whole fleet had scarcely assembled, however, when the weather, previously fair, became threatening, and on the 20th a heavy gale set in from the southwest. To avoid the risk of scattering his vessels, Admiral Porter determined to ride out the storm, and succeeded in doing so without accident of any kind beyond the loss of a few anchors, the monitors as well as the other large vessels behaving admirably. The transports being short of water, and not calculated for riding out at anchor in heavy weather, put back to Beaufort. The wind then chopping round to the westward, and the weather becoming fine, the Admiral determined to take advantage of it and commence the attack on Fort Fisher and its outworks.

Great results were expected in this attack from the explosion of a vessel filled with gunpowder in the neighborhood of the fort. The idea originated with General Butler, and was suggested to him by the accidental explosion in England, at Erith, on the Thames, on the 1st of October, 1864, of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds of gunpowder, by which a hundred yards of river embankment was blown away and a great number of houses in the vicinity thrown down. It was supposed that a similar mass of gunpowder exploded near Fort Fisher would cause the whole or a portion of its walls to fall down, or fire the magazines, or paralyze the garrison, or in some way afford an important advantage to the attacking party. The gun-boat Louisiana, purchased for operations on the North Carolina sounds, was selected for the purpose. With the view of deceiving the enemy as to her true character, she was disguised as a blockade runner, and was taken round from Norfolk in tow of the steamer Sassacus to Beaufort, where she was stored with two hundred and fifteen tons of gunpowder, arranged so that there were upon the berth-decks a tier of barrels of powder with their heads taken out, over which sixty-pound bags of powder were placed in layers up to the deck. A house constructed on the after-deck was filled in the same manner. The entire mass was penetrated and connected by Gomez fuses, and every precaution was taken to insure the instantaneous ignition of the whole. A method was devised of firing the fuses by clock-work, timed as desired, three instruments being provided in case one should fail. In case these should all fail, the ends of the fuses were united at another point, and placed beneath a perforated wooden framework, in which were set five lighted tapers, the lower ends of whose wicks were united with fuses. As a last precaution, arrangements were made to fire the ship at a point remote from the powder at the moment the crew left it. The vessel was put in charge of Commander A. C. Rhind, aided by Lieutenant S. W. Preston and thirteen officers and men. The weather seeming auspicious on the 23d, and Mr. Bradford, of the Coast Survey, having gone in the night before and

ascertained that a vessel drawing seven feet water might be placed right on the edge of the beach, Commander Rhind was ordered to proceed and explode his vessel under the walls of Fort Fisher. At half-past ten at night the Louisiana started, and was towed toward the beach by the steamer Wilderness till the embrasures of the fort came plainly in sight, when the latter vessel cast off, and the Louisiana steamed on alone to within two hundred yards of the shore and about four hundred of the fort. She was then securely anchored, and her commander coolly made all the arrangements necessary to insure the explosion. This he was the better able to do from the fact that a blockade runner was going in right ahead of him, to which the forts were making signals, as they did also to the Louisiana. Before the vessel was abandoned, a fire was made under her cabin. The crew then taking to their boats made off to the Wilderness, which steamed rapidly away from the shore to avoid any share of the apprehended terrific results of the explosion. This took place at a quarter before two on the morning of the 24th; but its effects were far from answering the expectations which had been formed respecting it. The Wilderness was a little shaken, and some glasses on board were broken, but no other damage was done on the vessel. To those on watch in the fleet, all the vessels of which had been directed by a general order to lie off twelve miles from shore, the noise produced by the explosion seemed scarcely louder than the report accompanying the discharge of a battery of light artillery; but it was distinctly heard at Newbern, eighty miles distant, and was there supposed to be the rumbling of an earthquake. Worst of all, not the slightest damage was sustained by Fort Fisher, and the garrison, so far from being paralyzed, as was expected, were unaware till long afterward that the explosion was not the result of accident.

Dec. 24.

Notwithstanding the explosion had proved a failure and the transports were not yet come up, Admiral Porter, hoping to damage the fort to such an extent that the troops on their arrival would have little difficulty in carrying it by storm, determined to proceed at once with the attack, and at daylight on the 24th the fleet stood in toward the shore in line of battle, and at half-past eleven signal was made to engage the forts. The attacking squadron consisted of thirty-three vessels carrying upward of four hundred guns, with a reserve of seventeen small gun-boats carrying about one hundred guns. The first line of vessels, comprising the New Ironsides, the Monadnock, Canonicus, and Mahopac, anchored in line about a length apart, at a distance of three-quarters of a mile from the fort, each ship having in its rear, within easy supporting distance, a gun-boat to act as a tender. Behind the line of iron-clads, at the distance of a quarter of a mile, was formed a line of heavy frigates, comprising the Minnesota, Colorado, Wabash, and other vessels of similar power and character. Behind these was another

line of vessels. A division consisting chiefly of gun-boats took up a position to the south and southeast of the forts, and to the left of the frigates. Another division was stationed to the north and east of the iron-clads, in such a position as to be able to direct an enfilading fire on the works. While the various vessels of the squadron were getting into position, an active fire was kept up on them from the guns of the fort; but after the large vessels anchored and got their batteries fairly at work, no more shots were fired from the rebels except a few from the Mound and upper batteries. The fire of the entire fleet proved to be of such tremendous power, surpassing anything known in the history of naval warfare, that the rebel gunners all retired within their bomb-proofs; and within an hour and a quarter after the first shot was fired from the fleet the guns of the fort were silenced, two magazines blew up, and the fort took fire in several places. Notwithstanding that the rebel batteries were completely silenced, Admiral Porter directed his ships to keep up a moderate firing, in the hope of attracting the attention of the transports, and bringing them in, that the land forces might do their share of the work. During the five hours that the bombardment lasted, only one vessel, the gun-boat Yantic, left the line to report damages, though several were struck once or twice; and so quickly were the rebel batteries silenced, that not an officer or man was injured by their fire in the entire fleet. But some serious disasters were caused by the bursting of hundred-pounder Parrott guns, on six different vessels, in which there were killed or wounded about forty officers and men. The effect of these accidents was to disconcert the crews to a great extent, and cause much distrust of this species of ordnance. At sunset General Butler arrived in his flag-ship with a few transports; but the hour being too late for effecting anything more that day, Admiral Porter signalled his fleet to retire for the night to a safe anchorage, which they did, unmolested.

At half-past six on the morning of the 25th, General Weitzel had an interview with Admiral Porter, and made arrangements with him for covering the landing of troops; and as soon as all the transports arrived and the necessary preparations had been made, which was about two in the afternoon, a reconnoitring party of 550 men under the command of General Curtis, and accompanied by General Weitzel, was landed about three miles above Fort Fisher, under cover of the fire of twelve gun-boats, and directed to move along the beach toward the forts as far as they could go—a slow and deliberate fire being at the same time kept up on Fort Fisher by the fleet, with the object of engaging the enemy's attention, and preventing them from opening upon the troops. General Curtis pushed his skirmish line to within fifty yards of Fort Fisher, causing on his way thither the surrender of the Flag Pond Hill battery, whose flag and garrison of fifty-five men were taken by seamen engaged in landing the troops, and conveyed on board

Dec. 25.

the Santiago de Cuba. General Weitzel went in person to within eight hundred yards of Fort Fisher and obtained a good view of the work, from which he formed the opinion that the defences had not been materially injured, notwithstanding the heavy bombardment to which they had been subjected. He then returned to General Butler, who was on board the gun-boat Chamberlain, within easy range of the fort, and reported to him that it would be "butchery" to make an assault under the circumstances. General Butler, after examining the fort carefully, came to the same conclusion, and about five o'clock ordered the troops, of whom only about half had been landed, to be re-embarked, the weather at the time coming on thick and rainy. General Curtis had in the mean time captured the Half-Moon battery, with its garrison of 220 men, and reported to General Ames that he could take the fort. The latter was moving along the beach with Colonel Bell's brigade to the support of General Curtis, leaving it to the other troops then ashore and those in the act of landing to repulse any attack that might be made by the troops of Hoke's command, just arrived from Richmond. General Ames, at that time unaware that it had been determined to re-embark, ordered General Curtis to make an attempt upon the fort, but by the time the latter got ready to do so, night came on; and the fire of Admiral Porter's fleet ceasing almost at the same time, the rebels, who during most of the day had remained within the shelter of their bomb-proofs, now boldly manned their guns, adding much to the difficulties of an assault; and General Ames soon afterward receiving an order to withdraw his troops, all returned to the transports, except a portion of the first brigade, which, owing to a heavy rolling surf, was compelled to remain on shore till the 27th. General Butler immediately wrote to Admiral Porter, stating his belief that the fort could not be carried by assault, and the attack was abandoned, much to the regret of Admiral Porter,* who in his report to the

* LETTER OF GENERAL BUTLER TO ADMIRAL PORTER.

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA, *December* 25, 1864.

"ADMIRAL: Upon landing the troops and making a thorough reconnoissance of Fort Fisher, both General Weitzel and myself are fully of the opinion that the place could not be carried by assault, as it was left substantially uninjured as a defensive work by the navy fire. We found seventeen guns protected by traverses, two only of which were dismounted, bearing up the beach and covering a strip of land, the only practicable route, not more than wide enough for a thousand men in line of battle.

"Having captured Flag Pond Hill battery, the garrison of which, sixty-five men and two commissioned officers, was taken off by the navy, we also captured Half-Moon battery, and seven officers and two hundred and eighteen men of the Third N. C. Junior Reserves, including its commander, from whom I learned that a portion of Hoke's division, consisting of Kirkland's and Haygood's brigades, had been sent from the lines before Richmond on Tuesday last, arriving at Wilmington Friday night.

"General Weitzel advanced his skirmish line within fifty yards of the fort, while the garrison was kept in their bomb-proof by the fire of the navy, and so closely that three or four men of the picket line ventured upon the parapet and through the sally-port of the work, capturing a horse, which they brought off, killing the orderly, who was the bearer of a dispatch from chief of artillery of General Whiting to bring a light battery within the fort, and also brought away from the parapet the flag of the fort.

"This was done while the shells of the navy were falling about the heads of the daring men who entered the work, and it was evident, as soon as the fire of the navy ceased because of the darkness, that the fort was fully manned again and opened with grape and canister upon our picket line.

Navy Department said, "I don't pretend to put my opinion in opposition to that of General Weitzel, who is a thorough soldier and an able engineer, and whose business it is to know more of assaulting than I do, but I can't help thinking that it was worth while to make the attempt after coming so far." Public opinion coincided with the views of the Admiral, and very general dissatisfaction was caused at the North by the abandonment of the enterprise and the return of the troops to Fortress Monroe. It had not been intended that General Butler should accompany the expedition, and he was freely censured by General Grant for having, before receiving a full report of the reconnoissance of General Curtis, "in direct violation of the instructions given, ordered the re-embarkation of the troops and the return of the expedition." Numerous officers and men, among whom was General Curtis, voluntarily reported to General Grant, that when recalled they were "nearly into the fort," and that in their opinion it could have been taken without much loss. At the request of General Grant, General Butler was on the 7th of January relieved from the command of the Departments of Virginia and North Carolina.

The result of the expedition was claimed by the rebels as a triumph for their arms, notwithstanding that the guns of Fort Fisher had been for two days kept almost silent by the fire of Porter's fleet; and in a congratulatory order issued by General Bragg, Generals Whiting and Kirkland, Colonel Lamb, and the officers and men of the garrison, were highly complimented. The rebels, according to their own accounts, fired on the first day of the attack 662 shots

---

"Finding that nothing but the operations of a regular siege, which did not come within my instructions, would reduce the fort, and in view of the threatening aspect of the weather, wind arising from the southeast, rendering it impossible to make further landing through the surf, I caused the troops with their prisoners to re-embark, and see nothing further that can be done by the land forces. I shall therefore sail for Hampton Roads as soon as the transport fleet can be got in order.

"My engineers and officers report Fort Fisher to me as substantially uninjured as a defensive work.

"I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"BENJAMIN F. BUTLER, Major-General Commanding.

"To REAR-ADMIRAL PORTER, Commanding North Atlantic Blockading Squadron."

ADMIRAL PORTER'S REPLY.

"NORTH ATLANTIC SQUADRON, U. S. FLAG-SHIP MALVERN, OFF NEW INLET, *December* 26, 1864.

"GENERAL: I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date, the substance of which was communicated to me by General Weitzel last night.

"I have ordered the largest vessels to proceed off Beaufort, and fill up with ammunition, to be ready for another attack in case it is decided to proceed with this matter by making other arrangements.

"We have not commenced firing rapidly yet, and could keep any rebels inside from showing their heads until an assaulting column was within twenty yards of the works.

"I wish some more of your gallant fellows had followed the officer who took the flag from the parapet, and the brave fellow who brought the horse out from the fort. I think they would have found it an easier conquest than is supposed.

"I do not, however, pretend to place my opinion in opposition to General Weitzel, whom I know to be an accomplished soldier and engineer, and whose opinion has great weight with me.

"I will look out that the troops are all off in safety. We will have a west wind presently, and a smooth beach about three o'clock, when sufficient boats will be sent for them.

"The prisoners on board the Santiago de Cuba will be delivered to the provost marshal at Fortress Monroe, unless you wish to take them on board one of the transports, which would be inconvenient just now.

"I remain, General, respectfully, your obedient servant,

"DAVID D. PORTER, Rear-Admiral.

"To MAJOR-GENERAL B. F. BUTLER, commanding, etc., etc."

and 600 on the second, and had two guns burst and four disabled. Notwithstanding the terrific character of the bombardment, during which, according to rebel statements, over twenty thousand shot or shell were fired from the fifty vessels of Admiral Porter, Fort Fisher remained substantially uninjured; and such was the perfection of its bombproofs, and the alacrity with which the troops of the garrison availed themselves of the shelter they afforded, that only three men were killed and fifty-five wounded.

A small co-operative expedition sent by General Palmer from Plymouth, under Colonel Frankle, proceeded on the 9th of December to Gardner's Bridge, on the Roanoke, beyond Jamestown. The Ninth New Jersey easily carried the bridge, and at Spring Green Church the same regiment and the Twenty-seventh Massachusetts again fell upon the enemy, inflicting considerable loss and capturing five officers and thirty men. On the 19th, Colonel Frankle moved on to Rainbow Bluff, on the Roanoke, where the enemy being found in force, and the gun-boats whose aid had been depended on not being able to ascend the river on account of torpedoes, he returned to Plymouth.

CHAPTER LI.

Second Expedition against Fort Fisher.—General Terry selected to command the Land Forces.—The Landing.—Precautionary Measures.—Tremendous Bombardment.—The Assault.—Storming Column of Sailors and Marines repulsed.—The Works carried by General Ames' Division and Colonel Abbott's Brigade.—Losses.—Captures.—Fort Fisher stronger than the Malakoff Tower.—Other Forts blown up and abandoned by the Rebels. Arrival of General Schofield.—Advance up the Peninsula.—Movement of General Cox along the West Side of Cape Fear River.—Evacuation of Fort Anderson.—General Advance toward Wilmington.—Gun-boats hindered by Torpedoes and Obstructions.—Occupation of Wilmington by the Federal Forces.

1865.

THE fleet of Admiral Porter remained off Fort Fisher for several days after the return of the land forces to Fortress Monroe, but finally, as nothing more could be done toward the reduction of the fort without the aid of a land force, returned to Beaufort. In the mean time the Secretary of the Navy and Admiral Porter wrote to General Grant, expressing the conviction, which was held also by almost the entire public, that under a proper leader the fort could be taken, and General Grant immediately engaged to send a force to renew the attempt. General Terry was selected to command the land forces of the second expedition, which consisted of the two divisions formerly employed, with the addition of a brigade of fifteen hundred men under Colonel Abbott, and a siege train of twenty thirty-pounder and four hundred-pounder Parrott guns, and twenty Coehorn mortars, with a detail of artillerists and a com-

pany of engineers. The entire force numbered a little over eight thousand men.

On the morning of the 6th of January Jan. 6. the transports with the troops sailed from Fortress Monroe for Beaufort, to join Admiral Porter's fleet, but a severe storm arising on that day, did not arrive off Beaufort till the 8th, some of the vessels damaged by the gale, others requiring repairs to their engines or in need of coal or water. The adverse weather continued till the 11th, but on the morning of the 12th the entire fleet of war vessels and transports sailed for Federal Point, arriving there about dark. It was decided not to attempt the disembarkation of troops till the following morning, when, at four o'clock, the in-shore division of war vessels standing in close to the beach to cover the landing, the transports followed, and took positions as nearly as possible in a line parallel to and about two hundred yards outside of them. The iron-clads moved down to within range of Fort Fisher and opened fire upon it, while another division of vessels was stationed to the north of the landing place, to protect the troops from any attack in the direction of Masonboro Inlet. The landing commenced about eight o'clock, about five miles north of Fort Fisher, nearly two hundred boats besides steam-tugs being sent from the vessels of war to the transports to assist in the operations. This went on so rapidly that by three in the afternoon nearly eight thousand men with three days' cooked rations and forty rounds of ammunition, besides six days' supply of hard bread in bulk, three hundred thousand rounds of small-arm ammunition, and an adequate number of intrenching implements, had been safely landed. The weather had now become pleasant, but the surf on the beach was still very high, in consequence of which some of the troops had their ammunition and rations wet and spoiled. Nothing else of an untoward nature occurred in the disembarkation.

Pickets thrown out as soon as the landing commenced, encountered those of the enemy, and exchanged shots with them, but no serious engagement followed. A few prisoners were taken, and from these it was ascertained that the enemy's force under General Hoke, which it was supposed had been sent southward, was still in the vicinity, and that the outposts met were those of his command. It became therefore the first object of General Terry to establish a strong defensive line across the peninsula from the ocean to Cape Fear River, to protect the troops destined to assault the forts from attack in the rear. General Paine's division was pushed across to the river for this purpose, and a line was taken up; but some disadvantages connected with it determined General Terry to establish another on ground better adapted to his purposes, about two miles from the enemy's works. The troops were therefore withdrawn from the first line, and reached their new position about two o'clock on the Jan. 14. morning of the 14th. Intrenching tools were immediately brought up, and by eight o'clock a good breast-work

extending across the peninsula from the ocean to the river was thrown up, partially covered by abattis. This defensive line was subsequently much improved and strengthened. In the course of the day, a number of men being killed or wounded by the fire of the rebel gun-boat Chickamauga in the river, a battery of two thirty-pounder Parrotts was constructed on the bank to keep her off. All the light guns also were got on shore and placed in line near the river, where the enemy in case they should attack would be less exposed to the fire of the Federal gun-boats.

The brigade of General Curtis had been moved down toward Fort Fisher in the morning, and at noon his skirmishers, after capturing a small steamer carrying shells and forage to the fort, reached a small unfinished out-work in front of the west end of the main work. General Terry then, in company with Colonel Comstock, the chief engineer of the expedition, and General Curtis, getting within six hundred yards of the fort, under protection of the fire of the fleet, made a careful reconnoissance of the works. It was decided, as extreme difficulty would be experienced in landing heavy ammunition and the siege train through the surf on the open beach, that an attempt should be made on the following day to carry the enemy's defences by assault, provided that the fire from the fleet could be so directed as to destroy the palisades, which stretched across the peninsula at a distance of fifty feet from the fort. Admiral Porter stationed a division of his vessels in a position from which this might be effected, and in a consultation with him it was arranged that a heavy bombardment from all the ships should be commenced early on the morning of the 15th, and be continued till three in the afternoon, the time fixed upon for the assault; and that the fire should not then be discontinued, but only diverted from the immediate points of attack, so that the storming parties might not be injured by it. It was arranged, also, that a column of sailors and marines should assault the north-east bastion, while the land force directed their efforts against the western half of the land front.

In the mean time the fort had undergone a bombardment of the most tremendous character. On the 13th, the iron-clads alone—the New Ironsides, Saugus, Mahopac, Monadnock, and Canonicus, carrying in all thirty guns, of which the New Ironsides had twenty—fired in the course of the day upward of two thousand shells, or about four per minute. They were directed to pour all their fire into Fort Fisher, with the object of dismounting or disabling its guns. This they in a great measure accomplished, and quite silenced them, after the rebels had fired about three hundred shells, while the iron-clads themselves received no important damage. When the landing of the troops had been safely effected, the remainder of the ships got into position to take part in the bombardment, which was continued from four in the afternoon until some time after dark. The wooden vessels

were then ordered to haul out and anchor, the New Ironsides and the monitors being directed to keep up their fire through the night, though the enemy had long suspended theirs and retired to their bomb-proofs. On the morning of the 14th, all the small gunboats carrying eleven-inch guns were ordered to direct their fire on the face of the work on which the assault was to be made. This fire was kept up till dark and continued more slowly through the night. Only one or two guns were fired during the day by the rebels, and these from the upper batteries. On the morning of the 15th, at nine o'clock, the vessels of the fleet were again signalled to move to the attack, and about eleven o'clock each as it got into position opened fire on the works, which was continued furiously all day. The guns of the upper batteries opened in reply with some effect, but no vessel was injured to such an extent as to interfere with her efficiency. The Mound Hill battery also kept up a galling fire for some time, but was finally silenced.

Jan. 15.

Under cover of the ships' fire, sixteen hundred sailors, armed with well-sharpened cutlasses and revolvers and four hundred marines to act as sharpshooters, under command of Fleet-Captain Breese, had been landed on the beach, and by digging rifle-pits worked their way up to within two hundred yards of the northeast bastion, where they lay securely awaiting the signal for the assault. The division of General Paine, strengthened by Abbott's brigade, was kept in the line of intrenchments across the peninsula, to withstand any attack on the part of Hoke's troops, five thousand strong, now demonstrating from the direction of Wilmington. That of General Ames was selected for the assault, of which Curtis' brigade was already at the out-work before mentioned, well intrenched, and the brigades of Colonels Pennypacker and Bell were sent about noon to within supporting distance of it. At two o'clock, preparations for the assault were commenced by sending a hundred sharpshooters, mostly armed with Spencer's repeating carbine, to within 175 yards of the works, where, being provided with shovels, they quickly dug pits for shelter, and began firing on the parapet of the fort, which the enemy, who had received considerable reinforcements during the day, immediately manned, opening a fire of both musketry and artillery. When the sharpshooters were in position, the brigade of General Curtis was moved forward at the double-quick to within five hundred yards of the works, where the men, making shallow trenches for protection against the enemy's fire, lay down. Pennypacker's men were then moved up to the position at the outwork just vacated by Curtis, and Bell's troops were placed in line two hundred yards in their rear. Curtis' men were then moved forward again, a regiment at a time, to the cover of a rising ground sixty yards in the rear of the sharpshooters, where they again dug trenches. Pennypacker then moved to the position left by Curtis, and Bell up to the out-

work. It had been proposed to blow up and cut down the palisades, and bags of gunpowder with fuses attached had been prepared for the purpose, but their destruction was found to have been effected in a great measure by the fire of the ships, leaving little to be done except by the axe men, who cut openings in those parts of the palisades which had not been reached by shot and shell.

At a quarter-past three, all the preparations and preliminary movements having been completed, the order was given to General Ames to set his troops in motion, and signal was made to the fleet to change the direction of its fire. The men of General Curtis' brigade at once leaped from their trenches and rapidly moved forward; but their left wing being exposed to a severe enfilading fire, their line was obliqued to the right so as to envelop the left of the land front. The ground over which the troops moved was marshy and difficult, but they soon reached and passed through the palisades and effected a lodgment on the parapet. At the same time the column of sailors under Fleet-Captain Breese also advanced in the most gallant manner to assault the northeast bastion, but when rushing through the palisades received a murderous fire of grape and canister from the parapets, which now swarmed with rebels, and the marines, who were to have held the rifle-pits and covered this part of the assault with a sharpshooting fire—which they might easily have done, as the rebels exposed themselves recklessly on the works—failed in their duty, firing scarcely at all or without precision. Nevertheless the advance of Breese's column reached the ditch, and a few officers and men even gained the parapet, but they were finally compelled to fall back with heavy loss, and with such precipitation and disorder that they could not be rallied. The attack by the sailors was not without its favorable results, however, as the rebels seeing so large a body of men coming on them from the side toward the sea, got the impression that this was the main attack, and concentrated a large portion of the garrison to meet it; and while they were giving three cheers for their success, the troops were getting into the fort behind them. When the brigade of General Curtis advanced, General Ames directed Colonel Pennypacker to move up to the rear of the sharpshooters, and Colonel Bell up to Pennypacker's late position, and as soon as Curtis got a foothold on the parapet, sent Colonel Pennypacker to his support. The latter advancing overlapped Curtis' right, drove the rebels from the palisading and captured a number of prisoners, and then the two brigades pushing forward to their left together, drove the enemy from about a fourth of the land face. Colonel Bell's brigade was then advanced and moved between the fort and the river, on which side there was no regular parapet, but an abundance of cover for the enemy, in cavities from which sand had been taken for the construction of the parapet, in the ruins of barracks and storehouses, and in the large magazines and traverses, behind which the rebels fought well and

stubbornly. Desperate hand-to-hand fighting ensued, the huge traverses of the land face being used by the enemy as breast-works over which the contending troops fired in each other's faces. Nine of these traverses were carried successively by the Federal troops. General Terry now thinking that an additional force might be needed, sent for Abbott's brigade from the line of intrenchments, requesting Captain Breese at the same time to replace them with his sailors and marines. General Paine was directed to send also the strongest regiment of his division to aid in carrying the works, and dispatched the Twenty-seventh Regiment of colored troops under General Blackman, which after being for some time under fire in the rear of the work was withdrawn. Abbott's brigade went into the fort at six o'clock, up to which time the fire of the fleet continued to be directed on the portions of the work not yet taken; it was then turned upon the beach, to prevent the apprehended approach of reinforcements to the rebels from the right bank of the river. The struggle for the traverses continued till nine o'clock, by which time two more of them were carried, when a portion of Abbott's brigade drove the rebels from their remaining strongholds. This brigade then, with General Blackman's colored regiment, being pushed down to Battery Buchanan, near the end of Federal Point, whither numbers of the garrison had fled, made all of them prisoners, including General Whiting and Colonel Lamb the commandant of the fort, both badly wounded. About four o'clock in the afternoon General Hoke advanced toward the intrenched line held by General Paine, apparently with the design of making an attack, but finding the defences too strong for him, retired after some skirmishing with the pickets.

Seventy-five guns were taken in Fort Fisher, nearly all heavy, and one of them of Armstrong's make; also over two thousand stand of small-arms, full supplies of ammunition, and considerable quantities of commissary stores. Of the garrison, which at the time of the assault consisted of 2,300 men, 1,971 men and 112 officers were captured, the rest being killed or wounded. The total Federal loss in the land forces was 691, to which must be added for the loss sustained by the navy, principally in the assaulting column of sailors and marines, 209, making an aggregate of 1,000. On the morning of the 16th, after the capture of the works, about 300 men were lost by the accidental blowing up of a magazine in the fort. The three brigade commanders of General Ames' division, General Curtis and Colonels Pennypacker and Bell, were severely wounded, Colonel Bell mortally. Three rifled guns burst on board the Susquehannah, Pequot, and Osceola, otherwise the fleet sustained little damage. The greater part of the guns of the fort, many of them superb rifled pieces of very heavy calibre, were dismounted or otherwise injured by the fire of the fleet, from which there were thrown, says Admiral Porter in his

Jan. 16.

report of the 17th of January, "about fifty thousand shells;" but the work itself received no damage which could not be easily repaired. Indeed, such was its strength that Admiral Porter says of it, "I have since visited Fort Fisher and its adjoining works, and find their strength greatly beyond what I had conceived An engineer might be excusable in saying they could not be captured except by regular siege. I wonder even now how it was done. The work, as I said before, is really stronger than the Malakoff Tower, which defied so long the combined power of France and England, and yet it is captured by a handful of men, under the fire of the guns of the fleet, and in seven hours after the attack commenced in earnest."

During the nights of the 16th and 17th the rebels blew up Fort Caswell, and abandoned both it and some very extensive works on Smith's Island and at Smithville and Reeve's Point, which were occupied by detachments from the navy, and thus the last obstacle to a complete command of the entrances of Cape Fear River was removed. In these works there were found eighty-three guns, making the total taken in the entire series of works, including those in and around Fort Fisher, one hundred and sixty-eight.

The enemy, though admitting that the fall of Fort Fisher was equivalent to a closure of the harbor of Wilmington, professed to consider it an "unfortunate rather than a disastrous event." The Richmond *Dispatch* went so far as to call it a "blessing in disguise." It was contended that the goods imported by means of blockade runners had really been of little use to the Confederacy, while much of the cotton carried out by them had found its way into the hands of Northern manufacturers.

Further operations against Wilmington were necessarily delayed for some weeks. General Terry's force was not sufficient after its diminution by casualties, and after supplying the requisite number of men to secure Fort Fisher and other works, to undertake offensive movements over a country covered with fortifications garrisoned by some of the best troops in the Confederacy. In his immediate front lay the division of General Hoke, over six thousand strong, occupying an intrenched line extending across the peninsula from the ocean at Masonboro Inlet to Sugar Loaf Battery, on the east bank of Cape Fear River, nearly opposite Fort Anderson, the latter the most important of the river defences left in the hands of the rebels after the capture of Fort Fisher. It was an extensive earth-work on Eagle Island, and its guns, of which it had a large number, commanded the approaches both by land and water. Immediately under cover of its fire was a large wharf, and various obstructions in the river. Here also was the Wilmington quarantine ground. Even if an attempt on the part of General Terry to dislodge General Hoke should prove successful, and he should be compelled to retire upon Wilmington, little advantage would be obtained so long as the

approaches by Cape Fear River continued closed by the rebel possession of Fort Anderson and the obstructions and torpedoes placed in the channel.

All this had however been foreseen by General Grant, and as early as the commencement of the second expedition against Fort Fisher he had taken measures for placing in North Carolina a force amply sufficient for every exigency. The defence of the line of the Tennessee River no longer requiring the large force which had thoroughly beaten and nearly destroyed the only army which could threaten it, he directed General Thomas on the 7th of January, if he were well assured of the departure of Hood southward from Corinth, to send General Schofield with his corps, numbering about twenty-one thousand men, to the East, with as little delay as possible. This direction General Thomas promptly complied with, and on the 23d of January the advance of Schofield's corps reached Washington, whence it was soon afterward dispatched to Fort Fisher and Newbern. The State of North Carolina was then constituted a military department, and assigned to General Schofield, under the orders of General Sherman, with whose movements in the Carolinas it was intended that he should co-operate. He was directed first to secure Wilmington, and then to move upon Goldsboro, either from the former place or from Newbern, or both, as he might think best. General Grant himself visited Fort Fisher in the month of January, in company with General Schofield, for the purpose of judging for himself as to the condition of affairs there, and to confer personally with General Terry and Admiral Porter. Little time was left for General Schofield to accomplish his task, as it was expected General Sherman would be in the vicinity of Goldsboro to unite with him about the 25th of February. The arrival of General Schofield at Fort Fisher with a large accession of Western troops, was soon followed by a movement up both shores of Cape Fear River. The newly arrived force being held in reserve for a while in Fort Fisher, the divisions of General Ames and Paine, of Terry's command, made a reconnoissance in force toward Hoke's lines on the 11th of February. Ames moved on the right and Paine on the left, gun-boats co-operating both along the sea-shore and in the river. The monitor Montauk also engaged Fort Anderson, doing some damage with her fifteen-inch shells but receiving no injury herself. The enemy under Hoke were found in a position of great natural strength, having in front a swamp covered with scrub trees and a thick undergrowth. Their pickets were soon encountered and driven in, and skirmishing continued till about eleven o'clock, when the rebels in the outposts fell back to their main line of intrenchments. Parallel to this a line of works was thrown up by Terry's troops. By four o'clock the fighting was over for the day, and the co-operating gun-boats soon afterward suspended their fire. The loss was not heavy on either side.

Jan. 23.

Feb. 11.

Preparations were then made for a movement on the part of Schofield's troops along the western side of the river, and on the night of the 16th the three brigades of General Cox's division, under Casement, Henderson, and Sterl, and Moore's brigade of Couch's division, were moved across to Smithville. On the morning of the 17th the entire column, about eight thousand strong, under the command of General Cox, marched up the Wilmington road, through dense pine forests, toward Fort Anderson. About three miles out from Smithville the enemy's pickets were encountered, but were soon driven back toward the fort. After a march of about nine miles the column got into a good position about a mile and a half from the fort. Early on the 18th the troops moved forward again, Moore's brigade in the advance sending skirmishers up to the rifle-pits immediately surrounding the works. The main body threw up intrenchments in the edge of a wood bordering a cleared space swept by the enemy's artillery, the fire of which was continued through the day, occasioning some little loss. Late in the afternoon General Cox moved a column of five thousand men toward the enemy's right, with the object of getting round it and into the rear of the works; but this, owing to the existence of a long line of rifle-pits extending southwestward from the fort across Eagle Island and a series of swamps and ponds, involved a march of sixteen miles, and occupied the entire night. Meanwhile the fleet, headed by the monitor Montauk, had on the 17th been bombarding Fort Anderson on the side fronting on the river, and the rebels had replied pretty briskly till toward sunset. On the morning of the 18th the monitor and the gun-boats got within shorter range, and kept up an effective and rapid fire all day and till after dark, though that of the rebels ceased at three o'clock. Ames' division had been also crossed over to Smithville, to support General Cox on the western side of the river, while Paine's division was kept close up to the rifle-pits of the enemy on the peninsula. On the morning of the 19th, however, Moore's brigade pressing forward again, found that the rebels had abandoned the fort during the night. They had discovered the movement of the force sent round to their rear by General Cox, and immediately retreated toward Wilmington, taking with them their lighter artillery and everything of value that they could carry off. Ten guns, uninjured, and a considerable amount of ammunition and ordnance stores, were found in the fort. Only fifty prisoners were taken, and the loss in killed and wounded was small on both sides. An electric battery was found in the fort, its wires connected with torpedoes in the river.

Feb. 16. Feb. 18.

Of course the evacuation of Fort Anderson was immediately followed by the abandonment on the part of the enemy of their whole defensive line, and by a general advance of the Federal army and gun-boats. Terry moved up the peninsula, and Cox's flanking column, which, owing to its

Feb. 19.

circuitous march, had been too late to cut off the rebels' retreat, moved in conjunction with Moore's brigade directly toward Wilmington.

The gun-boats, preceded by a line of about thirty yawl-boats connected by drag ropes to take up torpedoes, pushed forward slowly as far as the water would permit. After sounding and buoying out the middle ground at Big Island, they were got over and opened fire on Fort Strong or Fort St. Philip, the work commanding the principal obstructions, and near which the rebels had sunk a barge steamer. The Sassacus was struck several times by shots from the fort, one of which entering below the water-line made her leak badly, but she suffered no loss in men. On the night of the 20th the rebels sent two hundred floating torpedoes down the river, but these were soon discovered by the picket-boats, and were sunk with musketry. One of them got into the wheel of the Osceola, blew her wheelhouse to pieces, and knocked down her bulkheak inboard, but did no damage to the hull. Some of the vessels used torpedo nets, and in the morning the Admiral had two fishing-nets stretched across the river as a further precaution. On the evening of the 21st, Admiral Porter hearing a sharp musketry fire a short distance from Fort Strong, again opened on the fort, which after exchanging a few shots again became silent.

On the 19th, General Cox advancing along the western side of the river, pursued the enemy to Town Creek, beyond which they had intrenched, having previously destroyed the only bridge, their line being connected with Fort Strong as their former one had been with Fort Anderson. General Terry also, advancing on the east side of the river, encountered the enemy, but in superior force, in their new line, three miles beyond that which they had abandoned, and Ames' division was moved back from the western side during the night to rejoin him. On the 20th, General Cox crossed his force over Town Creek below the enemy's position, and getting upon their flank and rear, attacked and routed them, capturing two guns and 375 prisoners, and on the morning of the 21st was again able to push on toward Wilmington. The force in front of General Terry, comprising the whole of General Hoke's division, was such as to prevent his making any farther advance; but he nevertheless occupied its attention so that no reinforcements could be sent to the western side of the river to the force routed by General Cox, and the latter, leaving Town Creek at ten in the morning, arrived at the Brunswick River opposite Wilmington an hour before midnight. The enemy burnt the railroad bridge over the Brunswick River to Eagle Island, and partially destroyed a pontoon bridge, cutting it adrift. But Cox's troops secured a few pontoons, effected a crossing, and soon established themselves on Eagle Island opposite the city and within musket-fire of the wharves. A few shells were then thrown into the city, and the rebels immediately began destroying steamers

Feb. 20.

and such military and naval stores as they could not carry off, besides about a thousand bales of cotton and fifteen thousand barrels of rosin, and then abandoned the city, which Generals Cox and Terry, pressing on at daylight on the 22d, took possession of without opposition.

Feb. 22.

The total Federal loss in the operations against Wilmington from the 11th to the 22d did not exceed two hundred men, while that of the Confederates, including seven hundred prisoners, was not less than a thousand. Fifty-one pieces of heavy ordnance and fifteen light guns, as well as a large quantity of ammunition, were among the captures. Thus fell Wilmington, a city the natural difficulties of approach to which, joined to its admirable system of defences, made it, with an adequate number of troops, more capable of a prolonged resistance than any fortified place taken during the war.

CHAPTER LII.

General Sherman at Savannah.—Detained by Floods.—Preliminary Movements for the March Northward.—Crossing the Salkahatchie.—Movements toward Branchville and Augusta.—Occupation of Orangeburg.—Fight at the Little Congaree Bridge.—Arrival at Columbia.—The Surrender.—Burning of Columbia.—Feigned Movements toward Charlotte.—Occupation of Cheraw.—Arrival at Fayetteville.—Kilpatrick surprised by Wade Hampton.—The March from Fayetteville.—Battle of Averysboro.—Battle of Bentonville.—Retreat of General Johnston to Smithfield.—Junction of Sherman with Schofield and Terry.—Schofield's Operations from Newbern.—Battle of Kinston.—Occupation of Kinston and Goldsboro.—Sherman's Visit to City Point.—Results of the Campaign.—Siege of Charleston.—Evacuation by Hardee's Forces.—Great Fire and Explosion.—Ruinous Condition of Charleston.—Restoration of the Stars and Stripes on Fort Sumter.—Evacuation of Georgetown.—General Stoneman's Raid.—Battle of Salisbury.

General Grant, early in December, 1864, anticipating General Sherman's arrival at Savannah, and regarding the capture of Lee's army as the most important operation toward putting down the rebellion, had sent orders to General Sherman, after establishing a base on the sea-coast and leaving the necessary garrison at Savannah, to proceed by sea with the remainder of his army to City Point. But after learning the total defeat of Hood by General Thomas, and taking into consideration the great difficulty of procuring ocean transportation—which was such that two months would probably have been consumed in transferring Sherman's large force to the banks of the James—and that as much might be effected by a march overland toward the seat of war in Virginia, he directed Sherman to carry out his own plan, which was, to march to Columbia in South Carolina and thence to Raleigh, and to start as soon as practicable after all necessary preparations had been made, breaking up as he moved northward the railroads in the Carolinas.

1865.

Nearly a month was consumed by Sherman in refitting the army, in regulating the local government, and in making the proper disposition of the captured cotton and other property. General Grant sent Grover's division of the nineteenth corps to garrison the forts, and on the 18th of January General Sherman transferred these and the city itself to General Foster, commanding the Department of the South, at the same time instructing him to follow the movements of the army inland by occupying in succession the city of Charleston and such other points northward along the coast as were of any strategic value. The capture of Fort Fisher gave Sherman an additional point of security on the coast; but he had already made up his mind to make Goldsboro the point from which he would re-open communications with the seaboard, and had given orders to Colonel Wright, superintendent of military railroads, to proceed in advance to Newbern, and make every preparation to extend the railroad from that point to Goldsboro, a distance of about forty-five miles, by the 15th of March. General Schofield was directed to move with the twenty-third corps from Newbern and Wilmington upon Goldsboro, so as to be there if possible on the arrival of Sherman.

Jan. 18.

Before commencing the march, General Howard was directed to embark his command and proceed by sea to Beaufort, South Carolina, and from that point to send a force to make a lodgment on the Charleston Railroad at or near Pocotaligo. This was effected on the 15th of January by the seventeenth corps under General Blair, and a dépôt of supplies established near the mouth of Pocotaligo Creek, having easy water communication with Hilton Head. General Slocum with the left wing of the army, and General Kilpatrick with the cavalry, were ordered to rendezvous about the same time near Robertsville and Coosawhatchie, in South Carolina, with a dépôt of supplies at Pureysburg or State's Ferry on the Savannah River. General Slocum accordingly had a pontoon bridge laid over the river opposite Savannah, and repaired and corduroyed the Union Causeway, which traverses the rice-fields northward from the city; but heavy rains swelled the river and overflowed all the adjacent low grounds, covering the Union Causeway with water four feet deep and breaking the pontoon bridge. He was then compelled to seek a crossing higher up the river, and moved to Sister's Ferry; but the bottom-lands by the river were overflowed there also, so as to present a sheet of water three miles wide, and he was again detained.

On the 22d of January, General Sherman went in person to Hiltoh Head, and after a conference with Admiral Dahlgren and General Foster, proceeded to Beaufort, and on the 24th to Pocotaligo, where the seventeenth corps under General Blair was encamped. The fifteenth corps had not yet concentrated, General Wood's and General Hazen's divisions only being at Beaufort, while General John E. Smith's division was

marching from Savannah to join them by the coast road, and that of General Corse was detained by storms and the floods. On the 25th, in order to strengthen an impression with the enemy that Charleston was to be the objective of Sherman's movements, a demonstration was made against the Combahee Ferry and the railroad bridge across the Salkahatchie, along which river was the defensive line adopted by the rebels. But the rains had swollen the river so that water stood in the adjacent swamps at a depth of from one foot to twenty for more than a mile. Feints of preparations to cross were made, however, and General Hatch's division of Foster's command was directed to leave the positions held on the Tullafinney and Coosawhatchie rivers, which were no longer of any importance, and proceed to Pocotaligo, to aid in keeping up the pretence of crossing, and thus detain a large force of the enemy on the opposite bank.

Jan. 25.

By the 29th the floods had retired from the roads west of Savannah sufficiently to permit General Slocum to put the left wing in motion at Sister's Ferry, to which point a gun-boat had been sent by Admiral Dahlgren to cover the troops while crossing. Three divisions of the fifteenth corps also had closed up at Pocotaligo, and the right wing being ready to start, General Howard was directed to move the seventeenth corps along the Salkahatchie as far as River's Bridge, and the fifteenth by Hickory Hill, Loper's Cross-Roads, Anglesey Post Office, and Beaufort's Bridge, while General Hatch's division was directed to continue the feints at the railroad bridge and the ferry, till Sherman's movement should turn the enemy's position and compel them to fall back behind the Edisto. The march of the seventeenth and fifteenth corps began on the 1st of February, and though all the roads leading northward had been held by the rebel cavalry under Wheeler, who had obstructed them by felling trees and burning bridges, the well-organized pioneer battalions cleared the path of the army so rapidly, that on the 2d the fifteenth corps reached Loper's Cross-Roads and the seventeenth River's Bridge. General Slocum was still hindered by the floods at Sister's Ferry, but he had got across to the east bank two divisions of the twentieth corps under General Williams, and the cavalry of General Kilpatrick. The latter was ordered to proceed to Blackville by way of Barnwell, and General Williams to Beaufort's Bridge. General Slocum was directed to get the remainder of his command over as rapidly as possible, and join the right wing on the South Carolina Railroad. The right wing was ordered to cross the Salkahatchie—which was still held by the enemy in force, with infantry and artillery intrenched at River's and Beaufort's bridges—and push on to the South Carolina Railroad at or near Midway. River's Bridge was carried on the 3d of February by two divisions of the seventeenth corps, Generals Mower and G. A. Smith leading their troops in person and on foot and wading the

Feb. 1.

Feb. 3.

swamp through water sometimes shoulder deep and nearly three miles wide, the weather being at the time extremely cold. A lodgment was made below the bridge, and the rebel brigade which guarded it was driven in disorder in the direction of Branchville.

The enemy's line across the Salkahatchie being thus broken, they retreated at once beyond the Edisto at Branchville, and the whole of Sherman's army moved rapidly to the South Carolina Railroad, at Midway, Bamberg, and Graham's Station. The track of the railroad was then torn up all the way from the Edisto—the bridge over which was burnt by the rebels—westward as far as Blackville. To this point General Kilpatrick had in the mean time brought up his cavalry, and was ordered to proceed toward Aiken and threaten Augusta, in doing which he skirmished heavily with Wheeler's cavalry at Blackville, Williston, and Aiken. The destruction of the railroad was then continued as far as Windsor, twenty miles east of Augusta. By the 11th the entire army was on the railroad from Midway to Johnson's Station, thus dividing the enemy's forces, which lay westward at Aiken and Augusta and eastward at Branchville and Charleston. A movement on Orangeburg was then commenced, the seventeenth corps crossing the South Fork of the Edisto at Binnaker's Bridge, and moving straight on that place, the fifteenth crossing at Holman's Bridge and moving to Poplar Springs, in support. On the 12th, the seventeenth corps finding the enemy intrenched in front of the Orangeburg Bridge, carried their position at a dash, compelling them to retire beyond the bridge to the protection of a battery covered by a rampart constructed of cotton and earth. General Blair then, keeping G. A. Smith's division near the bridge, sent the other two divisions to a point two miles below, where General Force's division crossing by a pontoon bridge, and moving rapidly up to the position held by the rebels, compelled them to retreat, when General Smith immediately pushed over the bridge and took possession of the enemy's abandoned battery. The bridge, which the rebels had partially burned, was then repaired, and the whole corps was in Orangeburg by four o'clock in the afternoon, and at work tearing up the railroad. By the 14th, General Blair had destroyed the track as far northward as Lewisville, and driven the enemy across the Congaree, compelling them to burn the bridges after them. Sherman then, without making demonstrations on Branchville or Charleston, which his movements had already made untenable, set all his columns in march for Columbia, the seventeenth corps following the State road, and the fifteenth, crossing the North Edisto from Poplar Springs at Schilling's Bridge, taking a country road which enters the State road at Zeigler's. On the 15th this corps found the enemy strongly posted at the Little Congaree Bridge, having a *tête-de-pont* on the south side, and on the north side a well-constructed fort, the artillery of which commanded the bridge. The

Feb. 12.

ground in front was level and open and covered with a fresh deposit of mud, from which the water of a freshet had only just retired. General Wood, however, by sending a brigade through a cypress swamp to the left, succeeded in turning the flank of the *tête-de-pont*, and promptly following up his advantage, got possession of the bridge and fort also. Some delay was occasioned in repairing the bridge, which had been partially burnt and become inadequate to sustain the weight of artillery, so that the column did not arrive at the Congaree opposite Columbia till the following morning, by which time the enemy had burnt the fine bridge at that point.

The inhabitants could now be easily seen running about the streets, and small bodies of cavalry occasionally showed themselves, at which the fire of one gun was directed for some time, but subsequently turned by order of General Sherman against the walls of the unfinished State House. A few shells were also thrown at the railroad dépôt to scatter people carrying off sacks of corn and meal. There was no white flag visible, or any sign of a disposition to surrender. General Slocum came up with the left wing within an hour after the arrival of General Howard's column, and the latter was directed to cross the Saluda River about three miles above the city, and proceeding thence to the Broad River, to cross that also, and approach the city from the north. General Slocum was directed to cross the Saluda at Zion Church, and proceeding thence northward toward Winnsboro, break up the railroad and bridges in the vicinity of Alston. On the night of the 16th, General Howard had a flying bridge made across the Broad River about three miles above the city, by means of which he got one brigade over. In the morning a pontoon bridge was laid and preparations made for an advance upon the city.

In the mean time the mayor had come out and made a formal surrender to Colonel Stone, of the Twenty-fifth Iowa Infantry, at the Saluda Bridge. A small party from the seventeenth corps also had crossed the Congaree in a skiff, and entered the city from the west. The brigade of Colonel Stone was then posted in the streets of the city, and general good order prevailed for some time. Subsequently, many soldiers, under the influence of liquor, which they obtained after their entrance, and a number of released prisoners, entered stores and private dwellings, and helped themselves to any valuables they could find, robbed ladies and gentlemen of their watches and jewelry in the streets, and committed various other crimes when not immediately under the eye of their officers. Orders were given for the destruction of all arsenals and such other public property as could not be made use of by the army, as well as all railroads, dépôts, and machinery that might be subsequently made available to the enemy, but to spare the dwellings of the citizens, as well as schools, colleges, and private property. The fifteenth corps passed

Feb. 17.

and as far as the Spartanburg road bridge over the Broad River, the main body moving toward Winnsboro, which was reached on the 21st of February. Causing the railroad to be destroyed as far as Blackstakes Dépôt, General Slocum then turned toward Rocky Mount, on the Catawba, which the twentieth corps reached on the 22d, and laying a pontoon bridge crossed on the 23d. Kilpatrick's cavalry crossed also the same night during a heavy rain, and pushed on to Lancaster, to aid in keeping up the delusion with the enemy, that Charlotte, in North Carolina, whither Beauregard and all the rebel cavalry had retreated, was to be the object of a general movement on the part of Sherman. Cheatham's corps of Hood's old army was also aiming to effect a junction with Beauregard at Charlotte. Heavy rains prevailed from the 20th to the 26th, making the roads almost impassable and swelling the rivers. The Catawba became so swollen that the pontoon bridge broke before the fourteenth corps had effected a crossing, and much difficulty was experienced in restoring it. When General Davis got his command over, the left wing was also put in motion for Cheraw.

The right wing broke up the railroad as far as Winnsboro, and then turned toward Pea's Ferry, where it crossed the Catawba before the heavy rains set in, and pushed on for Cheraw. Detachments were sent from the fifteenth corps to Camden, to burn the bridge over the Wateree, as well as the railroad dépôt and public stores. A small force of mounted men sent to break the railroad running from Charleston to Florence, met a division of rebel cavalry under Butler, and after a fight at Mount Elon was obliged to return without having accomplished its object. At Lynch's Creek the right wing was delayed by the badness of the roads about as long as the left wing was at the Catawba. The leading division of the twentieth corps entered Chesterfield on the 2d of March, skirmishing with Butler's cavalry, and about noon on the 3d the seventeenth corps entered Cheraw, the rebels falling back across the Pedee and burning the bridge after them. A large amount of ammunition and numerous pieces of artillery were destroyed at Cheraw, as were also the railroad bridges and trestles as far as Darlington. A body of mounted infantry sent to Florence encountered rebel cavalry and infantry, and was obliged to return after breaking up a part of the railroad between that place and Cheraw. As soon as possible the columns were put in motion in the direction of Fayetteville, in North Carolina, the right wing crossing the Pedee at Cheraw, the left wing and the cavalry at Sneedsboro, General Kilpatrick keeping well on the left flank. Notwithstanding that the weather continued unfavorable and the roads bad, the fourteenth and seventeenth corps reached Fayetteville, on the Cape Fear River, on the 11th of March, skirmishing with Wade Hampton's cavalry, the rear-guard of Hardee's retreating army, which after crossing the river burnt the bridge. On the night

Mar. 3.

Mar. 11.

of the 9th of March, General Kilpatrick, whose position on the left flank exposed him to sudden attack, having divided his three brigades to picket the roads, General Hampton dashed in at daylight and gained possession of the camp of Spencer's brigade, as well as the house in which General Kilpatrick and Colonel Spencer had their quarters. Kilpatrick was asleep at the time, but escaped, though with only pantaloons and slippers, and notwithstanding the completeness of the surprise, succeeded in rallying his men on foot in a neighboring swamp, and attacked the enemy so vigorously that he regained his camp, horses, and artillery, and the enemy rapidly made off, taking with them a few prisoners, but abandoning their dead. The army remained during the 12th, 13th, and 14th at Fayetteville. The buildings of the old United States arsenal of construction, which covered fifty acres of ground, as well as a vast amount of machinery which had been brought from Harper's Ferry, were destroyed. All the buildings were burnt, and the machinery broken up and ruined, under the supervision of Colonel Poe, the chief engineer of the army. Much other property that might subsequently have been of use to the rebels was also destroyed or thrown into the river.

Up to this time Sherman had succeeded in keeping his army between the divided and scattered portions of the enemy's forces. But these were now concentrating; the troops with which Beauregard left Columbia had been reinforced by Cheatham's corps from Hood's broken army and by the garrison of Augusta, and all had had ample time to get on Sherman's left flank in the direction of Raleigh. Hardee had also got across the Cape Fear River, and could not be hindered from forming a junction with the other armies and with Hoke. These various bodies of the enemy when united would constitute a formidable force, superior, in fact, to Sherman's in cavalry, and sufficiently strong in infantry and artillery, especially under the command of the skilful and experienced Johnston, to justify extreme caution on the part of Sherman in moving on Goldsboro. Before arriving at Fayetteville he had sent two trusty scouts to Wilmington with intelligence respecting his position. Both the scouts made their way safely, and on the morning of the 12th of March a small steamer arrived at Fayetteville from Wilmington, and was sent back the same day with dispatches for General Terry, and for General Schofield at Newbern, informing them that the army would move on the 15th for Goldsboro, but at the same time feigning on Raleigh, expecting to arrive about the 20th, and directing them to move their forces on the same point.

As delay would be highly dangerous in face of the probable combination of the enemy's forces, the column of General Sherman moved out of Fayetteville on the 15th, notwithstanding that the weather continued very bad and the roads had become little better than deep mud, so that almost every foot had to be corduroyed to permit of

Mar. 15.

the passage of wagons and artillery. General Kilpatrick was directed to move by the plank road as far as Averysboro and beyond, and was followed by four divisions of the left wing, with as few wagons as possible; the remainder of the train, under the escort of the other two divisions of the left wing, were ordered to take a shorter and more direct road to Goldsboro. General Howard, with the right wing, was ordered to send his trains well to the right, toward Faison's Dépôt and Goldsboro, holding four divisions in readiness to aid the left wing, if it should be attacked while in motion.

General Sherman accompanied General Slocum, who on the 15th, preceded by Kilpatrick, moved as far as Kyle's Landing. Kilpatrick skirmished heavily with the enemy's rear-guard near Taylor's Hole Creek, three miles farther, and a brigade of infantry was sent at his request to hold a line of barricades. On the morning of the 15th, the column advancing in the same order, found a large force of the enemy under Hardee, estimated at twenty thousand men of all arms, in an intrenched position in front of the point where the road branches off toward Goldsboro. Hardee's object was evidently to detain Sherman as long as possible, so as to give Johnston time to concentrate his forces. It was necessary to get possession of the Goldsboro road without delay, and at the same time desirable to keep up as long as possible a pretence of moving on Raleigh, and Sherman immediately made preparations to dislodge Hardee's force. The ground over which the troops had to move to the attack was so soft that horses sunk into it everywhere, and men could hardly make their way over it; General Slocum was, however, ordered to press and carry the position. The twentieth corps under General Williams had the lead, and Ward's division in the advance being deployed, found a brigade of Charleston heavy artillery, armed as infantry, posted across the road behind a light parapet, with a battery enfilading the approach across a cleared field. A brigade sent round by the left turned this line, and making a quick charge, the rebel brigade broke and fell back rapidly to a second and stronger line, suffering severely, however, in their retrograde movement from the fire of a well-posted battery under Major Reynolds. Ward's division advanced over this ground, capturing 217 men and three guns; but on approaching the enemy's second line, Jackson's division was deployed on the right of Ward's, and two divisions of the fourteenth corps on the left, well toward the Cape Fear River. At the same time Kilpatrick, who was acting in concert with General Williams, got a brigade on the road; but it was so furiously attacked by a rebel division under McLaw, that, though fighting well, it was compelled to fall back to the flank of the infantry. Late in the afternoon the whole line advanced, drove the rebels well within their intrenchments, and pressed them so hard that in the dismal and stormy night which followed they retreated over a wretched road in the direction

Mar. 16.

of Smithfield. The Federal loss in the battle of Averysboro was 77 killed and 477 wounded. The enemy left 108 of their dead on the field. Ward's division kept up a show of pursuit as far as Averysboro; the remainder of General Slocum's command, turning to the right, crossed the South River and took the Goldsboro road, Kilpatrick crossing more toward the north, in the direction of Elevation, with orders to move eastward and guard the flank in that direction. The wagon trains, with their escorts, and Howard's column, were in the mean time slowly toiling along the miry roads toward Bentonville and Goldsboro.

General Sherman continued with the column of General Slocum, and on the night of the 18th encamped with him on the Goldsboro road at a point where the road from Clinton to Smithfield crosses it, about five miles from Bentonville. General Howard was at Lee's Store, two miles south, and both columns had pickets out three miles forward. There was no appearance of an attempt on the part of the enemy to interpose any further opposition to the march, and General Sherman directing General Howard to move the right wing by the new Goldsboro road, rode on himself to overtake and join his column, with the view of opening communications with Generals Schofield and Terry, who were moving up from Newbern and Wilmington. He was, however, soon overtaken by staff officers from General Slocum, who informed him that the latter had found the whole rebel army near Bentonville under General Johnston himself. Sherman immediately sent orders to General Slocum to call up the two divisions guarding the wagon trains, and Hazen's division of the fifteenth corps, still near Lee's Store, and fight defensively till he himself could draw up Blair's corps, and with the three remaining divisions of the fifteenth corps come up on Johnston's left rear. General Slocum's force advancing from its camp on the 18th, had encountered the enemy's cavalry, and soon afterward their infantry and artillery. The enemy then attacked and gained a temporary advantage, taking three guns of Carlin's division, and driving the two leading brigades back on the main body. General Slocum then seeing that he had the whole Confederate army before him, immediately deployed the two divisions of the fourteenth corps under General Davis, and brought up on their left the two divisions of the twentieth corps under General Williams, assumed the defensive, and hastily threw up a line of barricades. Kilpatrick also moved up and massed on the left. While the left wing was in this position it received and repulsed six distinct assaults from the combined forces of Hardee, Hoke, and Cheatham, under the direction of General Johnston, having, however, the advantage in artillery, of which the enemy had very little. Johnston had moved with great rapidity from Smithfield, hoping to overwhelmn the left wing before any support came up. In this, however, he was disappointed, and during the night of the 19th, General

Mar. 18.

Slocum got up his wagon train with its guard of two divisions, and Hazen's division of the fifteenth corps—reinforcements which enabled him to make his position too strong to be attacked again with any chance of success.

The right wing on moving to form connection with the left, met with little opposition till a considerable body of rebel cavalry was found behind a barricade at the forks of the road near Bentonville, about three miles east of the battle-field of the 18th. The rebel cavalry was however quickly dislodged and the forks of the road secured. On moving forward the fifteenth corps, General Logan found that the left flank of the enemy was thrown back, and that they had constructed a line of parapet, connecting with that toward General Slocum, in the form of a bastion, its salient on the main road to Goldsboro, between General Slocum on the west and General Howard on the east, while the flanks rested on Mill Creek, covering the road back to Smithfield ; but by four in the afternoon of the 20th, General Howard had established a strong connection on his left with General Slocum. A complete and strong line of battle was thus formed confronting the enemy in their intrenched position, and General Johnston found himself on the defensive, with Mill Creek and only a single bridge in his rear. General Sherman had, however, no object to gain by a battle, and confined the operations to skirmishing and artillery firing, and to feeling the flanks of the enemy's position, which were covered by swamps. The troops were, however, kept well up to the enemy, in readiness to fight, should Johnston venture beyond his defensive lines. On the 21st, General Mower, with his division of the seventeenth corps, on the extreme right, got around on the enemy's flank, almost to the bridge across Mill Creek, their only line of retreat. There was great danger, however, that the enemy would suddenly turn on him all their reserves, or even abandon their defences to overwhelm him, and Sherman ordered a general attack by the skirmish line from left to right, and during the fighting that ensued General Mower got back to his own corps. He had, however, discovered a weak point in the enemy's line, of which advantage might have been taken ; but General Johnston retreated on Smithfield in the night, leaving his pickets behind him, with many unburied dead, and his wounded in field hospitals. At daybreak pursuit was made two miles beyond Mill Creek, and then discontinued. The Federal loss at the battle of Bentonville, including killed, wounded, and missing, was 1,646, of which number only 191 were killed. The loss of the rebels was much heavier, 267 of their dead being buried on the field, and 1,625 prisoners being taken.

Mar. 21.

General Sherman was now practically in connection with General Schofield, who had entered Goldsboro on the 21st without opposition, and with General Terry, who had got possession of the Neuse River at Cox's Bridge, and no further difficulty was experienced in forming a complete junction of all the

forces, the enemy not daring to interpose themselves again between General Sherman and his objective point.

General Schofield, immediately after Wilmington fell into his hands, took measures to carry out Grant's orders with regard to the movement toward Goldsboro. General Palmer, then commanding the Newbern district, was sent from Wilmington with instructions to march from Newbern, with five thousand men, to occupy Kinston, a small town on the Neuse River and on the railroad to Goldsboro, about twenty-two miles from that place and thirty-two from Newbern. Ruger's division of the twenty-third corps was sent from Fort Fisher to reinforce him. The immediate object of this movement was to get possession of and retain the railroad, in order to establish a dépôt of supplies at Kinston, to facilitate the subsequent movement upon Goldsboro when Sherman should arrive. General Palmer was not able to complete his preparations for an advance as soon as was expected, and on the 6th of March General Cox arrived at Newbern, assumed command, and commenced the forward movement. The enemy, after being driven out of Wilmington, had retreated northward to Goldsboro, and having determined to defend that place, decided to make their first stand at Kinston, at which point about twelve hundred troops were concentrated under General Bragg. The march to Kinston was one of extreme difficulty. Morasses, known as Dover Swamp and Gum Swamp, stretch for a distance of twenty miles between Kinston and Newbern, which, owing to recent rains, were very miry and almost impracticable. The enemy had also obstructed them by felling trees across them for miles, and by removing the bridges which lay across the creeks in the swamps. Neither was the Neuse River available as a route by which supplies might be transported to Kinston, not being navigable for heavy gun-boats and easily blockaded by batteries. It became therefore a matter of the last importance in undertaking a movement upon Goldsboro, that the line of railway to Kinston should come under the control of the Federal army.

Savage's Twelfth New York Cavalry, moving out from Newbern by the Trent road, was engaged during the day and night of the 6th in clearing obstructions from the roads and in rebuilding bridges, and on the morning of the 7th a small body of Classon's command took possession of the point where the Dover and Jackson roads meet the Trent road, and charging some rebel skirmishers drove them across Southwest Creek to their works at Jackson's Mills, four and a half miles from Kinston. Artillery was brought to bear upon these works, as well as upon other works to the northward of them on the same creek, near the railroad. The enemy replied, and the firing was kept up with little intermission during the day. Classon's detachment and the Ninth New Jersey supported the artillery during the firing, and toward night the latter was relieved by Upham's brigade. Skirmishers of

the Fifteenth Connecticut were pushed forward in the night to within a hundred yards of the rebel works. The firing was very light during most of the forenoon of the 8th, but news being brought in that the enemy were making a movement to turn the left of the Federal line, Colonel Upham ordered the Twenty-seventh Massachusetts into the woods south of the road, and formed the regiment in line of battle facing nearly southward. The left of the line was held by Carter's division, and the right by Palmer's. About half-past eleven, the rebels, under General Hoke, having got upon the Federal left and rear, fell upon Carter's division with great force. The Twenty-seventh Massachusetts and the Fifteenth Connecticut stood their ground for a time with great gallantry and obstinacy, but were finally surrounded, and the greater part of them taken prisoners. An attack made at nearly the same time on the first and second divisions, resulted in their being compelled to fall back, and completed the repulse of the Federal force. The rebels swept the whole field, capturing three guns and fifteen hundred prisoners, and the Federal troops fell back three miles, when a new line was established. The killed and wounded were not numerous on either side. About two hours later Colonel Savage, making a cavalry reconnoissance toward the enemy's rear, captured sixty-five men, five ambulances, and a surgeon. Soon afterward the enemy attacked Palmer's division on the right, but were repulsed. A skirmish took place also on the left during the afternoon. The Federal line still lay in front of Southwest Creek, on which the enemy were posted at Jackson's Mills, but it was drawn farther back for further consolidation. A gap being found to exist between Palmer's division on the right and Carter's on the left, Ruger's division, which had not been in the battle, and came up from the rear about three o'clock, was placed in it. Malloy's brigade of Carter's division skirmished a little in advance about the close of the day.

Mar. 8.

During the whole of the 9th there was lively skirmishing, but without any decisive result. On the 10th, however, the enemy, who had received large reinforcements, and at the same time become aware of the approach of Couch's division from Wilmington, attacked in a bold and determined manner, hoping to defeat Schofield before Couch could come up. The Federal forces were well intrenched at the junction of the Trent and Upper Trent roads. Generals Schofield and Cox were both on the field, as were also Generals Bragg, Hill, and Hoke on the side of the rebels. The enemy made two fierce attacks, one falling on Carter's division on the left, with McQuestion's brigade of Ruger's division, the other on Ruger's division in the centre. Both assaults were decisively repulsed with heavy loss to the enemy. Bragg then drew off his forces, leaving his dead and badly wounded on the field and several hundred prisoners, his total loss being about fifteen hundred in killed, wounded, and missing. Couch's division came up from Wilming-

Mar. 10.

ton on the morning of the 11th, and Bragg fell back across the Neuse to Kinston, where he burnt the bridge and for a short time held the north bank of the river.

General Schofield having no pontoon train could not cross the Neuse until the 14th, when Bragg, abandoning Kinston, moved rapidly toward Smithfield to form a junction with General Johnston, who was then concentrating all his forces with a view to that movement against Sherman's left wing which resulted in the repulse of the former at Bentonville. General Schofield, immediately after getting possession of Kinston, set a large force at work upon the railroad in aid of the construction corps of Colonel Wright. He also rebuilt the wagon bridge over the Neuse, brought forward supplies, and prepared for a further advance. On the morning of the 20th he left Kinston, and took possession of Goldsboro with very little opposition on the evening of the 21st. The army of General Terry left Wilmington on the 15th of March, and moving steadily northward reached Faison's Dépôt on the 20th, and in accordance with the directions of General Sherman, moved thence to Cox's Bridge, ten miles above Goldsboro, and secured a crossing of the Neuse on the 22d, so that the three armies were practically in connection and the object of the campaign accomplished. The railroads from Goldsboro to Wilmington and Newbern were in the course of rapid repair, and supplies in abundance were moved forward to Kinston.

Mar. 21.

On the 23d, all the armies had camps assigned them in the vicinity of Goldsboro, and were soon in the receipt of the necessary supplies and clothing. On the 25th, the railroad from Newbern was again in working order, and the first train of cars came in. As it was now important that General Sherman should confer in person with General Grant, he left the army in charge of General Schofield, and proceeded by railroad to Morehead City, and thence by steamer to City Point, reaching General Grant's headquarters on the evening of the 27th of March, where he found also President Lincoln, and having obtained a full understanding of what was required of him by the Lieutenant-General, set out again for his own headquarters at Goldsboro, where he arrived on the night of the 30th.

Mar. 23.

In the march across the Carolinas, as in that from Atlanta to Savannah, the army of General Sherman wasted a wide belt of country, of an average breadth of not less than forty miles, consuming all the forage, cattle, hogs, sheep, poultry, and corn meal, so that the region traversed instead of being able to contribute to the maintenance of the Confederate armies, had little left for its inhabitants. Hundreds of miles of railroad were destroyed and thousands of bales of cotton burned. Eighty-five cannon, four thousand prisoners, and twenty-five thousand animals were captured; many thousand negroes also were set free. These results were, however, of secondary importance; the principal object attained by the campaign was, that

Sherman's great army had been transported to a point from which no Confederate force then in the field would be able to prevent its forming a junction with the Federal armies before Petersburg and Richmond, thus rendering the fall of both those cities and the capture or destruction of Lee's army almost certain.

The fall of Charleston was among the important fruits of this campaign. The destruction of the inland routes of travel and supply by the army of General Sherman on its march through the Carolinas made the whole sea-coast northward, from Savannah to Newbern, worthless and untenable to the Confederates. Charleston, from the natural strength of its position, had been able to withstand for nearly three years all attempts to reduce it. The Federal fleet occupied the entrance to the harbor; Morris Island was also held, and an artillery fire was at intervals directed against Fort Sumter and the city itself; but the capture of either had proved to be a task of extreme difficulty, and in fact impossible by the navy without the aid of a large co-operating land force. The strategic value of Charleston was not, however, so great as to warrant the sending against it an expedition of the magnitude that would have been necessary for its reduction, and the closing of the harbor by a blockading fleet effected nearly all that would have been accomplished by the actual occupation of the city. This had been secured by the presence of Admiral Dahlgren's fleet of iron-clads.

Some thought was entertained early in the summer of 1864 of attacking Fort Sumter and attempting the passage with monitors, but the proposition to do so having been made a subject of discussion in a council of officers of Admiral Dahlgren's command, and a majority deeming the attempt unadvisable, the idea was abandoned, and no operations of importance were undertaken with a view to the reduction of Charleston till the 8th of February, 1865, when General Gillmore succeeded General Foster in command of the Department of the South. He immediately made preparations for more active measures, though these were intended to be demonstrations in favor of Sherman's great movement rather than serious efforts to push the siege.

Feb. 8.

General Hardee was at that time in command in the city, with a force of about fifteen thousand men, comprising the regular garrison and troops with which he had retreated from Savannah. On the 10th, operations were commenced by the construction of a bridge across the creek separating Folly and Cole's islands from James Island, and a force under General Schemmelfinnig, three thousand strong, effected a lodgment on the latter about three miles southwest of Charleston. Skirmishers being then thrown forward encountered the enemy at Grimball's, on Stono River. A mortar schooner and two tin-clads also moved up the Stono River and shelled the enemy, and at the same time covered the flank of the Federal troops. About half-past four, General Hartwell moved

his whole brigade forward in columns doubled on the centre, and carried the enemy's rifle-pits at the double-quick. The contest was very short, the rebels retreating rapidly to their main works, abandoning their dead and wounded, and losing about twenty prisoners. The Federal loss was about eighty. As this movement was only a feint, the troops of General Schemmelfinnig were soon afterward withdrawn. On the 12th and 13th a demonstration was made by a force under General Potter along the approaches from Bull's Bay toward Mount Pleasant, with the view of threatening Charleston from the north, but not with the intention of making any serious attack from that direction. General Hatch's column moving northward from Pocotaligo also threatened Charleston from the south. Hardee soon became aware that his hold on the city was very precarious; his railroad communication with Branchville as well as with Savannah was destroyed; the railroad running northward to Florence, the only remaining one, was in danger; a prolonged defence of the city could only end in his being encircled by Federal forces, and compelled to surrender his whole army, which, if he could unite it with the forces concentrating under Johnston, might yet render important service to the Confederacy. Fort Fisher fell on the 15th, and on the night of the 16th the evacuation of Charleston began. About midnight of the 17th, as the last of the rebel troops were leaving, they fired the upper part of the city, in which were the railroad buildings, containing several thousand bales of cotton. In these buildings were stored besides the cotton a large quantity of rice, and two hundred kegs of gunpowder. As might be expected from such criminal negligence, about half-past three in the morning a terrific explosion took place, causing the death of about a hundred and fifty and the mutilation of about two hundred poor people, men, women, and children, who were carrying off the rice. At daylight several rebel rams in the inner harbor, near the city, were blown up. The mayor soon afterward sent a note to General Gillmore, stating that the Confederate military authorities had withdrawn, and at nine o'clock on the morning of the 18th, the city of Charleston, with Forts Sumter and Moultrie, Castle Pinckney, and all the defensive works, were formally surrendered. General Gillmore's troops were promptly moved up to the city, and the national flag was restored to the parapet of Fort Sumter amid the deafening cheers of the troops.

Feb. 16.

Feb. 18.

The soldiers were immediately set to work to check the progress of the flames in the upper part of the city; but the fire had already got such headway that the cotton warehouses, arsenals, quartermasters' stores, the railroad bridges, some vessels in the ship-yards, and a very large number of dwellings were destroyed before this could be effected. The lower part of the city, within range of the fire of the fleet, had suffered much from shot and shell in the course of the protracted siege, and had long been in a ruinous condition. Very few

inhabitants remained in it, and its appearance was dreary and desolate in the extreme. The wealthy residents had deserted the city, and the population that was left, about ten thousand in number, consisted mostly of negroes and the poorer class of whites, who had no means of making their escape, or who had no inclination to do so, and these were suffering from a limited supply of the necessaries of life. "Any one," said General Sherman, "who is not satisfied with war should go and see Charleston, and he will pray louder and deeper than ever that the country may in the long future be spared any more war." Several hundred deserters from Hardee's army, who had concealed themselves in houses while the evacuation was going on, surrendered when General Gillmore's troops entered the city. Among the captures were 450 cannon found in the forts and other defences, including a number of eight-inch and ten-inch columbiads, a great many thirty-two pounder and forty-two pounder rifles, some seven-inch Brooks' rifles, and many pieces of foreign make; also eight locomotives, and a great number of passenger and platform cars, all in good condition.

The memorable siege of Charleston commenced actually on the 10th of July, 1863, when General Gillmore landed on Morris Island. The city had been under fire 542 days, and the surrender took place on the fourth anniversary of the inauguration of Jefferson Davis as president of the Southern Confederacy. The moral effect of the fall of Charleston was very great, not only in the North and in the South, but in Europe also.

The circumstances of the surrender of Fort Sumter by General Anderson had produced an impression on the public mind too deep to be readily erased, and President Lincoln, with a view of commemorating its restoration to the national authority, directed him to raise the Stars and Stripes on its battlements on the 13th of April, the anniversary of the day on which he had been compelled to evacuate it by a largely superior force and the want of ammunition and provisions.

Feb. 23.

On the 23d of February, Georgetown, on the South Carolina coast, about fifty miles northeast of Charleston, was evacuated by the rebel forces, and on the 25th taken possession of by Admiral Dahlgren.

An expedition from East Tennessee to co-operate with General Sherman in his march through the Carolinas was planned by General Grant, and on the 31st of January he directed General Thomas to send General Stoneman from Knoxville with an adequate body of cavalry to penetrate South Carolina in the direction of Columbia and destroy the railroads and military resources of the country, with directions to return to East Tennessee if practicable by way of Salisbury, in North Carolina, and release the Federal prisoners detained there It was supposed that General Sherman's movements would attract the attention of all the military forces it would be in the power of the enemy to collect, and that this would render General Stone-

man's task comparatively easy. But so many delays occurred, that before Stoneman got ready to start, Sherman's army had passed out of South Carolina, and General Thomas was ordered to change the direction of Stoneman's proposed movement, and cause him to repeat his raid of the previous fall, and destroy the railroad toward Lynchburg as far as possible. This movement would place him between the enemy and the Federal garrison in East Tennessee—a position in which he might render good service, should the enemy, in the event of their being driven out of Richmond, fall back on Lynchburg and attempt a series of operations in East Tennessee.

General Stoneman in compliance with his instructions set out from Knoxville with a heavy force of cavalry about the 20th of March, and moving rapidly by way of Boone, in North Carolina, which was reached on the 27th, struck the Virginia and East Tennessee Railroad at Wytheville, Christiansburg, and Big Lick, destroying between those places twenty-five miles of the track and burning thirty-three bridges. That portion of his force which struck the railroad at Big Lick pushed on to within four miles of Lynchburg, destroying several important bridges. The main force, after effectually destroying the railroad between the New River and Big Lick, turned southward for Greensboro, on the North Carolina Railroad. The road was struck and the bridges destroyed between Danville and Greensboro, and between Greensboro and the Yadkin. The dépôts of supplies along the route were also destroyed, four hundred prisoners being taken. Stoneman then continued his march in a southerly direction toward Salisbury, along the railroad, destroying as he went, bridges, culverts, dépôts, and all kinds of supplies, thus inflicting irreparable damage on the prospects of both Lee and Johnston, who depended largely on that road for supplies as well as for an ultimate line of retreat. On approaching Salisbury on the 12th of April, when within three miles of the town, the enemy, about three thousand strong, under General Gardiner and Colonel Pemberton, were found posted, with infantry and artillery, behind Grant's Creek, the rebel line of defence for the town. As soon as proper dispositions could be made, a general charge was ordered upon the entire rebel line, the result of which was the capture of fourteen pieces of artillery and 1,364 prisoners, of whom 55 were officers. The remainder of the force was chased through and several miles beyond the town, when the fugitives scattering escaped into the woods. Stoneman remained at Salisbury two days, destroyed large amounts of stores, fifteen miles of the track, and the bridges in the direction of Charlotte, and then moved to Statesville.

Mar. 20.

April 12.

In this raid, as in his former one, Stoneman moved so rapidly that his troops always announced their own approach, so that the rebels and the people of the country had no time to carry off any property, and the amount captured or destroyed was very large.

It included four large cotton factories and seven thousand bales of cotton; four large magazines, containing ten thousand stand of small-arms and accoutrements; one million rounds of small-arm ammunition, one thousand rounds of fixed artillery ammunition, and seven thousand pounds of powder, thirty-five thousand bushels of corn, fifty thousand bushels of wheat, one hundred and sixty thousand pounds of cured bacon, one hundred thousand suits of grey uniforms and clothing, two hundred and fifty thousand army blankets, twenty thousand pounds of harness leather, ten thousand pounds of saltpetre, a very large amount of sugar, salt, rice, and other stores and medical supplies, and finally the military workshop at Salisbury, filled with machinery from Raleigh and Richmond. Had not the fate of Lee and Johnston been already sealed, the destruction of such a vast amount of supplies at a time when every avenue to the sea was closed to the Confederacy must have proved an almost fatal loss.

CHAPTER LIII.

Joint Movement of General Canby and Admiral Thatcher against Mobile.—Defences of Mobile.—Harbor Obstructions.—Spanish Fort.—Torpedoes.—Rebel Forces under General Richard Taylor.—Canby's Forces.—Reconnoissance.—General forward Movement.—Delay from Bad Roads.—March of General Steele's Column from Pensacola.—Rout of Rebel Cavalry at Mitchell's Creek.—Investment of Spanish Fort.—The Milwaukie and Osage sunk by Torpedoes.—Capture of Spanish Fort.—Removal of Torpedoes.—Works at Blakely taken by Assault.—Evacuation of Mobile by the Rebel Forces.—Prisoners, Guns, and Cotton captured.—Losses.

1865.

The city of Mobile, notwithstanding the capture of the forts at the entrances of its harbor, remained in the possession of the Confederates till April, 1865. The fact that the water in the whole upper portion of the bay is so shallow that vessels drawing more than eight or ten feet water cannot approach within twenty-five miles of the city, made its capture impossible by the fleet alone without the aid of co-operating land forces. The resumption of active operations against Mobile was determined on as early as January, and Admiral Thatcher, then recently appointed to the command of the West Gulf Squadron, was ordered to proceed immediately to New Orleans to confer with General Canby, the force under whose command was increased by the addition of General A. J. Smith's corps and a division of cavalry from the army of General Thomas. A joint movement by land and water was soon arranged and preparations commenced.

The defences of Mobile were very strong. Beauregard and Taylor, expecting an attack sooner or later, had been at work upon them for months, and had employed thousands of negroes in in-

trenching. The main line, nearly nine miles long, running around the west side, was almost impregnable. Commencing at the bay road, about three miles south of the city, it extended to the dépôt of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad on the north side, and was dotted with forty-two small redoubts, averaging three guns each, the gunners being well protected by traverses and in many cases by bomb-proofs. A ditch from twelve to eighteen feet wide and ten feet deep, filled a great part of its length with water, extended along the entire front of the line of works, and outside of this again was a stout fence constructed of telegraph wire. On the points of low islands in the upper part of the bay, opposite the city, were two batteries, around which were driven two rows of piling thirty feet in length, the interval between which was filled in with logs, forming a barrier capable of resisting the shock of the most powerful rams. A short distance below these island batteries was the first system of obstructions, stretching across the bay, consisting of seven distinct rows of piling of the same length as those covering the islands, and standing about six feet out of the water. Outside of this barrier was another line, also extending across the bay, formed by driving two rows of piling at a sufficient distance apart to admit of old steamboats, barges, and other vessels, being sunk between them. All approach was thus blocked up for ordinary vessels. On the east side of the bay, between a little island and the shore, a narrow channel was left unobstructed, by means of which small vessels might get round the east end of the line of obstructions; but this passage was commanded by a strong battery on the shore, and was at the same time thickly planted with torpedoes. On the east shore of the bay opposite the city were also a series of forts and batteries. Among these was Spanish Fort, which constituted the main defence of Mobile. This was an irregular bastioned work with fortifications three miles long, commencing at D'Olive Creek, and extending thence northward to Minetta Bay. Its guns, which were numerous and included several seven-inch and eight-inch pieces, were in embrasures. From the land side on the right of Spanish Fort were two bastions encircled with rifle-pits, *chevaux-de-frise*, trenches, and a belt of ground planted with torpedoes. Beyond Spanish Fort, to the left, and on the opposite side of Minetta Bay, was another fort mounting heavy guns. There were also water batteries on each side of the bay, in one of which was mounted a seven-inch Brooks' rifle. Torpedoes were largely made use of by the rebels in the defence of Mobile; not only were they placed at every point in the bay near which a Federal gun-boat might approach, but in the vicinity of the forts and batteries many were buried in the sand in such a way that the weight of a few pounds pressing on them would cause explosion.

Such in fact was the strength and extent of the defences of Mobile, that had they been fully manned, the cap-

ture of the city would have been an undertaking of extreme difficulty, and the attempt to accomplish it might have resulted in a sacrifice of life that its strategic value would scarcely warrant, so long as it was securely shut up from blockade runners. But the great trouble with the Confederates had long been the want of men, and this want was felt at Mobile as well as in other parts of the South. The rebel forces in and around the city amounted to but about fifteen thousand men, under the command of General Richard Taylor—General Maury being intrusted with the defences and General Gardiner commanding the forces in the field. Not only had the remains of Hood's old army been largely drawn upon to reinforce Lee and Johnston in the more decisive operations of the great contest, but General Wilson, with a large and well-appointed column of cavalry, was distracting the attention of the rebel forces still remaining in Alabama. Of the troops at the disposal of General Taylor, only about half were veterans, and but a very thin line could be placed in the long series of defensive works. The determination of the rebels was, however, to defend Mobile, and it was provisioned for a six months' siege. Maury adopted strict regulations within the city; he prohibited the sale of liquors, ordered all surplus negroes to be sent away to lessen the consumption of provisions, and had strict search made for secreted cotton, with a view to burn it, should the city seem in danger of falling into the hands of the Federal troops.

The forces of General Canby destined to operate against Mobile, about forty thousand in all, consisted of the thirteenth corps under General Granger, and the sixteenth under General A. J. Smith, both reorganized for this movement; a division of cavalry under General Grierson, and a force under General Steele, consisting of two brigades of Andrews' division, Hawkins' division of colored troops, and a cavalry brigade under General Lucas. Admiral Thatcher, with light draught iron-clads, was to co-operate as far as the shallowness of the water in the bay and the numerous obstructions would permit. On the 11th of March, some movements of the enemy having given rise to a supposition that they were evacuating the defences, a naval reconnoissance in force, consisting of five monitors, was sent to ascertain the facts. These went up the bay into as close proximity to the city as was practicable, and poured a hot fire into the enemy's works, dismounting several guns, but at the same time drawing from the rebels such a reply as left no doubt that they meant to fight.

Mar. 11.

Preliminary operations had been going on for some time, General Granger's corps having been long concentrated on Mobile Point near Fort Morgan. General A. J. Smith's corps was sent in transports from New Orleans to Dauphine Island, opposite Mobile Point, and the greater part arrived and concentrated at Fort Gaines on the 12th. The cavalry, largely reinforced from the Army of the Cumberland, and all under

General Grierson, was also at that time on its way to Mobile Point. General Steele's force was at Pensacola awaiting the signal to move. At length, after months of preparation and weeks of unlooked-for delay, all were ready, and a general advance of the forces intended to take part in the operations commenced.

On the 18th, Moore's brigade of the sixteenth corps, about two thousand strong, was conveyed in three transports, protected by two tin-clads, to Cedar Point, above Fort Powell, to effect a landing there and reconnoitre on the west side of the bay. The landing was safely effected at a wharf notwithstanding the torpedoes, of which five were discovered and dug out, the tin-clads shelling the woods in the vicinity. A few rebel cavalry scouts that made their appearance were driven off, and some breast-works in the neighborhood were abandoned. On the 17th, Bertram's brigade of the thirteenth corps, which had been transported from Dauphine Island to Mobile Point, on the mainland, for the purpose, had begun its march along the shore of Bon Secours Bay, the name given to the southeastern portion of Mobile Bay, and the remainder of the corps followed from Fort Morgan on the 18th. The rendezvous for the army was at a point on Fish River about six miles from its mouth in Bon Secours Bay, about twenty miles from Fort Gaines and thirty from Mobile. On the 19th, General A. J. Smith's corps left Fort Gaines in transports for Fish River, under the

Mar. 18.

protection of tin-clads—McArthur's division in the advance, Garrard's following, and Carr's in the rear—arrived on the 20th, and were all disembarked on the left bank by the night of the 21st. On the 22d and 23d, Granger's troops also arrived at the rendezvous, having been much delayed by the wretched condition of the roads, the mire of which was so deep as to make the movement of artillery almost impossible. No serious opposition was made by the enemy, and Bertram's advanced brigade easily drove away their cavalry videttes. But the march was one of extreme difficulty, notwithstanding that the troops went in light marching order, without tents and baggage and with few rations.

General Steele's column left Pensacola on the 19th, and moving through Pollard marched in the direction of Mobile. At Evergreen, on the Montgomery Railroad, ten miles above Pollard, he captured two railroad trains, and tore up the railroad track, as he had previously done at Pollard. He also was much delayed by the bad condition of the roads, over which there was much difficulty in moving the wagon trains and artillery; but he met with no active opposition from the enemy, except from a few skirmishers, till the advance arrived at Pine Barren Creek, where the pickets of the Sixth Alabama rebel cavalry were met, and from this point the Federal cavalry under Lucas skirmished with them slightly, the rebels falling back, till they reached Mitchell's Creek on the 25th, when they made a stand. Their force con-

Mar. 25.

sisted of about eight hundred cavalry under General Clanton; but the First Louisiana and the Second New York regiments charging promptly, followed by the rest of the brigade—though two volleys were received before the fire could be returned—the rebels, after a sharp fight, were routed, and pursued to the Little Escambia River, almost the entire force being killed, captured, or dispersed. General Clanton himself was taken prisoner, as well as fifteen other officers, and about two hundred and fifty men. On the 26th, General Steele continued his march toward Blakely, on the Tensaw River, at the northeast extremity of Mobile Bay, and about four miles above Spanish Fort. After reaching the vicinity of that place he called on General Canby for supplies, and a wagon train was sent to him on the 29th.

From the 24th to the 27th, skirmishing occurred between the advance of the Federal force, which had rendezvoused on the Fish River, and the enemy's cavalry, resulting in a loss of about twenty men to the former. Several men and horses were killed by torpedoes planted on the roads to Spanish Fort. On the 25th an advance through the pine forests was commenced from Fish River toward Blakely, by McArthur's division, followed next day by the remainder of the troops—the sixteenth corps moving on the right toward Blakely, and the thirteenth on the left toward Spanish Fort, toward which the enemy were driven back. The sixteenth corps also drove back the force in its front as far as Sibley's Mills, when the enemy made an unsuccessful attempt to burn the bridge over Bayou Minet. On the 27th, the enemy in front of Spanish Fort made an attempt to surprise the pickets of the thirteenth corps, but after a few moments' brisk firing were repulsed and fell back toward Blakely. Both corps now got into position to invest Spanish Fort, the sixteenth forming on the right, the thirteenth on the left—the several divisions forming a line in which Carr's division held the extreme right, McArthur's being next on its left; then Veach's and Benton's, and on the extreme left Bertram's brigade. General Garrard remained in the rear guarding the trains. Artillery having been moved up to within five hundred yards of the fort, skirmishers were thrown out in front, and in spite of heavy rain an artillery and musketry fire was continued all day. By nightfall the forces investing Spanish Fort were well-intrenched, the enemy's fire during the day having caused a loss of about two hundred men. During the night rifle-pits were constructed, and the batteries moved forward till some of them were within four hundred yards of the fort, while the skirmishers got a hundred yards nearer. More or less firing went on also through the night; and on the morning of the 28th all the batteries opened fire again.

Mar. 27.

The investment on the part of the land forces went on favorably; but it was necessary that the fort should be cut off from communication with Mobile by water, and be put beyond the reach of reinforcements and supplies. With

the view of effecting this, a naval movement had been commenced on the 27th. Since the captures of Forts Morgan and Gaines the Federal gun-boats had not ventured to cross Dog River Bar, partly on account of the shallowness of the water there, but principally from fear of damage by torpedoes, which were thickly planted in its vicinity. On the 27th, however, five iron-clads — the Winnebago, Kickapoo, Chickasaw, Milwaukie, and Osage, with the double-ender Octorata, succeeded in crossing the bar in safety, formed line of battle immediately beyond, and opened fire on the enemy's works, in the course of which 180 shells were thrown without eliciting any reply. On the afternoon of the 28th, the Winnebago and Milwaukie advanced toward Spanish Fort, and with a fire of shells drove off a transport near by. But a water battery of the enemy two miles distant opened fire on them with guns supposed to be Whitworths, throwing shells far beyond them, and the two iron-clads were ordered to withdraw to the line of battle. This the Winnebago succeeded in doing in safety; but the Milwaukie struck a torpedo, and was so much injured that she instantly filled and sunk, the water, however, being only eleven feet deep, all her crew were got off, only one man having been injured by the explosion. The upper parts of the turrets, the pilot-houses, and smoke-stacks, and a portion of the deck remained above water. One of the turrets remained in good working order, and fire was opened from it on the 29th upon Spanish Fort. The other iron-clads remained in line of battle on the 29th, the Osage, a Mississippi "turtle-back," carrying an eleven-inch gun, being at anchor a short distance astern; but as it was feared she might get foul of the other vessels, she was steamed ahead for the purpose of anchoring near the eastern shore on the edge of the channel, where, as she was preparing to cast anchor, she also struck a torpedo on the starboard bow and sunk. This accident cost the lives of six men; four others were wounded; the remainder of the men and officers were got off unhurt.

Mar. 28.

Mar. 29.

In the mean time heavy musketry and artillery firing was continued by the land forces in front of the fort. Siege guns were brought up; skirmishers and working parties advanced to within eighty yards, and three or four batteries were planted within from three to four hundred yards of the works; but owing to this close proximity the enemy's shells were very destructive. Occasionally, also, men and horses were killed or wounded by the explosion of the torpedoes with which the roads in the vicinity were thickly strewn. About two o'clock on the morning of the 30th, some skirmishers of Veach's division having lost their way while relieving guard, came in contact with the enemy, who, apprehending an assault, advanced and drove in the line of working parties and skirmishers to the very rifle-pits, taking some prisoners; but they quickly retired. Sharp artillery firing then sprang up, continuing till after daylight.

Fire was opened also from the fort upon the sunken vessels Milwaukie and Osage, to which the iron-clads in line responded, some of their shells bursting directly over the fort. Several of the enemy's war vessels, provided with guns of heavy calibre, showed a disposition to take part in the contest during the day, shelling the Federal lines above Spanish Fort.

By the 3d of April, General Steele having brought his lines at Blakely into connection with Canby's right, the investment of the fort was complete, and from that time till the 8th there was a constant interchange of fire between the gun-boats and batteries on both sides. The fleet could not get so far up the bay as was hoped, but nevertheless crossed the bar, engaged the rebel ram Nashville and Spanish Fort, and drove the enemy's vessels back toward the city. Just before nightfall on the 8th of April the final preparations for assault were completed. Within half a mile of the fort over thirty Parrott guns and mortars had been mounted, besides three light batteries thrown forward several hundred yards nearer, and from all these as well as from field-pieces a terrific fire was opened upon the fort, to which was added that of the gun-boats, which had now succeeded in cutting off in great measure communication with Mobile. At the same time skirmishers, creeping forward from trench to trench and from ridge to ridge, got within a hundred yards of the fort, and by an accurate sharpshooting fire kept the artillerists from the unsheltered guns. The enemy responded at first briskly and heavily, but were gradually driven from their guns, which replied more and more feebly, till at midnight they were silenced, and an hour afterward, the greater part of the garrison having escaped by water, the occupants of the fort surrendered, having previously spiked the guns. Colonel Bertram's brigade immediately occupied the works. Twenty-five officers and 538 men were captured, besides five mortars, twenty-five cannon—several of them eight-inch columbiads—and a large quantity of ammunition.

April 8.

A fire was immediately directed on Forts Huger and Tracy, in the harbor, at the mouth of the Blakely River; but the enemy soon abandoned both of them after spiking eight heavy guns. The monitors and gun-boats then, assisted by some prisoners, succeeded in finding and removing in a short time between thirty and forty torpedoes, and ran up to almost within shelling distance of Mobile. The gun-boat Cherokee moved up close enough at night to throw several shells into the enemy's water batteries, but without drawing a fire in return.

It now only remained to capture Blakely, the investment of which had been commenced on the 2d by the troops of General Steele, but whose water communication with Mobile had been protected by the guns of Spanish Fort. Several vessels having run up the Blakely River on the 9th of April, the investing troops were formed to assault Fort Alexis and the

April 9.

works protecting the town. Steele's troops, as before, held the right, Smith's the centre, and Granger's the left. About one o'clock, notwithstanding a tremendous and almost decimating fire from the enemy's batteries, and an enfilading shelling from the rebel gunboats Nashville and Huntsville, the troops rushed onward with loud cheers, cut through the thick abattis, crossed the ditches, and, although the ground was strewn with torpedoes, carried the works handsomely by assault. Fort Alexis and the entire line of works were taken, with 2,400 prisoners, including two general officers, besides twenty guns and a large quantity of ammunition and camp equipage.

The capture of Blakely was decisive of the fate of Mobile. The enemy commenced evacuating the city on the 10th, and were nearly all away by the night of the 11th. On the following day a formal surrender was made by the mayor to General Granger, who went over to the west side of the bay with two divisions, and at noon entered the city with three regiments to prevent pillage. When the provost-guard was established, the works around the city, which were found to be of immense strength and extent, were garrisoned. There were found in the city, which was in fine order, and in the defences on the west side of the bay, over 150 guns and a very large amount of ammunition and supplies of all kinds, besides several thousand bales of cotton. The total number of guns found in the defences on both sides of the bay did not fall many short of four hundred. In the entire series of operations nearly four thousand prisoners were taken, besides which the rebels lost about two thousand in killed and wounded. The Federal loss on the part of the land forces was about twenty-five hundred; that of the fleet was less than fifty, but its loss from vessels striking torpedoes was severe, and even after the occupation of the city no less than five were sunk in that way in the harbor. Of the rebel vessels of war, five in all, carrying twenty-eight guns, the Huntsville and Tuscaloosa were sunk by the rebels before the evacuation. The Nashville and Morgan and another vessel made their escape up the Tombigbee River.

April 12.

CHAPTER LIV.

General Wilson's great Raid through the South.—Delayed by Rains.—The March, in three Divisions.—Cuxton's Brigade detached to Tuscaloosa.—Fight at Elyton.—Arrival of the Column at Montevallo.—Courier captured.—Forrest driven back toward Selma.—Defeat of Forrest at Boyle's Creek.—The March on Selma.—Fortifications of Selma.—Defences carried by Assault.—Capture of Guns and Prisoners.—Bridge over the Alabama.—Occupation of Montgomery.—Capture of Columbus and of West Point.—Flag of Truce from General Cobb.—Capture of Macon by Colonel White.—Suspension of Arms.—Details of General Cuxton's movements.—Vast amount of Property destroyed.

In order to co-operate with General Canby in his movement against Mobile, and to distract as much as possible the enemy's attention in Alabama, General Grant directed General Thomas on the 14th of February to prepare as large a cavalry force as he could spare for a great raid through the South, whose objects would be first to insure success to Canby's operations, and second, to destroy the enemy's lines of communication and military resources. Tuscaloosa and Selma were recommended as the objective points of the expedition, while at the same time the commanding officer was to be allowed discretion to direct his movements according to the information he might receive. Accordingly, on the 23d of February, General Thomas authorized General Wilson—who, after its return from the pursuit of Hood, had assembled his entire cavalry corps, for the purpose of reorganization, at Eastport, at the head of steamboat navigation on the Tennessee River—to fit out and take charge of the expedition, and to move with his entire available force, allowing him at the same time the amplest discretion of an independent command.

1865.

It was intended that the expedition should start by the 4th of March, but heavy rains setting in, the roads became impassable, and the river so much swollen that a crossing was not effected till the 18th. The entire force consisted of thirteen thousand mounted and fifteen hundred dismounted men, with three batteries of artillery. Every trooper was furnished with five days' light rations in haversacks, twenty-four pounds of grain, a hundred rounds of ammunition, and an extra pair of shoes for his horse. The pack animals were loaded with hard bread for five days, and with sugar, coffee, and salt for ten days. The wagons contained coffee for forty-five days, sugar for twenty days, salt for fifteen days, and eighty rounds of ammunition. These supplies were provided on the supposition that the campaign would occupy about sixty days, and that the troops would be able to live off the country passed through. The entire train, including a light canvas pontoon train of

Mar. 18.

thirty boats, numbered two hundred and fifty wagons, escorted by the fifteen hundred dismounted men. At daylight on the 22d, all preliminary arrangements having been perfected, the march began, in three divisions, under Generals Long, Upton, and McCook. The entire valley of the Tennessee River having been laid waste in the course of two years' warfare, was almost wholly destitute of subsistence supplies, and it became necessary to move rapidly and to scatter the troops over a wide extent of country—which could be done without risk, as it was known that Forrest's troops were at that time near West Point, in Mississippi, one hundred and fifty miles southwest of Eastport, while Roddy's command occupied Montevallo, on the Alabama and Tennessee River Railroad, nearly as far to the southeast. By moving on diverging roads also, the rebels were left in doubt as to the real object of the expedition, and were thus compelled to keep their disposable force divided, to watch equally Columbus, Tuscaloosa, and Selma.

Mar. 22.

General Long's division marched by way of Cherokee Station and Frankfort toward Russellville, but being encumbered by the pontoon train, and having mistaken the road, was considerably delayed. From Russellville it marched directly southward till it crossed Upper Bear Creek, when it turned eastward and pushed through to Jasper, and the ford on the Black Warrior River. General Upton's division marched rapidly by the most easterly route, passing through Barton's Station, Throgmorton's Mills, Russellville, Mount Hope, and Jasper, to Saunders Ferry, on the West Fork of the Black Warrior. General McCook's division pursued the same route to Bear Creek, on the Tuscaloosa road, but instead of turning eastward from that point, continued its march in the direction of Tuscaloosa, as far as Eldridge, and thence eastward to Jasper. This order of march was continued till the three divisions arrived at and crossed the two forks of the Black Warrior. General Wilson, while at Jasper, on the 27th, hearing that a part of Forrest's command, under Chalmers, was moving by way of Bridgeville toward Tuscaloosa, and believing that if the real direction of his movement had been discovered, Forrest, with the remainder of the rebel cavalry, would soon push on in the same direction, ordered his division commanders to leave all the wagons between the two branches of the Black Warrior, and with the artillery march with the utmost expedition by way of Elyton to Montevallo—the wagon trains with their escorts to make the best of their way to Elyton and await further instructions. On the evening of the 30th, Cuxton's brigade was detached from McCook's division, then at Elyton, with orders to move rapidly on Tuscaloosa and destroy the public stores there, as well as the military school, the bridges, foundries, and factories, and returning toward the main column by the Centreville road, rejoin it at or in the vicinity of Selma. General Upton encountered a few rebel cavalry at Elyton, but drove them before

Mar. 27.

Mar. 30.

him across the Cahawba, whence they retreated to Montevallo, followed rapidly by General Upton, who arrived there late on the evening of the 30th. In this region General Upton's division destroyed some important iron-works, at the time in full operation, as well as the Cahawba rolling-mills, five collieries, and much other valuable property. The divisions of Generals Long and McCook marched by the same route as General Upton's, and the entire command arrived at Montevallo early in the afternoon of the 31st of March. But a rebel force making its appearance on the Selma road, General Upton moved his division out to meet it, and General Alexander's brigade, in the advance, after a sharp fight, drove portions of Roddy's and Crossland's commands rapidly and in confusion four or five miles in the direction of Randolph, where they made a stand. General Upton, however, placing a battery in position, and passing Winslow's brigade to the front, again forced them to a retreat, soon hastened by the advance of the whole division. Fifty prisoners were taken, and Upton's division bivouacked fourteen miles south of Montevallo, pushing forward at dawn on the morning of the 1st of April to Randolph. From this point General Upton turned eastward, to move by way of Maplesville, and thence by the old Selma road, General Long pushing forward by the river road.

Mar. 31.

At Randolph, General Upton captured a rebel courier just from Centreville, with two dispatches, one from General W. H. Jackson, commanding a division of Forrest's forces, and the other from Major Anderson, Forrest's chief of staff. From the first of these it was discovered that Forrest, with part of his command, was in front of the Federal forces; that Jackson, with his division and all the wagons and artillery of the rebel cavalry, had encamped the night before at Hill's plantation, three miles from Scottsboro; that General Cuxton, with the brigade detached at Elyton, had struck Jackson's rear-guard at Trion, and got between it and the train, and that Jackson intended to attack Cuxton at daylight on the 1st of April. From the other dispatch it was learned that Chalmers was on his way to join Forrest in the Federal front or at Selma, and that a rebel force of dismounted men was stationed at Centreville to hold the bridge over the Cahawba. Soon afterward General Wilson received a dispatch from General Cuxton, written at Trion the night before, stating that he had struck Jackson's rear, and that instead of pushing on to Tuscaloosa he would follow Jackson up and bring him to an engagement, with a view to prevent his junction with Forrest. General McCook was then directed to send a regiment to strengthen a battalion previously ordered to Centreville, and to follow at once with La Grange's entire brigade with the utmost possible celerity and seize the bridge at Centreville, and then, leaving a sufficient guard to hold the bridge, proceed by the Scottsboro road toward Trion, attack and break up Jackson's forces, form a junction with Cuxton, and returning

by the Centreville road rejoin his corps at Selma.

Generals Long and Upton were then directed to push forward upon Forrest as rapidly as possible and drive him back on Selma. The advance of both divisions encountered small parties of Forrest's command, but drove them back to their main body at Ebenezer Church, six miles north of Plantersville, where Forrest had taken up a position on the north bank of Boyle's Creek—his right resting on Mulberry Creek and his left on a high wooded ridge—with four pieces of artillery placed on the Randolph road, by which Long was advancing, and two on the Maplesville road. His force consisted of Armstrong's brigade of Chalmers' division, Roddy's division, Crossland's brigade of Kentuckians, and three hundred infantry just arrived from Selma—in all about five thousand men. Part of his front was covered by a slashing of pine trees and fence-rail barricades.

April 1.

As soon as General Long discovered the rebel advance-guard, he reinforced his own, consisting of a battalion of mounted infantry, by the balance of the regiment, and formed it, dismounted, on the left of the road. He then pushed on and broke the rebel line, at the same time ordering forward four companies of mounted infantry, who, with drawn sabres, drove the rebels in confusion to their main line, which they also broke through, riding over the rebel guns, and then turned to the left, and cut their way out, but leaving behind them one officer and sixteen men killed or wounded. General Alexander, in the advance of Upton's division, hearing the firing on his right, when about three miles off, hastened to the scene of action, and—deploying his men mostly on the right of the road, with the intention of connecting with Long's left—as soon as everything was in readiness pushed forward his men. In less than an hour, though the rebels made a determined resistance, the position was carried. Three guns and about two hundred prisoners were captured. Winslow's brigade was then immediately passed to the front, to pursue the enemy, but did not succeed in bringing them to another stand. The whole corps bivouacked at sundown near Plantersville about nineteen miles north of Selma.

The march on Selma was resumed at daylight on the morning of the 2d, and by rapid marching, the troops, meeting no opposition, were all in sight of the town, and in position by four in the afternoon. The fortifications of Selma consisted of a bastioned line on a radius of nearly three miles, both ends of which rested on the river, one above and the other below the city. On the west side of the city was a miry, deep, and almost impassable creek, on the east side a swamp reaching from the river almost to the Summerfield road, and entirely impracticable for mounted men at all times. The height of the parapet at the part of the line where it was determined to make the assault was from six to eight feet; in front of it was a ditch five feet deep; the stockade on the glacis was five feet high, and sunk

April 2.

four feet into the soil. The ground in front was an open field, generally level, but sloping a little toward the works, and intersected by a ravine. The entire force within the town, including some militia, was about seven thousand men, under Forrest, Roddy, Armstrong, and Adams.

General Wilson, after making a reconnoissance of the roads from left to right, directed General Long to assault the works by moving diagonally across the road upon which his troops were posted, while General Upton, with a picked force of three hundred men, was directed to penetrate a swamp on his left, break through the line covered by it, and turn the rebel right—the remainder of his division to conform to the movement. The signal for the advance was to be a single gun, to be fired as soon as Upton's turning movement was accomplished. But before this plan could be put in execution, General Long was informed that a strong force of rebel cavalry, afterward ascertained to have been Chalmers' command, was skirmishing with his rear, and fearing that this affair might compromise the assault upon the main position, he strengthened his rear by another regiment, and without waiting for the signal gun, gave the order to advance at once. The troops dismounted and sprang forward, and without ever stopping, wavering, or faltering, in fifteen minutes swept over the works, and drove the rebels toward the city in confusion. General Wilson immediately notified General Upton that the works in front of General Long were carried, and directed him to push in also as rapidly as possible, at the same time ordering Colonel Minty to collect General Long's men for a new charge—General Long himself having fallen severely wounded in the head. Colonel Vail also, commanding the Seventeenth Indiana, was ordered to place his own regiment and the Fourth Ohio in line inside the captured works. Colonel O'Connell, with the Fourth United States Regiment, and Captain Robinson's battery were also ordered up. The rebels had fallen back to a new and only partially finished line in the edge of the city; and to carry this was the object of the renewed attack. A gallant charge made by the Fourth United States Cavalry was repulsed, but it was rapidly re-formed on the left. Night was now coming on, but the ardor of the troops admitted of no restraint. Upton's entire division advanced, and at the same time a new charge was made by the Fourth Ohio, the Seventeenth Indiana, and the Fourth United States Cavalry, all dismounted. This time the troops swept everything before them in the most enthusiastic manner, and penetrated the city in all directions, while Robinson's battery, now in a commanding position, steadily replied to the rebel guns, dismounting two of them.

The assault was successful in every particular, and considering all the circumstances, not surpassed by any made during the war. The distance over which the troops charged while exposed to a musketry and artillery fire, was six

hundred yards, and the number actually engaged did not exceed two thousand, while the portion of the line assaulted was manned by fifteen hundred troops of Armstrong's brigade, which had been considered the best in Forrest's command. The Federal loss was a little over three hundred. The number of prisoners captured amounted to 2,700, including 150 officers. There were also taken, in position, thirty-one field-guns and one thirty-pounder Parrott, a number of colors, and immense quantities of stores of all kinds. Generals Forrest, Armstrong, Roddy, and Adams escaped in the darkness with more than half of their men, either by the Burnsville and river roads, or by swimming the Alabama River. A portion of Upton's division pursued on the Burnsville road until long after midnight, capturing four guns and several hundred prisoners.

General Winslow was placed in command of the city, with orders to destroy everything that could possibly be of service to the rebel forces. General Upton's division was directed to march at daylight on the morning of the 3d of April for the purpose of driving Chalmers to the west side of the Cahawba, and to open communications with McCook, who was expected back from Centreville, and in conjunction with him to bring in the wagon trains. Generals Upton and McCook came back on the 5th, but without having obtained any definite intelligence respecting the movements of General Cuxton. McCook on reaching Scottsboro had found Jackson well posted, with a force too strong to be attacked, and after a sharp skirmish fell back again to Centreville.

On the 6th of April, General Wilson, having ordered the construction of a bridge over the Alabama River, went to Cahawba to have an interview with Forrest, who had agreed to meet him there to make arrangements for an exchange of prisoners. But as Forrest hoped to be able to recapture his men, little could be done with him. General Wilson, however, learnt from Forrest, that General Cuxton had had an engagement with Wirt Adams, near Bridgeville, forty miles southwest of Tuscaloosa, several days before. General Wilson therefore returned to Selma, and urged forward the construction of the bridge and the preparations for crossing to the south side of the Alabama, which was quite full and rising, and 870 feet in width—the current so strong that the pontoons were three times swept away. The troops were, however, all got over by the 10th of April. Before leaving the city General Winslow destroyed the great foundry, a large number of eleven-inch and other guns, all the machinery for manufacturing small-arms, and for casting shot and shell, as well as the arsenal, with its contents, and a quantity of military stores. Ten thousand bales of cotton and several warehouses were consigned to the flames. The Confederate authorities had previously destroyed twenty-five thousand bales of cotton.

April 6.

General Wilson then determined to march to Georgia by way of Montgomery, about forty-five miles east of

Selma, and after breaking up railroads, and destroying as far as practicable the Confederate resources in that State, to move as rapidly as possible to the theatre of war in North Carolina. All the dismounted men were supplied with horses at Selma, and, in order to relieve the column of all unnecessary impediments, most of the pontoon train and all surplus wagons were destroyed. All fugitive negroes also, except such able-bodied men as were willing to enlist, were left behind. A large number volunteered for the service and were organized into regiments, one to each division.

The march to Montgomery was necessarily slow, the roads being bad and the bridges over the streams destroyed, so that the advance-guard did not reach the city till seven o'clock on the morning of the 12th, when the mayor made a formal surrender. General Adams, who with a small rebel force had made his escape from Selma to Montgomery, after burning one hundred and twenty-five thousand bales of cotton, had continued his retreat to Mount Meigs, on the Columbus road; but the Federal troops found there five guns and a large quantity of small-arms and stores, which they destroyed. A small detachment sent northward to Wetumpka, on the east bank of the Coosa River, captured there five steamboats, with their cargoes, which were brought to Montgomery and destroyed.

April 12.

The march was resumed early on the 14th, General Upton's division moving eastward directly on Columbus. La Grange's brigade having received orders to make a rapid movement along the railroad to West Point, destroying the railroad bridges on the route, soon after leaving camp came upon a force of rebels, which they drove back in confusion, taking a hundred and fifty prisoners. Long's division under Minty followed Upton's by way of Tuskegee. McCook's division remained a few hours in Columbus to complete the destruction of public stores. About two o'clock on the afternoon of the 16th, a part of General Alexander's brigade, the advance of Upton's division, met rebel pickets and drove them rapidly through Gerard to the lower bridge over the Chattahoochee at Columbus; but the rebels hastily setting fire to it prevented their pursuers from crossing. The enemy at Columbus were found to be strongly posted in a line of works covering all the bridges, with many guns in position on both sides of the river. General Upton, however, determined to commence the attack without waiting for Minty's division, and sent Winslow's brigade to the Opelika or Summerville road to assault the works on that side; but Winslow being accidentally detained, did not arrive at the position assigned him till after dark. General Upton, however, proposed to make the assault in the night, and General Wilson coinciding with him, the attack was ordered. Three hundred men of the Third Iowa Cavalry were dismounted, moved forward, and formed across the road, two regiments being held in readiness to support the storming party. By eight o'clock the troops were all in readi-

April 16.

ness, and at that hour the rebels opened upon them a fire of musketry, grape, and canister. The assaulting party, armed with Spencer's carbines, dashed forward and opened a rapid and effective fire, pushed through a slashing and abattis, and pressed back the rebels to their outer works, Two companies of the Tenth Missouri were then sent forward to get possession of the bridge, and passing through the inner line of rebel works in the dark, succeeded in doing so before the rebels were aware of their approach. General Upton then pressed other troops forward, swept away all opposition, took possession of the fort and railroad bridge, and entered the city. Twelve hundred prisoners, fifty-two guns in position, and large quantities of arms and stores were captured. The Federal loss was only twenty-four killed and wounded. Colonel Lamar, formerly owner of the slaver Wanderer, was among the rebel killed.

In the mean time La Grange's brigade had, after a good deal of hard marching and skirmishing, reached the vicinity of West Point late on the forenoon of the 16th. Fort Tyler, covering the bridge over the Chattahoochee, was found to be a remarkably strong bastioned earth-work, thirty-five yards square, with a ditch twelve feet wide and ten deep, on a commanding eminence, and mounting two thirty-two pounders and two field-guns. An assault was made at half-past one on three sides of the work at once. The rebel skirmishers were rapidly driven into the fort and followed by the assailants to the edge of the ditch. This was found impassable under the enemy's fire of musketry and grape; but La Grange, instead of calling back his men, posted a sufficient number of sharpshooters to keep down the rebel gunners, and organized parties to procure materials for bridges over the ditch. When these were collected, the troops sprang forward again, laid the bridges, and rushed over the parapet into the works, capturing the entire of garrison of 265 men. General Tyler, the commander of the fort, and eighteen men were killed, besides twenty-seven severely wounded. La Grange's loss was seven killed and twenty-nine wounded. He destroyed also the two bridges over the Chattahoochee, nineteen locomotives and 245 cars, most of which were loaded with quartermasters' stores. Early on the 17th he resumed his march toward Macon, passing through the towns of La Grange, Griffin, and Forsyth.

General Winslow was assigned to the command of Columbus, and destroyed there an immense quantity of property, including a hundred and fifteen thousand bales of cotton, the rebel ram Jackson, nearly ready for service, and mounting six seven-inch guns, fifteen locomotives, two hundred and fifty railroad cars, the railroad and foot bridges, the navy-yard, over a hundred thousand rounds of artillery ammunition, a vast amount of quartermasters' and commissary stores, and various foundries and factories. On the afternoon of the 17th, Colonel Minty's division resumed the move-

April 17.

ment in the direction of Macon, marching by the Thomaston road. A detachment sent forward to seize the bridges across the Flint River, fifty-five miles east of Columbus, reached and secured them early on the following morning. The remainder of General Wilson's column left Columbus on the morning of the 18th, following the same route as Minty's division. When within twenty miles of Macon, the advance-guard, under Colonel White, drove back two hundred rebel cavalry. Seven miles farther, Colonel White was met by General Robertson, of the Confederate army, with a flag of truce and a letter addressed to the commander of the forces. This was forwarded to General Wilson, who did not receive it till late in the afternoon, when nineteen miles from Macon. It proved to be a communication from General Cobb, commanding the rebel forces in Macon, announcing that a truce had been agreed upon between Generals Sherman and Johnston, and proposing that the contending forces should remain in the positions they then occupied, till notice of a resumption of hostilities should be given. General Wilson immediately rode rapidly toward the front, with the intention of halting the advance at the defences of Macon, and obtaining an interview with General Cobb before giving his consent to the armistice; but before he could arrive, Colonel White had dashed into the city and received its surrender, the garrison making but a slight show of resistance. General Wilson arrived at half-past eight in the evening, and, though not doubting that an armistice had been agreed upon, determined, notwithstanding the protest of General Cobb, to consider the garrison as prisoners of war till he should receive official notice from United States authorities. On the morning of the 21st, at six o'clock, he received this in the form of a dispatch from General Sherman, informing him of a universal suspension of arms, accompanied by an order to desist from further acts of war and devastation. On the 30th, he received notice of the final capitulation of the rebel forces east of the Chattahoochee, and not till the following day did he get the order of Secretary Stanton, annulling the first armistice.

April 30.

General Cuxton arrived with his brigade at Forsyth on the 30th, and the next day marched into Macon. After having skirmished near Trion on the morning of the 22d of April, with the rebel force under Jackson, twenty-six hundred strong, he marched rapidly toward Johnston's Ferry on the Black Warrior, forty-four miles above Tuscaloosa, crossed to the west side, and turned toward Northport, where he arrived at nine o'clock at night on the 4th. About midnight he surprised the force at the bridge and crossed into Tuscaloosa. Here he captured three guns and a hundred and fifty prisoners, and destroyed the military school and all the public works. Failing to communicate with McCook, and not hearing from General Wilson, and knowing that Jackson and Chalmers were both on the west side of the Cahawba, he abandoned

Tuscaloosa on the 5th, burnt the bridge over the Black Warrior, and struck to the southeast toward Eutaw; but when within seven miles of that place, hearing that Wirt Adams was there, with two thousand cavalry, he moved back in the direction of Tuscaloosa, and leaving it on the right passed on through Jasper, recrossed the West Fork of the Black Warrior at Hawley's Mill, and marching in an easterly direction by way of Mount Benson and Trionsville, crossed the Coosa at Collins' Ferry, and moved toward Talladega. Near this place he scattered a rebel force under General Hill, capturing a gun and a hundred and fifty prisoners, and continued his march thence toward Blue Mountain, the terminus of the Alabama and Tennessee Railroad. Then, after destroying some important iron-works, he moved again eastward by way of Carrollton, Newman, and Forsyth, to Macon, having marched 650 miles in thirty days, during which time he had no knowledge of the movements of the main column.

The great raid of General Wilson of course ended at Macon. The route taken lay through a vast region which for the most part had never been touched by Federal troops, and consequently afforded an abundance of supplies while the army was in motion. The main column had marched 525 miles in twenty-eight days, and captured during that time five fortified cities, 288 pieces of artillery, 6,820 prisoners, including five general officers, and twenty-three stand of colors; it also captured or destroyed two gun-boats, ninety-nine thousand stand of arms, five steamboats, thirty-five locomotives, 565 cars, besides iron-works, foundries, machine-shops, rolling-mills, factories, and a vast amount of other property; it also destroyed or compelled the enemy to destroy 275,000 bales of cotton, worth at the prices then prevailing, $68,000,000. The total Federal loss was, 13 officers and 86 men killed; 39 officers and 559 men wounded, and 7 officers and 21 men missing—an aggregate of 725.

CHAPTER LV.

Inactivity of the Armies in Virginia.—Failure of the Dutch Gap Canal.—Movement of the Rebel Fleet against City Point.—Efforts to initiate Peace Negotiations.—Conference at Fortress Monroe.—Another great Movement to the left from Petersburg.—Fighting at Hatcher's Run.—Gordon's Attack repulsed by General Smyth.—Advance to Dabney's Mills.—Federal Forces driven back to Hatcher's Run.—Guerrillas in the Valley of the Shenandoah.—Sheridan's Raid from Winchester toward Lynchburg.—Capture of Staunton.—Total Defeat of Early at Waynesboro.—Occupation of Charlottesville.—Heavy Rains and bad Roads.—Sheridan at Columbia.—The March to White House.—Enormous Destruction effected, of Railroads, Bridges, Canal Locks, and Mills.

1865. THE general inactivity into which military operations in Virginia settled after the battle of Hatcher's Run and General Warren's expedition toward Weldon, characterized affairs there for some weeks in the following year. In January little of importance occurred beyond the monotonous shell and picket firing in the lines before Petersburg, or in connection with the Army of the James. **Jan. 1.** On New Year's day the bulkhead of the Dutch Gap Canal was partially blown out by the explosion of mines. The earth was thrown up to a considerable height, but instead of being cast forward, as was desired, fell back substantially into its former position. A crater was formed into which the water ran slowly from the canal below about two-thirds of the distance from the head of the water in the canal to the edge of the water in the James, but no connection with the river was established, and of course the canal remained useless for the purposes for which it was intended. A few raids by one party or the other kept the Valley of the Shenandoah from relapsing into absolute repose.

Heavy rains about the middle of January swelled the James River to several feet above its ordinary level, flooding the low grounds along its banks, and tearing away the pontoon bridges at Aiken's Landing and Dutch Bottom, and the enemy, taking advantage of the high stage of water in the river, after the departure of Admiral Porter's fleet for Wilmington, prepared their iron-clads in the James for a descent on City Point. A fleet composed of three iron-clads, the Virginia, Richmond, and Fredericksburg, each carrying four guns, the wooden vessels Drewry, Nansemond, and Hampton, each of two guns, the Bedford, one gun, the steamer Torpedo, and three torpedo boats, at a very early hour on the morning of the 24th, **Jan. 24.** dropped down from their anchorage above the Howlett batteries, ran past Fort Brady without being observed, and attempted to pass the obstructions which had been placed in the river, and get down to City Point. The attention of

the fort was, however, soon drawn to the vessels, and a lively cannonading went on for some time, terminating in the fort having a hundred-pounder gun dismounted and in the rebel vessels getting out of range. At length the enemy succeeded in cutting the chain in front of the obstructions beyond the lower end of Dutch Gap Canal, and the Fredericksburg got through under full head of steam ; but the Richmond, Virginia, and Drewry grounded in attempting to follow, and the Fredericksburg had to return to their assistance. The Drewry could not be got off, and as daylight was approaching, and the fleet was now within range of Battery Parsons, she was abandoned. A shell from the battery subsequently falling into her magazine, she blew up and was totally demolished. The remainder of the fleet retired up the river. The loss in killed and wounded did not exceed twenty on either side. Had not the rebel ironclads grounded, the entire fleet of transports at City Point might have been sunk, and the base of operations there temporarily destroyed—in which event the Federal troops on the north side of the James would have been separated from those on the south side, and Fort Harrison isolated and greatly endangered.

About this time some futile attempts were made to renew negotiations for peace. After the entire breaking up of Hood's army by General Thomas, and the march of Sherman almost unopposed from Atlanta to Savannah, a conviction began to prevail very generally in the South as well as in the North, that the strength of the rebellion was broken. Without Sherman's command the Federal forces in the field were sufficiently numerous to insure final success. The North had therefore one great army to spare, while the Confederacy, in men, in resources of every kind, and in the spirit with which the contest was carried on, was known to be failing rapidly. This was strikingly evidenced in the agitation of the proposition to arm the slaves and use them as soldiers. Thus a belief came to be generally entertained in the North, that a large portion of the Southern leaders were not indisposed to accept peace, even on condition of entire submission to the national authority. Some of the best and more sagacious of the Confederate leaders had long seen that success was hopeless, and were only solicitous of bringing the war to a close in some way which should not wound too keenly the pride and self-respect of the people of the States in rebellion. A large class in the North also were desirous that efforts should be made to put a stop to the war as soon as it could be done without materially sacrificing the national interests.

Two indirect attempts had been made in the summer of 1864 to commence negotiations with a view to bring about a peace, but both terminated without any satisfactory result. About the middle of July, Colonel James F. Jaques, of the Seventy-third Illinois Volunteers, obtained permission to pass the rebel lines at Petersburg and to proceed to Richmond, where he succeeded in get-

ting an interview with Jefferson Davis. He had no authority to speak or act for President Lincoln, but undertook to explain on what basis the United States Government would in all probability be willing to treat for peace. But Davis gave him to understand that no peace could be contemplated by him or his government without the recognition of the independence of the "Southern Confederacy."

Another attempt to initiate negotiations was made by some rebel agents in Canada ---Clement C. Clay, Professor Holcombe, and George N. Sanders—on whose behalf W. Cornell Jewett, an irresponsible adventurer, wrote on the 5th of July to Horace Greeley, well known to be anxious for peace, stating that "two ambassadors of Davis & Co." were in Canada, "with full and complete power for a peace," and requesting an interview at Niagara Falls. Mr. Greeley sent Jewett's letter to the President, accompanied by one from himself, in which he urged the submission of overtures to the Southern insurgents and presented a plan of adjustment. A correspondence ensued, in which the President expressed himself as not unwilling to receive duly accredited agents in Washington, and authorized Mr. Greeley to promise a safe-conduct to any such persons. Accordingly Mr. Greeley, on the 17th of July, sent a letter by the hands of Mr. Jewett, addressed to Messrs. Clay, Holcombe, and Thompson, in which he informed them that he was authorized by the President to tender a safe-conduct, provided that they were duly accredited from Richmond as bearers of propositions looking to the establishment of peace. Messrs. Clay and Holcombe, however, could not claim to be accredited commissioners, and so informed Mr. Greeley, at the same time stating that they were in the confidential employment of their government, and entirely familiar with its wishes and opinions on the subject of peace, and that they had no doubt that if the circumstances of the correspondence could be made known to the government at Richmond, they would be invested with all the authority requisite. Mr. Greeley then telegraphed to Washington for instructions, and received from the President on the same day the following memorandum:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *July* 18, 1864.

"*To whom it may concern:*

"Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the Executive Government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms, on substantial and collateral points, and the bearer or bearers thereof shall have safe-conduct both ways. ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

This put an end to all proceedings in the matter, the rebel agents asserting that it prescribed in advance the conditions of peace, and therefore precluded negotiation.

The third and last attempt to initiate peace negotiations was made by Mr. Francis P. Blair, who having obtained a pass through the Federal lines from the President, went to Richmond, had conferences with Jefferson Davis and other members of the rebel government, and returned on the 16th of January with written assurances from Davis of his

willingness to "renew the efforts to enter into a conference with a view to secure peace between the *two countries*." Mr. Blair returned to Richmond on the 20th with a written assurance from Mr. Lincoln to the effect that he was ready to receive any agent who might be sent informally with a view of "securing peace to the people of our *common country*." The result of these communications was that on the 29th of January three persons, Alexander H. Stephens, R. M. T. Hunter, and J. A. Campbell, made application for permission to cross the Federal lines at Petersburg, and proceed to Washington as peace commissioners. The application being referred to the President, he granted permission for the three persons named to proceed to Fortress Monroe, for the purpose of holding an informal conference, on the express condition that the peace proposed to be secured should be for the people of "our *common country*," and on the 31st directed Mr. Seward to proceed to Fortress Monroe for the purpose of conferring with them. Mr. Seward was instructed to insist upon these conditions as indispensable: 1. The restoration of the national authority throughout the States. 2. No receding from the position of the national executive on the subject of slavery. 3. No cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war and the disbanding of the forces hostile to the Government. Keeping these conditions in view as a basis, Mr. Seward was directed to hear whatever the commissioners might have to say, and report to the President, but was not authorized to consummate anything. Mr. Seward reached Fortress Monroe at ten o'clock on the evening of the 1st of February, followed on the evening of the 2d by Mr. Lincoln, who had received a dispatch from General Grant, expressing a strong conviction that a personal interview on the part of the President with the commissioners was highly desirable. In a note addressed to General Grant they had declared their willingness to confer with the President upon the terms which he had prescribed, or upon any terms "not inconsistent with the essential principles of self-government and popular rights on which our institutions are founded," their object being to ascertain, after a free interchange of ideas and information, in what way a just and honorable peace might be secured without further effusion of blood. They were admitted on the morning of the 3d of February to a conference with the President and Secretary Seward, on board a steamer anchored in Hampton Roads. No other persons were present, and no papers were produced or exchanged. The conference, though it lasted several hours, was altogether informal, but the interchange of views showed that the executive of the rebel government was as yet indisposed to enter into any serious negotiation for peace without first obtaining a recognition of the independence of the Southern Confederacy. "The several points at issue between the Government and the insurgents," wrote Mr. Seward to the American minister in London, "were

Feb. 3.

distinctly raised and discussed fully, intelligently, and in an amicable spirit. What the insurgent party seemed chiefly to favor was a postponement of the question of separation upon which the war is waged, and a mutual direction of the efforts of the Government, as well as those of the insurgents, to some extrinsic policy or scheme for a season, during which passions might be expected to subside, and the armies be reduced, and trade and intercourse between the people of the two sections be resumed. It was suggested by them that through such postponement we might now have immediate peace with some not very certain prospect of an ultimate and satisfactory adjustment of political relations between the Government and the States, section, or people, now engaged in conflict with it." This suggestion, though considered by the President, was rejected, as implying an armistice or truce, to which he announced that he would not agree, "except on the basis of the disbandment of the insurgent forces and the recognition of the national authority throughout all the States in the Union." The President further declared that "the complete restoration of the national authority everywhere was an indispensable condition of any assent on our part to whatever form of peace might be proposed." The conference terminated, therefore, without any step having been taken toward the procurement of a peace.

General Grant had in the mean time been making preparations for another grand movement toward the left. On the 31st of January the entire Army of the Potomac—the second, fifth, sixth, and ninth corps, received marching orders. The hospitals were cleared and the sick sent back to City Point; the quartermasters' and commissary stores also were sent out of harm's way. The cars were kept running constantly to City Point till the afternoon of Saturday the 4th of February, when Gregg's division of cavalry received orders to march at three on the following morning, the fifth corps to follow at five and the second at six. The object of the movement was to get possession of the South Side Railroad, which it was hoped would cause the evacuation of Petersburg. Gregg's division started at the hour appointed, and moving along the Jerusalem plank road, the advance reached Reams' Station soon after daybreak. The fifth corps moved along the Halifax road, Ayres' division in the advance, Griffin's next, and Crawford's in the rear. These troops formed the expeditionary or flanking column. Along the Vaughan road marched Smyth's and Mott's divisions of the second corps. These troops had the duty assigned them of moving directly on the enemy's works at Hatcher's Run, while the fifth corps and Gregg's cavalry marched around their right. The weather and the roads were good, and the troops, carrying four days' rations, marched in excellent spirits. Gregg's cavalry column advancing from Reams' Station toward Dinwiddie Court House, encountered at Rowanty Creek a body of Hampton's cavalry, dismounted, covered by breast-

Feb. 5.

works on the farther side of the stream, disputing the passage of a temporary bridge; but this was carried, as well as the works, after a short skirmish, with a loss of twenty men, twenty-two of the enemy being taken prisoners. The stream was at this time about twenty feet wide, and too deep for fording, and it was necessary to construct two bridges to enable the fifth corps to get over with its ordnance and supply trains and ambulances. This caused a delay of several hours. The cavalry, however, moved on rapidly to Dinwiddie Court House, where they captured an empty wagon train, and sent out scouting parties in various directions. The rebel cavalry stationed at Bellefield were ordered up to resist Gregg's advance, but were not strong enough, and no fight took place. At nightfall Gregg returned to Rowanty Creek and encamped. The enemy had already destroyed the bridge there—the fifth corps having crossed and moved on westward.

General Humphrey, with the second and third divisions of his corps, moved down the Vaughan road to Hatcher's Run—Mott's with the third division in the advance, De Trobriand's being the leading brigade. The enemy's intrenchments on the opposite bank were not very strongly manned; but the obstructions in the stream were such that Major Hess' battalion of cavalry was driven back in an attempt to cross. De Trobriand, however, deployed his brigade in line of battle, and sending the Ninety-ninth Pennsylvania over in skirmishing order, the works were carried with little loss, and the ford secured for the whole column, which having crossed, rapidly drove the small force of the enemy into the woods. The brigade then taking position on a hill beyond the ford, threw up intrenchments. But the cavalry battalion, which had crossed a little to the south of the Vaughan road, while pursuing the enemy and reconnoitring on the left, met a small force in ambush, from which it received a sharp volley, and lost a number of men and horses.

General Smyth, in the mean while, before the run was crossed and while his division was yet half a mile from the stream, turned off to the right along a by-path, leading northeastward toward Armstrong's Mill and Ford. After an advance of about three-quarters of a mile, a heavy force of the enemy under Gordon was found in a strong position, with pickets thrown out in front. Skirmishers drove these back to their breastworks, and a line was formed, in which the left of Smyth's division connected with the right of Mott's. Earth-works were also thrown up and other preparations made to resist an attack. Skirmishing went on till about two o'clock, when a furious artillery fire was begun by the enemy, and an attack from them seemed imminent. This was made about half-past four on Smyth's right flank, falling principally on McAllister's and Murphy's brigades. Yelling and cheering, the rebels pressed through a difficult swamp upon which Smyth's right partly rested; but the troops standing firm behind their breast-works, received them

with such a musketry fire that they fell back again to the woods. This attempt to carry the works on the right flank, and thus turn the Federal position, was repeated a second and a third time, but with the same result. Fierce fighting continued till dark, but at seven o'clock, except cannonading, it was all over, and Smyth's lines remained intact. The night passed in comparative quiet, and in the morning the enemy were found to have abandoned their ground in front of the second corps, leaving behind some of their dead.

Feb. 6. The lines of the army were re-formed on the 6th, so that the fifth and second corps were brought into connection, the second on the right, the fifth on the left, which was covered by Gregg's cavalry. The sixth and ninth corps were also so disposed as to be able to render assistance to the fifth and second. The lines, as usual in the presence of the enemy, were covered with rude breast-works, which were strengthened by constant work till noon. De Trobriand and McAllister in the mean time moved out their brigades upon reconnoissances in the direction of Petersburg. About noon Crawford's division of the fifth corps was sent toward Dabney's Mills with the view of getting to the Boydton plank road. The entire region to be traversed in this direction was very unfavorable for marching and manœuvring, being covered with thick woods, and broken up in all directions with swamps and ravines, and the only road was so narrow as not to admit of one wagon passing another, and was, besides, full of stumps, and where it crossed the swamps, knee-deep in mud. The troops advancing in skirmishing order on the right and left of the road, were more unfortunate than those moving along it, as the ground they had to cross was softer, and they had besides to make their way through thick underbrush, while rebel sharpshooters on the watch in front picked them off at their leisure. Many men lost their shoes in the mud, and got their muskets and ammunition made useless by water. About two miles above the Vaughan road Crawford's skirmishers met those of the enemy under Pegram, and drove them back rapidly. But Pegram sent for assistance, and was quickly reinforced by Evans' division. The persevering advance of Crawford was at length checked, but not before the enemy had been driven beyond Dabney's Mills.

Gregg with the cavalry, on the left of the Vaughan road, had been fighting for some time, the enemy's cavalry having commenced the day by pressing his rear, so that Davies' brigade, and subsequently the entire division, became engaged. During a lull in the fighting the cavalry threw up breast-works, which proved of great service; for toward evening the enemy attacked again in force, driving in the pickets and forcing the troops to take refuge in them. Heavy firing followed, and the Federal troops, some of whom were armed with the Spencer rifle, inflicted considerable loss upon the enemy. But the battle became very severe, and a number of the Federal cavalry officers

were wounded. The result was that Gregg was finally driven out of his breast-works and forced to fall back to Hatcher's Run.

While the cavalry had thus been desperately engaged on the left, the infantry on the right of the Vaughan road had to withstand repeated shocks. Soon after five o'clock the enemy came down upon the fifth corps. As it was apprehended that Crawford's division, entangled in the woods, might be cut off, Ayres' division was sent to its support, but while moving in column was attacked and driven back. Wheaton's division of the sixth corps having arrived about five o'clock, was also ordered up to the support of Crawford, and part of it was for a time hotly engaged; but this division also shared in the general reverse, and soon joined the fifth corps and Gregg's cavalry, both of which were falling back in confusion. The force of the enemy consisted of Pegram's and Evans' divisions of Gordon's corps, and Mahone's division of A. P. Hill's corps. In the presence of these veteran troops, and in such a broken and swampy country as that in the neighborhood of Dabney's Mills, in which the enemy had greatly the advantage in being well acquainted with the ground, a retreat could not be conducted with anything like a regular formation; the scattered troops fought as they fell back, every man for himself, firing from behind trees and such shelter as they could find; and it was not till the Vaughan road and Hatcher's Run were reached and the intrenchments regained, that the routed columns could be rallied. The enemy, flushed with success, dashed out of the woods into the open space in front of the works, but were received with a sharp fire and fell back quickly to their cover, without attempting to carry the defences. Thus ended the second battle of Hatcher's Run. The losses were not so great as might have been expected from the great confusion of the retreat. The total killed and wounded during the actions of the 5th and 6th was 91 officers and 1,113 men. There were, however, about 900 men missing, the greater part captured from Crawford's division, in which also the losses in killed and wounded principally occurred. The enemy's loss, though not so great, was severe, including General Pegram killed. On the Federal side, Generals Ayres, Davies, Gregg, and Morrow were severely wounded.

The Federal troops busied themselves all night and during the morning of the 7th in strengthening their defences, in the belief that the enemy would attack again; but as they showed no disposition to do so, Crawford's division was sent out to reconnoitre. The enemy were found in a strong position higher up the stream between Armstrong's and Burgess' Mills. A sharp musketry fire was commenced and went on for some time; but as Crawford was not strong enough to force the enemy's lines, he fell back again toward the intrenchments, followed some distance by the enemy. There was also considerable artillery firing during the day. On the 8th there was no fighting; but the

Feb. 7.

troops were engaged the whole day in throwing up stronger intrenchments and defensive works—labors which the enemy showed no disposition to interfere with. The result of the entire movement was the prolongation of the Federal lines in the direction of the South Side Railroad as far as Hatcher's Run, to which the City Point Railroad was continued, and from which another great movement to the left was intended to be made.

Affairs now remained comparatively quiet in Virginia for some time, the monotony relieved occasionally by shell firing along the Petersburg lines, and in the Shenandoah Valley by the operations of guerrillas. Among the latter may be instanced the surprise and capture by Lieutenant McNeil, with a band of thirty men, at Cumberland, on the morning of the 21st of February, of Generals Crook and Kelly, with the adjutant-general of the department, and two privates, all of whom, together with the headquarters flag, were carried off without a gun being fired, though a considerable force was in the vicinity.

Feb. 21.

Before commencing a general movement of the armies operating against Richmond and Petersburg, it was of the utmost importance that all the enemy's communications north of the James should be cut off. To accomplish this object, and with the view also, if possible, to reinforce Sherman, who was inferior to his opponents in cavalry, General Grant determined to set an expedition in motion from the Shenandoah Valley, where the enemy were no longer strong, having detached the bulk of their force in that quarter to the south, or taken them to replace troops sent away from Richmond. He, therefore—placing General Hancock temporarily in charge of the Middle Military Division, with his headquarters at Winchester—on the 20th of February, directed General Sheridan, leaving a sufficient number of troops to look after Mosby, to proceed with an adequate cavalry force to Lynchburg, and after thoroughly breaking up the railroad and canal, if the information he should obtain there would justify the movement, to push on southward and join Sherman. Accordingly, General Sheridan, on the 27th of February, left his camp at Winchester with about ten thousand cavalry, comprising Merritt's first division, Custer's third division, and a brigade under Colonel Capehart, with four guns. For some days before the march commenced, heavy rains had prevailed and made the common roads very bad, besides swelling the streams and rivers. The troops, however, marched along the turnpike, which being macadamized, was in comparatively good condition, and passed successively through Kearnstown, Middletown, and Strasburg, and as far as Woodstock, without opposition, when the column bivouacked, having marched thirty miles on the first day. From Woodstock the march was continued on the 28th through Edenburg and Hawkinsburg to the North Fork of the Shenandoah, which was crossed by a pontoon bridge between

Mount Jackson and New Market. After a march of twenty-seven miles without any opposition, the troops bivouacked at Lincoln's Mills, between Harrisonburg and New Market. On the 1st of March the column moved twenty-six miles, passing through Harrisonburg, Mount Crawford, and Mount Sydney, and crossing Middle River, encamped about four miles from Staunton, where up to this time Early had had his headquarters. He had anticipated Sheridan's approach, and warned the inhabitants, who removed from the town much of their money and valuables. The only skirmishing so far had been at the North River, near Mount Crawford, where Capehart's brigade had a short contest with some cavalry of Rosser's division, who were trying to burn the bridge, which, however, was saved, and thirty-seven prisoners and twenty-one wagons captured, with a loss of only six men. The weather also had been good, permitting eighty-three miles of the route to be easily accomplished; but during the night of the 1st of March the rain began, and from that time was heavy and incessant. About nine o'clock, while the troops were encamped outside of Staunton, Devin's brigade moved up to the town, drove out the pickets, and occupied it without opposition. Turning then toward the left, the brigade marched seven miles along the road leading to Rockfish Gap, and destroyed the trestle bridge of the Virginia Central Railroad at Christian's Creek.

On the 2d of March, Sheridan's column, heedless of the heavy rain, moved through Staunton, and the march was continued toward Waynesboro, on the South River, thirteen miles south-east, whither Early had retreated with the forces under his command. At Fisherville, Custer's division, in the advance, encountered the enemy's videttes and drove them back toward Waynesboro. On arriving near the latter place the enemy were found in an intrenched position with five guns. Custer then placing Colonel Pennington's brigade on the right and Colonel Welles' on the left, with Capehart's in reserve, deployed two regiments of the advanced brigades as skirmishers, who moved to the attack firing briskly. Much to the surprise of their assailants, the entire line of Early's men, after firing a single volley, broke and attempted to fly; but Custer's troops rushing in and surrounding them, captured nearly the whole command, including eighty-seven officers—among whom were Colonels Orr and Vosburg, and 1,165 enlisted men, besides five cannon with horses and caissons complete, seventeen battle-flags, over a hundred horses and mules, and about two hundred wagons loaded with subsistence stores. Early's personal baggage was taken, but he himself escaped to Charlottesville. Custer's division and Capehart's brigade crossed the South River and moved on rapidly in pursuit as far as Greenwood Station, where the dépôt was destroyed, as well as a long train, in which were six pieces of artillery and some commissary and ordnance supplies, which Early had intended to send away, being fully conscious of his

Mar. 2.

inability to prevent Sheridan's advance. The prisoners were sent to Winchester under an escort of fifteen hundred men. Several couriers, sent to General Hancock with a request that troops might be dispatched to meet the escort, were captured by guerrillas, and on the 6th it was attacked while crossing the North Fork of the Shenandoah, by a small force under Rosser, which was, however, beaten off, and instead of releasing the rebel prisoners, added twenty-seven to their number. The detachment arrived at Winchester with its charge safe. Sheridan's entire column having come up to Waynesboro, the march was resumed in the direction of Charlottesville, eighteen miles east, on the morning of the 3d, in a heavy rain and through deep mud, but without any fear of opposition. The troops destroyed the railroad and bridges as they moved, and arrived at Charlottesville on the day of starting; but they were detained there two days awaiting the arrival of the wagon trains, which were delayed by the horrible condition of the roads. In the mean time detachments sent out destroyed the railroad in the direction of both Lynchburg and Richmond, as well as the large iron bridges over the North and South forks of the Rivanna River.

The delay caused by the detention of his trains finally caused Sheridan to abandon the idea of capturing Lynchburg; and on the morning of the 6th, dividing his force into two columns, he sent one southward to Scottsville, whence it marched up the James River Canal to New Market, destroying every lock between those towns, and in many places the bank of the canal. From New Market a detachment was sent on to Duguidsville, to endeavor to secure the bridge there; but the enemy destroyed it on the approach of the troops, as well as the bridge over the James at Hardwicksville. The other column moved along the railroad in a southwesterly direction, and succeeded in destroying it as far as Amherst Court House, sixteen miles north of Lynchburg, and thence marched across the country to New Market, where the columns united again. The James River being now much swollen, so that the pontoons would not reach across it, and the enemy having destroyed the bridges by which Sheridan had hoped to cross and get to the South Side Railroad about Farmville and destroy it thence to Appomattox Court House, he had only two alternatives—to return to Winchester or march as rapidly as possible to White House. He chose the latter, and following the James River Canal toward Richmond, destroyed every lock upon it as he marched, besides cutting through the banks wherever that was practicable, as far east as Goochland; concentrating his whole force on the 10th at Columbia, at the confluence of the Rivanna with the James. Remaining there one day, he sent scouts to General Grant, with information as to his position and intentions, and a request that supplies might be sent to meet him at White House. His scouts arrived at headquarters on the night of the 12th, and an

Mar. 6.

Mar. 12.

infantry force was immediately sent by General Grant to get possession of White House, whither abundant supplies were forwarded. Sheridan then moving in such a direction as to threaten Richmond, arrived at the Central Railroad near Ashland Station, crossed the South Anna and the North Anna, and having destroyed all the bridges and many miles of railroad, proceeded down the north bank of the Pamunkey to White House, where he arrived on the 19th, his men and horses in great need of rest and supplies.

The amount of property destroyed in this great raid of Sheridan's was enormous, the destruction effected by Custer's division alone being estimated at $2,000,000. Not a bridge was left standing over the James between Richmond and Lynchburg. Every railroad bridge was destroyed between Staunton and Charlottesville, as well as between the latter place and Buffalo. The aqueduct at Columbia was badly damaged. Private property in many instances was not spared; the people along the route had their horses and provisions seized; all the tobacco and tobacco houses were destroyed, and every mill that could be found along the James River was burned. Sheridan's entire loss was only two officers and about fifty men. On the 24th he moved from White House, crossed the James River at Jones' Landing, and formed a junction with the Army of the Potomac in front of Petersburg on the 27th, taking position in Gregg's old camp on the left and rear of the army.

CHAPTER LVI.

Fears of a Junction of Lee's and Johnston's Armies.—Another Movement by the Left Flank.—Surprise and Capture of Fort Steadman by the Rebels.—Recovery of Fort Steadman.—Severe Fighting on the Left.—Grand Movement toward the South Side Railroad.—Repulse of the Fifth Corps at Gravelly Run.—Sheridan's Cavalry driven back.—Rebel Attack on the Lines of the Twenty-fourth Corps.—The Fifth Corps added to Sheridan's Command.—Advance of Sheridan's Cavalry upon Five Forks.—The Fifth Corps called up.—Battle of Five Forks.

1865.

THE course of events in North Carolina had now made it the most prudent policy for Lee and Johnston to unite their forces; and Grant's greatest source of anxiety at this time was the probability that the enemy would leave their strong lines about Petersburg and Richmond for the purpose of accomplishing this union of the two great Confederate armies. "I had spent days of anxiety," says General Grant in his report, "lest each morning should bring the report that the enemy had retreated the night before. I was firmly convinced that Sherman's crossing the Roanoke would be the signal for Lee to leave. With Johnston and him combined, a long, tedious, and expensive campaign, consuming most of the summer, might become necessary." The

concurrent reports of numerous deserters for weeks had been to the effect that a removal of war materials and guns was going on, and, joined to the consideration that the evacuation of Petersburg and the junction of the two rebel armies was the true policy of the rebels, left no doubt this measure had been determined on by them.

For the purpose of preventing this, General Grant had, as early as the 24th of March, issued orders for another movement of the greater part of his army to the left, to commence on the 29th. While preparations were in progress, an unexpected assault was made by the enemy early in the morning of the 25th on the lines of the ninth corps in front of Fort Steadman. This was a square fort on Hare's Hill, about seven-eighths of a mile from the Appomattox, and was the second regular fort in the right of the Federal lines, the first being Fort McGilvrey, close by the river; the third fort, about three-eighths of a mile south of it, being Fort Haskell. Fort Steadman mounted nine guns, and was supported by mortar batteries on the right and left. The Federal line at this point was guarded by McLaughlin's brigade of Willcox's division, the Fourteenth New York Heavy Artillery being in the fort itself. Gordon's corps, consisting of three divisions, was massed against it at daylight; the rest of Lee's army being at the same time held in readiness, should the proposed attempt prove successful, to make an attack on the Federal left. The space between the opposing lines at Fort Steadman was only a hundred and fifty yards wide, and just at daybreak Gordon's troops having got through their own abattis, rushed over the interval, charged up the acclivity to the fort, and worked their way rapidly through the abattis. In short, the assault was executed in so bold and skilful a manner that the Federal officers were surprised, and Gordon's troops carried the fort almost instantly with little fighting. They then turned the guns of the fort toward the right and left, and compelled the abandonment of the mortar batteries, which they immediately occupied. Over five hundred men were made prisoners by Gordon, including eighteen commissioned officers and General McLaughlin. The rest of Willcox's division was soon rallied; but though they fought well, the line of troops was so thin at this point, that for a time there seemed to be danger of a great reverse. Hartranft's division, however, soon came upon the ground and pressed up toward the captured fort to retake it. All the neighboring batteries also concentrated their fire on Fort Steadman, to which the enemy replied with the captured guns. Hartranft's advance was at first desperately resisted by the enemy; but the concentrated fire of artillery, and the pertinacity of Hartranft's troops were at last too much for them, and they fell back toward the fort, and then many of them beyond the fort, abandoning all the guns they had taken, and down the hill, in the endeavor to regain their own lines; but in this attempt they were exposed to such a terrific

Mar. 25.

concentrated artillery fire, that a large part of the retreating force could not get away from the works, and nineteen hundred of them were made prisoners, which with their killed and wounded made their total loss not less than twenty-five hundred men. The Federal loss was 68 killed, 337 wounded, and 506 missing. The affair was all over by ten o'clock, and about that time Gordon sent a flag of truce with a proposal to bury the dead, which was promptly acceded to. No more firing took place at this point during the day.

On the left of the line, when it became known that serious fighting was going on in the vicinity of Fort Steadman, troops were put in motion to render assistance there, but the distance was so great that the contest was over before they arrived. A general advance of the left was ordered about eleven o'clock. The sixth corps, which lay on the left of the ninth, and the second on the left of the sixth, moved out against the enemy's intrenched picket line, which was far in advance of their main line of works. The sixth corps moved out from the left of its line, opposite which the ground was comparatively level and clear of trees, the artillery in the neighboring works opening at the same time. The first and second divisions only advanced, the third being held in reserve; but the enemy's picket lines were quickly captured with slight loss, many prisoners being taken. The first and third divisions of the second corps had equal success; Smyth's brigade of the second division, which was supporting the third, made a diversion on the extreme left at Hatcher's Run, driving in the enemy's picket line, and capturing some prisoners. Preparation was then made to resist attack, as it was not to be supposed that the enemy would rest content with their picket line of intrenchments in the possession of their antagonists. Of the fifth corps, Ayres' division and Crawford's had been sent early in the day to reinforce the ninth corps at Fort Steadman. Ayres' division was retained there. Crawford's was sent back; but it was detained on its way to pass in review before President Lincoln and some ladies, so that it did not arrive on the scene of action in support of the sixth corps till the fighting had been resumed. Griffin's division was with the second corps. The brunt of the enemy's attack, therefore, fell upon the second and sixth corps. Upon the latter the enemy advanced fiercely about half-past two o'clock, and their attacks, with a good deal of desultory firing, continued from that time till night. About half-past four the second corps was attacked in a similar manner; but all the enemy's assaults were successfully repulsed, and night closed in with the Federal lines still advanced. The main conflict was over by eight o'clock, though there was firing at intervals throughout the night. Next day all was quiet along this part of the line. The Federal loss was 52 killed, 864 wounded, and 207 missing; that of the enemy must have been greater, as they lost 834 in prisoners alone. Their entire losses during the day, including

those at Fort Steadman, could not have been less than five thousand men.*

The attack on Fort Steadman and the subsequent fighting on the left did not induce General Grant to change or defer the execution of his proposed movement by the left flank, which was in fact a renewal of the attempt that had been made several times before to turn the enemy's extreme right and get possession of the South Side Railroad. On the 27th, portions of the twenty-fourth corps under General Gibbon and of the twenty-fifth corps under General Birney, the whole under the command of General Ord, were detached from the Army of the James and marched toward Petersburg, and on the morning of the Mar. 29. 29th took the place in the intrenchments of the second corps, which with the fifth corps—withdrawn from the intrenchments some time before—and Sheridan's cavalry, were designated for the movement by the left. The sixth and ninth corps were left in the intrenchments. At six o'clock Sheridan's cavalry, which had been reorganized and divided into two wings, of which Crook commanded the right and Merritt the left, left camp and marched down the Jerusalem plank road to Reams' Station—Crook in the advance, Merritt following, and Custer in the rear, guarding the trains. Though the roads were bad, Rowanty Creek was reached at half-past nine; but Malone's Bridge, the point struck, was found destroyed. The stream not being in a fordable condition, four hours were lost in constructing a suitable bridge, when the advanced division pushed straight on toward Dinwiddie Court House. But the bad roads delayed the march, the trains becoming deeply mired. A small party of the enemy endeavored to impede the march also by felling trees across the road; but they were quickly dispersed. Dinwiddie Court House was soon occupied and communication opened with the fifth corps on the right. A little rain fell on the night of the 29th; all day on the 30th it fell heavily, and the roads became so bad as to cause the blocking up of the wagon trains, and a large part of Sheridan's force was employed in guarding them, the remainder moving up to the Boydton road.

The fifth corps, on arriving at Hatcher's Run, found the old bridge in good condition, but built two new ones. The old battle-ground was crossed without opposition, and the weather being favorable, the troops got along easily—Griffin's division taking the advance, Crawford's coming next, and Ayres' in the rear—along the old stage road, in the direction of Dinwiddie Court House. On reaching the Quaker or Military road, the column turned abruptly to the right, and about nine o'clock connection was formed with the left of the second corps, the line of the fifth extending across the Quaker road, and within two or three miles of Dinwiddie Court House. This corps encountered opposition on crossing Gravelly Run, from a cavalry vidette, which was driven off after a short skirmish. Preparations were then made to receive an attack.

The troops were drawn up in position, and about half-past three in the afternoon the skirmishers of Griffin's division were driven in by Bushrod Johnson's division of Anderson's corps, which then fell with great force upon Griffin's entire division; but the enemy had no artillery, while fortunately three Federal batteries were in position and did good execution. The divisions of Ayres and Crawford also being rapidly brought up, the enemy withdrew to their original position. The loss was about five hundred on each side. This engagement closed the operations in the field for the day; but at night a tremendous cannonade broke out on the right of the Federal lines, lasting from nine o'clock till twelve, during which time it assumed proportions rarely equalled, even at Petersburg; but the casualties were not numerous on either side.

On the 30th, though the rain and mud greatly impeded operations, the troops were again moved toward the left. Turner's division of the twenty-fourth corps marched along the Vaughan road, crossed Hatcher's Run, and turning to the right pushed forward to make connection with the right of the second corps, which was at that time drawn up in position almost at right angles with the line of works. Dandy's brigade of Foster's division then moved out and connected with Turner's right, again completing the line of the twenty-fourth corps, when field-works were thrown up. The two divisions of the twenty-fifth corps held a position in the line between the right of the twenty-fourth corps and the left of the sixth, the ninth remaining on the right of the sixth. Early in the morning Sheridan had connected his right with Warren's left near the Boydton plank road. The enemy were found to have already constructed a very strong line of intrenchments to cover the position known as Five Forks, of great strategic value, where five roads met in the woods, three of which led back to the South Side Railroad, and the possession of which would be equivalent to turning the enemy's right flank. Toward this point, therefore, Merritt's cavalry corps was sent. Devin's brigade in the advance soon encountered the enemy's cavalry and drove it back, but were in turn driven back by infantry. They then pushed out once more to the left, to find the end of the enemy's line, if possible, and get round it. Anderson's corps held the enemy's right, Pickett's division being on the extreme right, with intrenchments completely covering the White Oak road, which ran from the Boydton road to the South Side Railroad. The enemy were in great force from the White Oak road toward Hatcher's Run, and on the 30th baffled all attempts made by the cavalry to get round their works. The infantry, however, advanced during the day, so that at its close the fifth corps occupied a position about a mile north of the junction of the Quaker and Boydton roads, fronting northward, with the pickets of Ayres' division within five hundred yards of the White Oak road. To the right of Ayres' division was Crawford's,

Mar. 30.

and then Griffin's. The second corps lay on the right of the fifth, extending toward Hatcher's Run, while its left rested on the Boydton plank road, near Burgess' Tavern, about a mile south of the bridge over Hatcher's Run. Sheridan remaining at Dinwiddie Court House, continued to cover the left flank.

Mar. 31. The weather on the 31st was still unfavorable, but the forces all moved forward, the object being to get possession of the position of Five Forks. Warren began to move the fifth corps early in the morning, sending Griffin's division by the left flank down the Boydton road to the Butler House, where it was massed behind the command of Crawford and Ayres, for an advance upon the White Oak road. About eight o'clock Ayres was sent forward toward the Dabney House, Crawford supporting, Griffin in the rear, and Miles' division of the second corps following. After a march of half a mile or more through the difficult country, and crossing Gravelly Run, the enemy's skirmishers were met, but were soon driven in. Shortly afterward the enemy opened a hot fire upon the advanced brigade of Ayres' division, which broke and fell to the rear. The enemy then moved out of their works in large force, and charged Ayres' division with all their old spirit. The Federal troops resisted stubbornly for some time, and sustained severe loss before giving way; but the enemy's columns were handled with great skill, and nothing could withstand their impetuous onset. Crawford's division was next struck in flank by Willcox's division, and was compelled to give way as that of Ayres had done, and it was not till the enemy came upon Griffin's division that they were finally checked. In this juncture Miles' division of the second corps was ordered up by Humphreys, to attack the enemy, which it did instantly, effectually relieving the fifth corps, and compelling the enemy to fall back to their intrenchments, at the same time re-occupying the White Oak road. Mott's division of the second corps was also extended to the left and thrown forward to correspond with Miles'. Having driven back the fifth corps to the Boydton plank road, the enemy turned their attention to the task of cutting off Sheridan with his cavalry, which by the failure of the fifth corps to advance, had become greatly exposed. A series of attacks had been made on Sheridan's force soon after noon, and notwithstanding the troops fought well, by five o'clock both divisions were driven back several miles and to the Boydton plank road, while Gibbs' brigade had fallen back to within about a mile of Dinwiddie Court House. But Merritt's troops were now re-formed, and Custer's division, with Capehart on the left and Pennington on the right, held a firm position. The enemy, who had been reinforced, came down again in a furious charge, and very hard fighting took place; but artillery in position and the stubborn stand made by the cavalry, which was in large force, and handled by Sheridan in person, compelled them, after a few desperate efforts, to with-

draw to the woods, and Sheridan's forces immediately intrenched.

The fifth corps in the mean time had been rallied, and again moved forward along the White Oak road, Griffin's division this time in the advance. The ground abandoned was soon regained, the enemy, now chiefly engaged with Sheridan, falling back; and Griffin's division, carrying the work from which the enemy had advanced, took position on the White Oak road, east of Five Forks. The two divisions of the twenty-fourth corps moved forward so as to co-operate with the general advance, and easily captured the enemy's thin picket line in their front. Birney's division, still farther to the right, was engaged in skirmishing through the day, but without important result. The sixth and ninth corps made no movement, but were held in readiness for a general assault, in case the success of operations on the left should justify it. The enemy had, upon the whole, the advantage in the operations of the day. They had, however, been finally checked and forced to retire, and the Federal right, when night fell, had been advanced a few hundred yards beyond the position of the morning, the left flank reaching to Dabney's House on the White Oak road, three quarters of a mile west of Five Forks. From Dabney's House the fifth corps lay along the White Oak road about a mile eastward, from which point it ran in an irregular semicircular line to the left of the second corps at Burgess Farm. The Federal losses along the whole line were probably not less than twenty-five hundred. The enemy's loss was not so great, but being inferior in numbers they were less able to afford it.

During the night the advanced portions of the Federal line were busily engaged in constructing works; and in fact through the whole movement large details had been employed in throwing up intrenchments, corduroying roads, or bringing up trains. The great events of the 1st of April were inaugurated by the enemy at four o'clock in the morning by an attack on Foster's portion of the line of the twenty-fourth corps. Fortunately Dandy's brigade was under arms in expectation of it; but the onset was so sudden and impetuous, that it was compelled to break and fall back to the rear, and the enemy planted their flag on the parapet. It did not remain there long, however; the troops in the vicinity were soon aroused, and the rebels driven back after a sharp skirmish. A musketry and artillery fire broke out along the centre and right of the line; but it was soon over, with little loss on either side. General Grant had placed Sheridan in command not only of all the cavalry, but of the fifth corps under Warren, hoping to secure more unity of action in the important flanking movement by the left, and thus avoid a repetition of the disasters of the day before. Events proved that this important trust was wisely bestowed on Sheridan. He now controlled four divisions of cavalry and three of infantry, an aggregate force not far from thirty thousand strong, and

April 1.

double that which the enemy could concentrate against him at Five Forks, while their defensive line, all the way from Dinwiddie Court House to Petersburg, was threatened by forces numerically largely superior. The cavalry started for their appointed positions at daybreak. Custer and Devin slowly driving the enemy toward the left of their works on the White Oak road, and then dismounting, fought with carbines. Gregg's and Mackenzie's brigades were kept in the saddle, so as to be able to move rapidly on the enemy's flank. Sheridan thus worked his way steadily up to the intrenchments on all sides, while the enemy fell back fighting fiercely and delivering a terrific fire upon Sheridan's men, who fell in great numbers; but their commander kept them up to their work, and gradually got all his forces well into position, with a division well round upon the enemy's flank and rear; the rest of the troops pressing slowly and with much loss upon the front of the works. This went on till about three o'clock, when the fifth corps was ordered forward to support the cavalry. As soon as it arrived, it was determined by Sheridan that two divisions should form in two lines, with the third division on the right flank, and march in this way till the White Oak road was gained. There the corps was to make a left half wheel and move at once on the enemy, the cavalry at the same time charging. Ayres therefore advanced on the left, and Crawford on the right, with Griffin supporting, made the change in direction, and again advanced. Ayres struck the flank of the enemy's works, and became desperately engaged, making great exertions to carry the intrenchments, Sheridan himself rallying one of his brigades. Crawford advancing found himself in the rebel rear, and captured several of their ambulances and wagons, and then turning to the left advanced Coulter's brigade up to the Ford road, directly toward the rear of the enemy's intrenchments, where he captured a four-gun battery and a battle-flag. The enemy had slowly fallen back at first, fighting obstinately, however, till about five o'clock, when they made a decisive stand, and then for two hours raged one of the most fearful contests of the war. Strongly intrenched and with a battery in position, though much inferior in numbers, they fought with all their old gallantry, raking the Federal columns with a most terrific fire; and such was the slaughter, that more than once it seemed that, after all, the terrible sacrifices made would result in discomfiture; but Sheridan communicated some of his energy to his troops. Riding to all parts of the field, he cheered, urged, and drove on his men, and at length they nearly surrounded the enemy's position, swarmed over the parapets, and the rebel troops, exhausted with their great efforts, and much weakened by the havoc which had been made in their ranks, both of men and officers, and seeing it useless longer to resist the overwhelming force pouring in upon them, broke and rushed to the rear, seeking escape by the only outlet still

open. There was another fierce struggle, but by half-past seven the battle was over. Between five and six thousand prisoners were captured, besides all the rebel artillery, an ambulance and baggage train and twenty or thirty battle-flags. Custer's and Mackenzie's divisions pressed on in pursuit of the fugitives and picked up many stragglers. The loss in killed and wounded on each side was estimated at about three thousand. Toward the close of the battle, General Griffin, by order of Sheridan, relieved General Warren in command of the fifth corps. The second corps was fighting nearly all day in a general advance, swinging forward so as to connect with the fifth and be in readiness to support it near the White Oak road, and Miles' division was pushed on toward Sheridan in the evening. The sixth and ninth corps, in front of Petersburg, were not engaged during the day, but about ten o'clock at night opened a general cannonade, which was continued till four o'clock on the following morning.

CHAPTER LVII.

General Assault on the Rebel Lines at Petersburg.—Hard Fighting of the Sixth and Ninth Corps.—Great Number of Prisoners taken.—Evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond by the Forces of General Lee.—Pursuit by the Cavalry.—Fight near Bevil's Ford.—Sheridan at Jettersville.—Lee at Amelia Court House.—Cavalry Fight at Fame's Cross-Roads.—Arrival of General Grant and the Main Army at Jettersville.—General Ord's Movement on Farmville.—Battle of Deatonville.—Retreat of Lee toward Lynchburg.—The whole of Grant's Army in Pursuit.—Sheridan at Appomattox Station.—Correspondence between Generals Lee and Grant.—Surrender of Lee.

1865.

THE general assault by the troops on the right along the line at Petersburg, which had been delayed two days by the failure of the fifth corps on the left, was made on the morning of the 2d of April, at four o'clock, the ninth, sixth, twenty-fifth, twenty-fourth, and second corps participating. The sixth corps was massed in front of Forts Welch and Fisher, Wheaton's division on the right, Getty's in the centre, and Seymour's on the left. Turner's and Foster's divisions of the twenty-fourth corps were brought up on both sides of Hatcher's Run on the left of the sixth corps, but did not charge with it. A tremendous cannonade was kept up during the formation of these lines, which indistinct as they were to the enemy's view—it being still quite dark when the signal to advance was made—were quickly torn by a shell and musketry fire, and the sixth corps sustained heavy loss while crossing the interval of about eight hundred yards between the opposing lines of works. Getty's division moved up in front, its three brigades abreast of each other in column of regiments, while those of Wheaton and Seymour, moving in the

April 2.

rear, advanced in the same order, each with its brigades abreast. Severe fighting went on for several hours; but Getty's and Wheaton's divisions, after being once checked by the enemy's terrific fire, again rushed forward and carried the two forts in their front, while Seymour's division, after a sharp fight, broke through to the South Side Railroad, and began to tear it up. The sixth corps then swept down inside of the enemy's line as far as Hatcher's Run, having captured many guns and several thousand prisoners. The twenty-fourth corps also, whose position in the line was between the sixth and the second, soon afterward got upon the railroad, having in connection with the right division of the second corps carried the intervening works and taken about a thousand prisoners. The sixth and twenty-fourth corps then turning to the right pushed on together toward the city, Wheaton's division pressing over to the aid of the ninth. The enemy, from a strong position in the rear of the captured works, poured a destructive fire on the advancing troops, but at length after a hard struggle again gave way, losing many of their officers, among them General A. P. Hill, who was killed. By eleven o'clock the hardest of the fighting was over in this quarter, and the twenty-fourth, second, and sixth corps were once more re-formed for a final attack. The fighting was, however, all over by noon, on the whole line around Petersburg, with the exception of occasional firing, and picket firing after the pickets were posted. At night the sixth corps rested its right on the Appomattox, and the west side of the city.

But the hardest fighting and the heaviest loss fell to the ninth corps. Willcox's division on the east side of the city extended from the Appomattox to Fort Emory, a distance of two miles. Potter's and Hartranft's divisions held the rest of the line to the Weldon Railroad, a distance of three miles more. The night before, during the heavy cannonade, Willcox's skirmishers had pressed across the enemy's works to the very outskirts of Petersburg, capturing the intervening lines, but were driven back by troops hastily concentrated. The advance of the ninth corps was made at the same time as that of the sixth. Harriman's brigade of Willcox's division, in connection with Potter's division, made a gallant charge against Fort Mahone, which covered the Jerusalem road, and was the work opposing the famous "Fort Hell." This was one of the strongest positions in the enemy's line. Hartranft's division also advanced, and after a desperate struggle Fort Mahone and the works connected with it were carried. But commanding Fort Mahone was an interior work, from which the enemy opened a murderous fire upon their assailants, who advancing to carry the new position, were repeatedly driven back with great loss, and finally the rebel troops charged in turn, in the hope of recapturing Fort Mahone, and though few in number, by desperate fighting and extraordinary gallantry, nearly succeeded in doing so; but

Wheaton's division of the sixth corps was now coming up on the left, and once more the enemy were driven back, and success crowned the efforts of the ninth corps as well as all the rest of the army.

The enemy south of Hatcher's Run retreated westward toward Sutherland Station, where they were overtaken by Miles' division. A severe engagement ensued, which lasted till the enemy's right and left flanks were threatened by the approach of General Sheridan—who was moving from Ford's Station toward Petersburg—and a division sent from the front of Petersburg; when they broke in the utmost confusion, abandoning their guns and many prisoners, and retreated by the main road along the Appomattox.

The Federal forces now held a series of positions that made the fall of Petersburg certain. But success had been obtained at the expense of a loss very much greater in killed and wounded than that sustained by the enemy, whose elaborate breast-works were so strong that, had not their garrisons been weakened by the fatal necessity of sending troops to oppose Sheridan, they would scarcely have been carried as they were. The enemy, however, had lost very largely in prisoners, of which not less than seven thousand were taken, which added to those captured by Sheridan the day before, and the large number of killed and wounded, fearfully reduced the force at the disposal of General Lee, and before the fighting was over for the day, he gave orders for the evacuation of both Petersburg and Richmond. The order was carried out during the night, and early on the 3d the Federal troops pushed into both cities without opposition.

April 3.

While the corps on the right of the Federal line were pressing into Petersburg, the fifth corps and the cavalry, on the left, set out to intercept, if possible, the retreating forces of Lee. Camp was broken by the cavalry about three miles east of Namozine Creek, and the route taken, Custer's division in the advance, lay along the Namozine road toward the creek, where the enemy's rear-guard was found strongly intrenched behind earth-works at the crossing, the bridge having been destroyed and trees felled across the road leading to it. A section of artillery was immediately opened against the works, while a body of cavalry fording the stream a little above, came upon the enemy's flank, when they were driven off and the obstructions soon removed; but the road beyond was found filled with felled trees and fence-rails, piled up, among which were two caissons surrounded by fire and intended to explode, and thus delay the pursuit. The route which the enemy had taken gave evidence of haste and disorganization, the path of retreat being strewn with wagons, ambulances, dead and wounded horses and mules, caissons, boxes of ammunition thrown out to lessen loads, mess utensils, arms, accoutrements, blankets, and clothing. Passing Namozine Church to the left, Wells' brigade, which had the advance in Custer's division, came

up with a part of Barrenger's brigade, which turned and fired on the pursuers; but the Eighth New York charged without slackening pace, and the remainder of Wells' brigade coming up as well as Pennington's, a number of prisoners were taken and the rest scattered through the woods. Wells, after pursuing the enemy some distance, crossed over to the road on the right, which led to Bevil's Ford over the Appomattox, along which Capehart's brigade was pushing. The latter, immediately after crossing Deep Creek at the lower ford, the bridge having been destroyed, came upon and charged the enemy, who after keeping up a running fight for about five miles, began to show signs of a more determined resistance. When Bevil's Ford was reached, the enemy struck off to the left by a road leading to a crossing seven miles farther up the river, and Pennington halting to collect his men, who had scattered in search of fugitives, Capehart continued the pursuit, in which Wells, now come up from the other road, also joined. At length the enemy turned again to the right to cross the Appomattox and rejoin Lee's main army on the north side of the river; Capehart's brigade charged as before, but this time was checked by a volley, and a body of rebel infantry which now appeared deploying in an open field on the left of the enemy's line, crossed, turned and enfiladed the right flank of the Federal cavalry, causing it to fall back half a mile, to a position where Mackenzie's division was in line. Artillery being then turned upon the rebel infantry, they were checked, and the Federal cavalry resumed the pursuit. But by this time night was falling and the whole column encamped. The enemy had been pursued full twenty miles, and about 350 prisoners had been taken besides four cannon and several ammunition wagons. Early on the 4th the pursuit was resumed, Mackenzie's division now in the advance, and late in the afternoon the enemy were found posted in works, with both infantry and artillery, about two miles from Bethany. Skirmishing commenced immediately and continued till dark, when Mackenzie's troops went into camp and awaited the rest of the column; but toward midnight all were again aroused and set in motion, Custer's division in the advance, and marching all night the leading brigades, at six o'clock in the morning, reached Jettersville, the fifth corps having already arrived and thrown up intrenchments across the Danville Railroad. General Lee had, in the mean time, got no farther than Amelia Court House, also on the Danville Railroad, and about six miles northeast of Jettersville. Sheridan posted the cavalry on the left of the fifth corps, with the exception of Davies' brigade of Crook's division, which was sent to occupy Burkesville at the intersection of the Danville and Lynchburg railroads. Davies came upon and routed some of the enemy's cavalry at Fame's Cross-Roads, capturing two or three hundred prisoners, five new Armstrong guns, and about two hundred wagons; but a body of the enemy's infantry

April 4.

coming up, Davies, after a short but sharp skirmish, fell back and returned to camp, taking his prisoners with him. Sheridan immediately sent a dispatch to General Grant informing him of the state of things.

The movements of the infantry in pursuit commenced on the morning of the 3d by the march of the fifth corps, which arrived about two o'clock in sight of the Appomattox, when, without crossing the river, it turned to the left along the Namozine road, behind the cavalry, crossing Namozine and Deep Creeks, making, however, during the day only sixteen miles, owing to the bad condition of the roads, which detained the wagon trains. The next day's march brought the corps to Jettersville, twenty miles farther, where it was massed in an open field, and threw up immediately strong earth-works across the railroad. As they lay across the line of retreat of Lee's army, which was only a few miles distant, at or near Amelia Court House, the utmost caution was necessary, and no fires were lighted, and the entire force was kept in readiness to meet the attack which it was expected Lee would be tempted to make before reinforcements could come up.

The second corps had started soon after the fifth and kept close in its rear for some time, but owing to the cavalry getting in its way and the bad condition of the roads, which had to be repaired for the passage of artillery, did not arrive at Jettersville till the 5th. The second and third divisions immediately took position on the left of the fifth corps, in place of the first and third divisions of cavalry. General Ord, on the 4th, with his column of the Army of the James, accompanied by General Grant, marched along the Cox road to Sutherland Station, on the South Side Railroad, ten miles west of Petersburg, and from that point, leaving the line of march of the main body of the army, marched along the railroad to Wilson's Station, where it encamped for the night, and on the 5th, still following the railroad, Turner's division in the advance, reached Blacks and Whites about two o'clock. Thence, the road being very good, the column briskly pressed on to Nottaway, nine miles southeast of Burkesville, and about twelve miles due south of Jettersville. At this point, the column having marched about twenty miles, it was proposed to halt. But at half-past six, Sheridan's dispatch, before referred to, reached General Grant, and he immediately pushed forward the two divisions of the twenty-fourth corps to Burkesville, leaving Birney with the remainder of the column at Blacks and Whites. The railroad junction was reached and occupied at eleven o'clock P.M., and at the same hour General Grant joined Sheridan at Jettersville.

Two divisions of the ninth corps also, having in charge most of the army trains, marched from Petersburg on the 4th to Ford Station, on the South Side Railroad, about twenty miles west of the city, on the 5th advanced by the Cox road as far as Wellesville, and on the 6th to a position about ten miles from Burkesville, having one brigade of

the second division thrown forward to the railroad junction.

The greatly superior forces of General Grant had now almost surrounded those of General Lee, and it became evident that effectual resistance on his part was improbable, and escape almost impossible. The Federal army at Jettersville lay in a line nearly four miles long, facing northward, the sixth corps on the right, the fifth in the centre, and the second on the left; on the extreme left was Mackenzie's cavalry, on the extreme right Custer's. On the morning of the April 6. 6th, at daylight, the second, fifth, and sixth army corps were set in motion along the railroad in the direction of Amelia Court House, but intelligence arriving soon afterward that Lee had commenced his retreat in a westerly direction, the line of march of the second and fifth corps was immediately changed to a northwesterly direction, the second moving on Deatonville, the fifth moving on its right, and the sixth facing about and marching by the left flank, taking position on its left, while Sheridan with the cavalry was operating still farther to the left. General Ord had, in the mean time, advanced from Burkesville toward Farmville, sending two regiments of infantry and a squadron of cavalry under General Read to destroy the bridges. This small advanced force met the head of Lee's column near Farmville, and attacked and detained it till General Read was killed and his command overpowered. A delay was thus caused in the enemy's movements, which enabled General Ord to get up with the remainder of his force, when the enemy immediately intrenched.

The second corps soon became engaged with the enemy near Deatonville, and drove them across Sailor's Creek, near the Appomattox, where General Sheridan with his cavalry struck them, capturing sixteen pieces of artillery and about four hundred wagons, and detained them till the arrival of the sixth corps. The position of the fifth corps involving a long march, the enemy had passed before it came upon their line of retreat. The sixth corps came up with the enemy about four o'clock, and in conjunction with the second corps on its right and the cavalry on its left, attacked and routed them, capturing between six and seven thousand prisoners, including Generals Ewell, Kershaw, Button, Corse, De Barre, and Custis Lee. The Federal loss was about a thousand in killed and wounded.

Lee with the remainder of his force made his way to Farmville, on the Appomattox, about eight miles above Sailor's Creek, where on the 7th April 7. the second corps and Crook's division of cavalry came up with him, and a sharp engagement took place, in which several hundred Federal troops were killed and wounded, among them General Smyth mortally and General Mott severely wounded.

On the morning of the 7th the pursuit was renewed, all the cavalry, except one division, and the fifth corps moving by Prince Edward Court House; the sixth corps, General Ord's command, on Farmville, and the second corps by

the High Bridge road. It was soon found that the enemy had crossed to the north side of the Appomattox, but so close was the pursuit that the second corps got possession of the common road bridge at High Bridge before the enemy had time to destroy it, and immediately crossed over, the sixth corps and a division of cavalry crossing at Farmville to its support.

Early on the morning of the 8th the pursuit was again resumed, the second and sixth corps accompanied by Generals Grant and Meade, continuing north of the Appomattox, while Sheridan with the cavalry pushed right on for Appomattox Station, fourteen miles east of Lynchburg, followed by General Ord's command and the fifth corps. The advance of the troops on the north side of the river had considerable fighting with the enemy's rear-guard, but were unable to bring on a general engagement. Late in the evening Sheridan struck the railroad at Appomattox Station, drove the enemy from that point, and captured twenty-five pieces of artillery, a hospital train, and four trains of cars loaded with supplies for Lee's army. On the morning of the 9th, General Ord's command and the fifth corps reached Appomattox Station, just as the enemy were making a desperate effort to break through the cavalry, and at once prepared to take part in the contest. But about nine o'clock a flag of truce from the enemy approached with a request for the suspension of hostilities, pending negotiations for a general surrender.

April 8.

As early as the 7th, General Grant had written from Farmville to General Lee urging upon him the hopelessness of continued resistance, throwing upon him the responsibility of further bloodshed, and asking the surrender of what remained of the Army of Northern Virginia. A correspondence* ensued,

---

* "*April* 7.

"GENERAL R. E. LEE, Commander C. S. A.—

"GENERAL: The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood, by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the C. S. army known as the Army of Northern Virginia.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General Commanding Armies of the United States."

"*April* 7

"GENERAL: I have received your note of this date. Though not entirely of the opinion you express of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia, I reciprocate your desire to avoid useless effusion of blood, and therefore, before considering your proposition, ask the terms you will offer, on condition of its surrender. R. E. LEE, General.

"To LIEUTENANT-GENERAL U. S. GRANT, Commanding Armies of the United States."

"*April* 8.

"To GENERAL R. E. LEE, Commanding Confederate States Army—

"GENERAL: Your note of last evening, in reply to mine of same date, asking the conditions on which I will accept the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, is just received.

"In reply, I would say that peace being my first desire, there is but one condition that I insist upon, viz.:

"That the men surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged.

"I will meet you, or designate officers to meet any officers you may name for the same purpose, at any point agreeable to you, for the purpose of arranging definitely the terms upon which the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia will be received.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General Commanding Armies of the United States."

"*April* 8.

"GENERAL: I received at a late hour your note of to-day in answer to mine of yesterday.

the result of which was that, on the 9th, General Lee requested an interview with General Grant and accepted his conditions, and at half-past three on that day the terms of capitulation were signed at a farm-house near Appomattox Court House. The combined movements of forces in various directions were such that in fact nothing but surrender was left for General Lee. Not only was he pursued by the largely superior forces of General Grant, but

April 9.

"I did not intend to propose the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, but to ask the terms of your proposition. To be frank, I do not think the emergency has arisen to call for the surrender. But as the restoration of peace should be the sole object of all, I desire to know whether your proposals would tend to that end.

"I cannot, therefore, meet you with a view to surrender the Army of Northern Virginia, but so far as your proposition may affect the Confederate States forces under my command, and lead to the restoration of peace, I should be pleased to meet you at ten A.M., to-morrow, on the old stage-road to Richmond, between the picket lines of the two armies.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"R. E. LEE, General Confederate States Armies.

"To LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, Commanding Armies of the United States."

"*April* 9.

"GENERAL R. E. LEE, Commanding C. S. A.—

"GENERAL: Your note of yesterday is received. As I have no authority to treat on the subject of peace, the meeting proposed for ten A.M., to-day, could lead to no good. I will state, however, General, that I am equally anxious for peace with yourself; and the whole North entertain the same feeling. The terms upon which peace can be had are well understood. By the South laying down their arms they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives, and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed.

"Sincerely hoping that all our difficulties may be settled without the loss of another life, I subscribe myself,

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant General U. S. A."

"*April* 9, 1865.

"GENERAL: I received your note of this morning on the picket line, whither I had come to meet you and ascertain definitely what terms were embraced in your proposition of yesterday with reference to the surrender of this army.

"I now request an interview in accordance with the offer contained in your letter of yesterday for that purpose.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"R. E. LEE, General.

"To LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, Commanding United States Armies."

"*April* 9.

"GENERAL R. E. LEE, Commanding Confederate States Armies:

"Your note of this date is but this moment (11.50 A.M.) received.

"In consequence of my having passed from the Richmond and Lynchburg road to the Farmville and Lynchburg road, I am at this writing about four miles west of Walter's Church, and will push forward to the front for the purpose of meeting you.

"Notice sent to me on this road where you wish the interview to take place will meet me.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

THE TERMS.

"APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, *April* 9.

"GENERAL R. E. LEE, Commanding C. S. A.:

"In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th instant, I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to wit:

"Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate, one copy to be given to an officer designated by me, the other to be retained by such officers as you may designate.

"The officers to give their individual parole not to take arms against the United States until properly exchanged, and each company or regimental commander sign a like parole for the men of their commands.

"The arms, artillery, and public property to be packed and stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side-arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage.

"This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to their homes, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their parole and the laws in force where they may reside.

"Very respectfully,

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

THE SURRENDER.

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA, *April* 9, 1865.

"LIEUTENANT-GENERAL U. S. GRANT, Commanding U. S. A.—

"GENERAL: I have received your letter of this date, containing the terms of surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, as proposed by you; as they are substantially the same as those expressed in your letter of the 8th inst., they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulations into effect.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"R. E. LEE, General."

Hancock's column had set out on the 4th from Winchester, to march up the Shenandoah Valley on Lynchburg; and Stoneman's cavalry column from Knoxville had already reached Boone, in North Carolina.

General Gibbon's command, the fifth corps under General Griffin, and Mackenzie's cavalry, were designated to remain at Appomattox Court House till the parolling of the surrendered army was completed, and to take charge of the public property. The remainder of of the army returned immediately to the vicinity of Burkesville.

The losses of Lee's army in the late battles and since the final evacuation of Petersburg had been very heavy in killed, wounded, stragglers, and prisoners, so that the actual number surrendered and admitted to parole was only 26,115. There were also surrendered 159 cannon, 15,918 small-arms, 71 colors, about 1,100 wagons, caissons, etc., and 4,000 horses and mules.

The surrender of Lee was almost immediately followed by that of most of the regular troops in the Valley of the Shenandoah. On the 17th, Colonel Mosby surrendered his command, not more than about seven hundred men, to General Chapman at Berryville, on the terms granted to Lee. General Rosser also was allowed to include his command in the cartel.

April 17.

With the fall of Petersburg and Richmond, and what remained of Lee's army, the war was substantially ended. The superiority of the national armies became so great by these events, that a continuation of the war by Johnston and the remnants of other Confederate armies in the field seemed impossible. The War Department accordingly, after mature deliberation and consultation with General Grant, came to the determination to stop all drafting and recruiting in the loyal States; to curtail purchases of arms, ammunition, quartermasters' and commissary supplies, and rapidly to reduce the now enormous military establishment. This evidence of the confidence of the Government in its power to compel a speedy cessation of all hostilities, joined to the impression caused by the late events, excited the utmost satisfaction everywhere. It seemed as if one universal jubilee was being held. The loyal population of the whole country gave itself up to rejoicing, soon by a most unexpected event to be turned into mourning.

CHAPTER LVIII.

Assassination of President Lincoln.—Escape of John Wilkes Booth.—Death of the President.—Attempted Assassination of Mr. Seward.—Escape of Payne.—Funeral Honors.—Pursuit and Death of Booth.—Apprehension of the Conspirators.—Andrew Johnson becomes President.—His Policy toward the South.—Further Prosecution of the War.—Sherman's Operations against Johnston.—Conference between Sherman and Johnston.—Suspension of Hostilities.—Basis of Agreement.—Action of Sherman disapproved at Washington.—Conference with Johnston renewed.—Surrender of Johnston.—Surrender of Generals Taylor, Thompson, and Kirby Smith.

THE war had lasted just four years. 1865. The terrible events as they followed each other in quick succession had occupied the attention of the public mind almost exclusively from its commencement till its close. It seemed that nothing which could happen anywhere could command more than partial notice till the last rebel soldier laid down his arms. But an event occurred which for a time caused even the surrender of Lee to be forgotten and the news of those of Johnston and Taylor to fall unheeded on the public ear. The 14th of April, the anniversary of the surrender of Fort Sumter by Major Anderson, was marked by an occurrence equally memorable and not less calculated to excite the national heart — the assassination of President Lincoln.

Unwilling to believe in the existence of personal danger, and arguing that nothing could be gained to the rebel cause by his death, he neglected precautions that he might have taken, though frequently warned that his life was threatened Toward the end of March, Secretary Seward received from the American consuls in London and Liverpool reports made to their secret agents in France of a conspiracy against the lives of the President and Generals Grant and Sherman. Mr. Seward determined to lay the matter before the President, and urge upon him the avoidance for a time of all needless exposure; but on the following day the Secretary was thrown from his carriage, and his foot catching in the steps he was dragged some distance, and so seriously injured that he was compelled to give up all attention to business.

On the morning of the 14th a cabinet council was held, at which General April 14. Grant was present. The President seemed more than usually cheerful and hopeful, and laid before the Secretaries plans and suggestions for the course to be pursued toward the Southern States. His mind seemed free from forebodings, and to be dwelling only on measures for conciliation and the prospect of speedy peace. After the meeting was over, he arranged to be present in the evening at Ford's Theatre, to witness the performance of "The American Cousin,"

expecting to be accompanied by General Grant, as it was publicly advertised that both would be present. The latter was, however, compelled to leave the city on important business, and the President, somewhat against his own inclinations, but not willing that the people should be disappointed altogether, a little after eight o'clock, accompanied by Mrs. Lincoln, Senator Harris, Miss Harris, and Major Rathbone, proceeded to the theatre and entered the box prepared for his reception. This was on the second floor, looking down upon the stage, having a front of about ten feet, along which the American flag was draped. The door, which was at the back, was left open during the evening. The President seated himself in a high-backed rocking-chair placed for him at the corner of the box nearest the audience, Mrs. Lincoln sitting next to him on his right.

About a quarter-past ten John Wilkes Booth, a well-known actor, passing behind the spectators in the dress circle, showed a card to the President's messenger, and stood for two or three minutes looking down upon the stage and the orchestra. He then entered the vestibule of the President's box, closed the door behind him and fastened it. All the occupants of the box were intently watching the proceedings on the stage, except the President, who was leaning forward holding aside the curtain with his left hand, and with his head slightly turned, looking toward the audience. Booth then seeing his opportunity, with a small Derringer pistol in his right hand and a double-edged dagger in his left, stepped into the box directly behind the President, and holding the pistol over the top of the chair, fired. Mr. Lincoln's head fell slightly forward and his eyes closed; otherwise his attitude remained unchanged. Major Rathbone, startled, as well as the other occupants of the box, by the report of the pistol, turned his eyes from the stage, and, seeing Booth, sprang upon him; but the latter wounded the Major severely with his dagger and escaped from his grasp. He then rushed to the front of the box, shouted "*Sic semper tyrannis!*" put his hand to the railing, and leaped over upon the stage below, but in doing so the spur upon his heel, with which he had provided himself, calculating on a rapid ride, caught in the flag, and he fell. He recovered himself quickly, however, and brandishing his dagger, shouted, "The South is avenged!" Rushing then to the back of the stage, he got behind the scenes and made his way to the street door, where a lad was holding his horse, mounted, and rode off unpursued. The whole affair occupied but a few moments; some of the audience at first supposed it was only an incident of the play, and there was no general suspicion of what had taken place till Booth had crossed the stage and made his escape.

It was soon seen on examining the President's wound that he could not possibly survive many hours. The ball had entered about three inches behind the left ear, and passing obliquely forward lodged just behind the right eye.

The President never spoke again. He remained totally unconscious till about seven on the following morning, when his breathing, which till that time had continued regular though difficult, began to suffer long interruptions, and at twenty-two minutes past seven he expired.

April 15.

The news that the President had fallen by the hand of an assassin spread immediately through the city, followed quickly by the almost incredible rumor that a still more terrible though less fatal assault had been made upon Secretary Seward. In the accident before alluded to his right arm was broken above the elbow and his jaw shattered. He had been for nearly two weeks confined to his bed in a state of extreme debility. About the time that Booth entered the theatre, a man named Lewis Payne Powell, generally known as Payne, pretending to be the bearer of some medicines, obtained admission into Mr. Seward's residence, rushed up stairs, reached the third floor, and was about to enter the room where the Secretary was lying, when he was confronted by Mr. Frederick Seward, who refused him admission. Payne snapped a pistol at him, but without effect, and then struck him on the head twice with such force as to fracture his skull and prostrate him. Miss Fannie Seward, who was in her father's room, hearing the noise, opened the door, when Payne rushed in, and with a bowie-knife in his hand sprang upon the bed where Mr. Seward was lying, and made three powerful stabs at his throat, wounding him severely, but not mortally. Before he could deal a fourth and perhaps fatal blow, an invalid soldier in attendance named Robinson, seized Payne around the body, and endeavored to separate the assassin from his victim. Robinson received several severe knife wounds, but did not let go his hold till Mr. Seward had succeeded in getting off the bed on the farther side, when Payne by a violent effort broke away and made off, striking with his dagger Mr. Augustus Seward, whom he met in the upper hall, and Mr. Hansell, whom he encountered on the stairs. There was no one to oppose his exit at the front door, and he succeeded in getting to his horse, when he mounted and rode off.

The news of these terrible events produced the utmost indignation throughout the country, and for a time public opinion inclined toward measures of extreme severity in regard to the Confederate leaders, who at first were supposed to have instigated the crime in the hope of producing a diversion which might operate in some way in their favor. But in the subsequent trial of the assassins and their associates it was not made apparent that the rebel authorities were in any degree implicated. The evidence went rather to show that the plot originated with Booth, and that the other conspirators were selected by him as his assistants.

The funeral honors paid to the deceased chief magistrate surpassed in magnificence and in the manifestation of real sorrow those ever bestowed on any President who had died either in or

out of office, and have hardly been equalled in pomp by the obsequies of any monarch of ancient or modern times.

The assassin Booth had been from the outbreak of the rebellion one of its most fanatical devotees, and when its fortunes began to wane, his mind became absorbed in desperate schemes. Papers which he left behind him show that he had deliberately dedicated himself, apparently with little fear of consequences, to the concoction and execution of plans which he hoped might accomplish by secret and treacherous means what open rebellion had proved powerless to secure. With the utmost care and deliberation he plotted the murder of Mr. Lincoln and of the leading members of the Government, including Vice-President Johnson, assuming himself entire charge of the enterprise. He selected for his assistants several persons who appear to have been better fitted for tools than confederates. Their meetings were held at the house of a Mrs. Surratt, in the city of Washington, and arrangements were made according to which she was to render some services in aiding the escape of the conspirators after the execution of their plans. Booth, after shooting the President, escaped across the eastern branch of the Potomac and found temporary shelter among rebel sympathizers in Lower Maryland. He subsequently crossed the Long Bridge into Virginia, and turning southward rode a distance of nearly thirty miles to the residence of Dr. Mudd, who set his broken leg, and aided in concealing him, and finally conveyed him across a swamp, from whence Booth escaped still farther southward, traversed the Northern Neck of Virginia, crossed the Rappahannock at Swan Point, and made his way with great difficulty to Garrett's Farm, near Bowling Green, about twenty miles below Fredericksburg. To this point he was followed by Colonel Baker with a number of detectives, on the night of the 25th of April. He had, in company with an accomplice named Harold, concealed himself in a barn, and when discovered, obstinately refused to surrender. Upon his pursuers setting fire to the barn, he attempted to fire upon them, when he was shot through the head by Sergeant Boston Corbett. He survived about three hours, perfectly conscious, but in great agony, and died about seven o'clock in the morning of the 26th of April, eleven days after his victim.

April 26.

Several persons implicated more or less directly in Booth's conspiracy were subsequently apprehended and tried before a military commission in the city of Washington. Harold, who was with Booth when he was shot; Mrs. Surratt, who had aided the assassins; a man named Atzerott, who was to have killed Vice-President Johnson; and Payne, the assailant of Secretary Seward, were executed on the 6th of July, and several others, including Dr. Mudd, were sentenced to imprisonment for life or for a term of years for their share in the conspiracy. Few men either in the North or the South had

the temerity to become apologists for the criminals, and public sentiment, overlooking everything that was irregular in the proceedings of the military commission, applauded its action and gave it the sanction of a general and emphatic approval.

If evidence had been wanting of the stability of republican institutions and of the capacity of the people to meet any possible emergency in the conduct of their officers, it was afforded in the steadiness with which the business of the Government went on in spite of a shock which in many countries would have been the signal for a bloody revolution. In the event of a President's death the Constition had provided that the functions of his office should devolve upon the Vice-President. Accordingly, at ten o'clock on the morning of the 15th of April, the day of the decease of President Lincoln, Vice-President Johnson took the oath of office as President, and entered upon the discharge of his new duties, without opposition in any quarter, thus making it apparent that in war as in peace, in the most trying crisis of a nation's career, as well as in the ordinary course of public affairs, a government "of the people and for the people" is the strongest and safest in the world.

Much interest was immediately awakened in the public mind to learn the views of President Johnson on the state of the country and the plan to be pursued in restoring the seceded States to the Union. From several States delegations waited upon him, tendering their hearty support. To these he replied in general terms that his past course must be the indication of what his future would be. "I have now as always," said the President, in reply to a delegation from New Hampshire, "an abiding faith in the ultimate triumph of justice and right, and I shall seek the inspiration and guidance of this faith, in the assured belief that the present struggle will result in the permanent establishment of our Government, and in making us a free, united, and happy people. This Government is now passing through a fiery, and, let us hope, its last ordeal—one that will test its powers of endurance, and will determine whether it can do what its enemies have denied—suppress and punish treason. This is the trial through which we are now passing, and, if we are true to ourselves and the principles upon which the Constitution was framed, who can doubt that the Government will settle down upon a more enduring basis than its best friends have dared to hope for it?

"In entering upon the discharge of the grave duties before me, it has been suggested and even urged by friends whose good opinions I value, and whose judgment I respect, that I should foreshadow the policy that would guide me, in some formal, public manifesto. But who could have foretold the events of the past four years? Who was wise enough to indicate beforehand a line of policy adapted to all the changing emergencies of that period? It is not in the wisdom and foresight of man to prescribe a course of action in advance, for such disturbed and perilous condi-



Andrew Johnson

tions as now distract public affairs. I believe I may say that my past life is known to the country, especially that part connected with the rebellion. The country must accept, then, my past course as an indication of what my future will be. I think the people understand and appreciate my position.

"I know it is easy, gentlemen, for any one who is so disposed, to acquire a reputation for clemency and mercy. But the public good imperatively requires a just discrimination in the exercise of these qualities. What is clemency? What is mercy? It may be considered merciful to relieve an individual from pain and suffering; but to relieve one from the penalty of crime may be productive of national disaster. The American people must be taught to know and understand that treason is a crime. Arson and murder are crimes, the punishment of which is the loss of liberty and life. If, then, it is right in the sight of God to take away human life for such crimes, what punishment, let me ask you, should be inflicted upon him who is guilty of the atrocious crime of assassinating the chief magistrate of a great people? I am sure there is no one present who has not the answer ready upon his lips! Him whom we loved has been removed from our midst by the hand of a ruthless assassin, and his blessed spirit has gone to that bourne whence no traveller returns. If his murderer should suffer the severest penalty known to the law, what punishment should be inflicted upon the assassins who have raised their daggers against the life of a nation, against the happiness and lives of thirty millions of people? Treason is a crime, and must be punished as a crime. It must not be regarded as a mere difference of political opinion. It must not be excused as an unsuccessful rebellion, to be overlooked and forgiven. It is a crime before which all other crimes sink into insignificance; and in saying this it must not be considered that I am influenced by angry or revengeful feelings.

"Of course a careful discrimination must be observed, for thousands have been involved in this rebellion who are only technically guilty of the crime of treason. They have been deluded and deceived, and have been made the victims of the more intelligent, artful, and designing men, the instigators of this monstrous rebellion. The number of this latter class is comparatively small. The former may stand acquitted of the crime of treason—the latter never; the full penalty of their crimes should be visited upon them. To the others I would accord amnesty, leniency, and mercy."

Steps were at once taken for the adjustment of affairs. Orders were issued relative to the reduction of the armies and opening Southern ports to trade, and the President appointed the 1st of June to be observed as a day of humiliation and mourning, "in memory," said the proclamation, "of the good man who has been removed, so that all shall be occupied at the same time in contemplation of his virtues, and sorrow for his sudden and violent end."

In the mean time the commanders in the field had not relaxed their efforts to bring the war to a conclusion. The forces in North Carolina under the command of General Sherman, from the 1st to the 10th of April were busily occupied in repairing the wear and tear consequent on their late hard marches. The Army of the Ohio under General Schofield lay at Goldsboro, with detachments distributed so as to secure and cover the routes of communication and supply, back to Wilmington and Morehead City; the tenth corps under General Terry was at Faison's Dépôt; the Army of the Tennessee under General Howard, which had constituted the right wing in the march from Savannah, lay encamped to the right of and in front of Goldsboro, and the Army of Georgia, which had constituted the left wing, lay on the left and in front of the town, while General Kilpatrick with the cavalry were at Mount Olive. By extraordinary exertions all the men were reclothed, the wagons reloaded, and the entire force got in readiness to move by the 10th of April, as had been agreed upon between Generals Grant and Sherman. On the 6th of April, General Sherman got intelligence of the great success of the Army of the Potomac at Petersburg, and changed the plan of his new campaign, which up to that time had been to move rapidly northward, ostensibly on Raleigh, but really with the intention of striking Burkesville, and thus interposing his large force between the armies of Johnston and Lee. By the late auspicious events, to use the language of General Grant, the "Confederate armies" in Virginia and North Carolina had now become the "strategic points." Grant was abundantly able to take care of the greatly reduced force under Lee, and it became the task of General Sherman to capture or destroy the army of Johnston, which at that time was at Smithfield, between Sherman and Raleigh. His force consisted of about thirty-five thousand infantry and artillery, with from six to ten thousand cavalry, in which arm he was still superior to General Sherman. General Kilpatrick, therefore, with his command was held in reserve at Mount Olive, with orders to have his force in readiness for a sudden and rapid march by the 10th of April. Early on the morning of that day the various columns were set in motion toward the army of Johnston—General Slocum, followed by General Schofield in support, taking the two direct roads for Smithfield; General Howard making a circuit to the right as if aiming for the Weldon Railroad; Generals Terry and Kilpatrick moving on the west of the Neuse River, with the view of getting in the enemy's rear between Smithfield and Raleigh. Small bodies of rebel cavalry were met within six miles of Goldsboro, but were easily driven off, and by ten o'clock in the morning the fourteenth corps entered Smithfield, the twentieth being close at hand, General Johnston having retreated rapidly across the Neuse River and burnt the bridge after him at Smithfield.

April 6.

By this time the rains had set in,

making it necessary to corduroy the roads for the passage of wheeled carriages, while Johnston having possession of the railroad to Raleigh was able by means of this to lighten his trains, and could move faster than his pursuers. A portion of the fourteenth corps was got over the Neuse by a pontoon bridge; but before the rest of the army had crossed, news came of the surrender of Lee's army at Appomattox Court-House. This intelligence, besides exciting in men and officers the utmost enthusiasm, decided Sherman to move without his trains, which the badness of the roads made it extremely difficult to move, and march rapidly to Raleigh, whither the advance of his forces arrived on the morning of the 13th in a heavy rain. The next day the cavalry pushed on to Durham's Station, the fifteenth corps following as far as Morrisville Station and the seventeenth to Jones' Station. Johnston's line of retreat being by the railroad, through Hillsboro, Salisbury, and Charlotte, in order to intercept his army, Sherman sent the other columns—with the exception of Schofield's, which remained in Raleigh to hold that place and the road back to Smithfield—westward in the direction of Ashboro.

April 13.

Heavy rains continued, and the roads were consequently almost impracticable; nevertheless, such was the energy with which the pursuit was conducted that by the 15th General Slocum had the fourteenth corps near Martha's Vineyard, with a pontoon bridge across the Cape Fear River at Aven's Ferry, the twentieth corps being in support; while General Howard had the fifteenth and seventeeth corps stretched out on the roads toward Pittsboro, General Kilpatrick holding Durham's Station and Chapel Hill University. General Johnston's force was now retreating rapidly on the roads from Hillsboro to Greensboro, he himself being at Greensboro, his only line of retreat being by Salisbury and Charlotte. In the mean time he had on the 14th applied by flag of truce for an armistice and a statement of the best terms on which he would be permitted to surrender the army under his command. To this General Sherman replied on the same day, undertaking to offer "the same terms and conditions as were made by Generals Grant and Lee at Appomattox Court House, on the 9th instant, relative to the two armies, and furthermore to obtain from General Grant an order to suspend the movements of any troops from the direction of Virginia."

April 15.

A meeting between the two commanders was subsequently agreed upon, to take place at noon on the 17th at a point intermediate between the pickets of the two armies, which were in the mean time to remain in *statu quo*. This took place accordingly at a small farm-house on the Chapel Hill road, five miles from Durham's Station and about thirty from Raleigh. General Sherman was accompanied by General Kilpatrick, General Barry, Colonel Poe, and members of his staff; General Johnston by Wade Hampton, Major Johnston, and Captain Hampton.

April 17.

As might have been expected from the high character of both commanders, the interview was frank and soldier-like. General Johnston admitted that his cause was lost, and that every life sacrificed after the surrender of Lee's army was the "highest possible crime." He also acknowledged that the terms conceded to General Lee were magnanimous and all he could ask; but wanted some general concessions that would enable him to allay the fears and anxieties of his followers and to retain control over them until they could be got back to the neighborhood of their homes. No arrangement was perfected at this meeting, and it was agreed to renew the conference at the same place on the following day.

At the second meeting, at which General Breckinridge, holding the office of secretary of war in the Confederate government, was present, an agreement was come to for a suspension of hostilities and a memorandum for a basis of peace was signed. This was not intended to be anything more than a mere "basis" for reference to the President, for his approval or rejection. It was not an ultimatum, and might be modified or rejected altogether.* It was immediately sent to Washington, and arrived there on the 21st, when at a cabinet meeting it was disapproved by the President, by the Secretary of War, by General Grant,

April 18.

* Basis of Agreement between Generals Sherman and Johnston.

"Memorandum or basis of agreement, made this 18th day of April, A.D. 1865, near Durham's Station, and in the State of North Carolina, by and between General Joseph E. Johnston, commanding the Confederate army, and Major-General William T. Sherman commanding the army of the United States in North Carolina, both present.

"*First.* The contending armies now in the field to maintain their *statu quo*, until notice is given by the Commanding General of either one to its opponent, and reasonable time—say forty-eight hours—allowed.

"*Second.* The Confederate armies now in existence to be disbanded and conducted to their several State capitals, there to deposit their arms and public property in the State arsenals, and each officer and man to execute and file an agreement to cease from acts of war, and abide action of both State and Federal authority. The number of arms and munitions of war to be reported to the Chief of Ordnance at Washington City, subject to future action of the Congress of the United States; in the mean time, to be used solely to maintain peace and order within the borders of the State respectively.

"*Third.* The recognition by the Executive of the United States of several State Governments, in their officers and legislatures, taking oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States, and where conflicting State Governments have resulted from the war, the legitimacy of all shall be submitted to the Supreme Court of the United States.

"*Fourth.* The re-establishment of all Federal courts in the several States, with powers as defined by the Constitution and laws of Congress.

"*Fifth.* The people and inhabitants of all States to be guaranteed, so far as the Executive can, their political rights and franchise, as well as their rights of person and property, as defined by the Constitution of the United States and of States respectively.

"*Sixth.* The executive authority of the Government of the United States not to disturb any of the people by reason of the late war, so long as they live in peace and quiet, and abstain from acts of armed hostility, and obey laws in existence at any place of their residence.

"In general terms, war to cease; a general amnesty, so far as the executive power of the United States can command, or on condition of the disbandment of the Confederate armies, and the distribution of arms and resumption of peaceful pursuits by officers and men as hitherto composing the said armies, not being fully empowered by our respective principals to fulfill these terms, we individually and officially pledge ourselves to promptly obtain necessary authority, and to carry out the above programme.

"W. T. Sherman,

"Major-General Commanding the Army of the United States in North Carolina.

"J. E. Johnston,

"General Commanding Confederate States Army in North Carolina."



and by every member of the cabinet.* General Sherman was ordered to resume hostilities immediately, and to take for his guidance a telegram by Mr. Lincoln on the 3d of March to General Grant restricting his action in a conference proposed by General Lee to matters purely military.†

General Grant also immediately set out for Raleigh with orders from the President through the Secretary of War to direct military movements, and arrived early on the morning of the 24th, but did not assume command. Notice was at once sent to General Johnston to terminate the truce, and on the 25th General Sherman received a letter from him, asking another interview for the purpose of renewing negotiations. This, with the approval of General Grant, he appointed for the 26th at noon, the hour which had been fixed for the renewal of hostilities. General Johnston then surrendered his army and all the forces under his command in North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, on the basis agreed upon between Generals Grant and Lee for the Army of Northern Virginia. Probably his army was forty thousand strong at the time of the surrender; but the number of men actually admitted to parole was only 29,924, some ten thousand having escaped from camp and

April 26.

* The following are the reasons given by Secretary Stanton for disapproving the proceeding of General Sherman:

"*First* It was an exercise of authority not vested in General Sherman, and on its face shows that both he and Johnston knew that he (General Sherman) had no authority to enter into any such arrangement

"*Second*—It was a practical acknowledgment of the rebel government.

"*Third*—It undertook to re-establish the rebel State Government, that had been overthrown at the sacrifice of many thousand loyal lives and an immense treasure, and placed arms and munitions of war in the hands of the rebels at their respective capitals, which might be used as soon as the armies of the United States were disbanded, and used to conquer and subdue the loyal States.

"*Fourth*—By the restoration of the rebel authority in their respective States, they would be enabled to re-establish slavery.

"*Fifth*—It might furnish a ground of responsibility by the Federal Government to pay the rebel debt, and certainly subjects loyal citizens of the rebel States to the debt consummated by the rebels in the name of the State.

"*Sixth*—It put in dispute the existence of loyal State Governments, and the new State of Western Virginia, which had been recognized by every department of the United States Government.

"*Seventh*—It practically abolishes the confiscation laws, and relieved rebels of every degree, who had slaughtered our people, from all pains and penalties for their crimes.

"*Eighth*—It gave terms that had been deliberately, repeatedly, and solemnly rejected by President Lincoln, and better terms than the rebels had ever asked in their most prosperous condition.

"*Ninth*—It formed no basis of true and lasting peace, but relieved rebels from the pressure of our victories and left them in condition to renew their efforts to overthrow the United States Government, and subdue the loyal States, whenever their strength was recruited, and any opportunity should offer."

† On the night of the 3d of March, while President Lincoln and his cabinet were at the Capitol, a telegram from General Grant was brought to the Secretary of War, informing him that General Lee had requested an interview or conference to make an arrangement for terms of peace. General Grant's telegram was submitted to Mr. Lincoln, who pondering a few minutes took up his pen and wrote with his own hand the following reply, which he submitted to the Secretary of State and the Secretary of War. It was then dated, addressed, and signed by the Secretary of War and telegraphed to General Grant.

"WASHINGTON, *March* 3, 1865 12 P. M.

"LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT:

"The President directs me to say to you that he wishes you to have no conference with General Lee unless it be for the capitulation of General Lee's army, or on some minor and pure military matter. He instructs me to say that you are not to decide, discuss, or confer upon any political question. Such questions the President holds in his own hands, and will submit them to no military conferences or conventions. Meantime, you are to press to the utmost your military advantages.

"EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War."

made off with their arms and horses and a number of mules and wagons.

There was an end of discipline with the rebel troops when it became known that the surrender was actually about to take place, and the want of rations, the antipathy of conscripted men to the service, and a general disgust with the miserable disappointment of all the fine promises which had been made them by the Confederate leaders, induced many to seize the opportunity to hurry back to their homes. A part of Wade Hampton's cavalry corps went off to share the fortunes of Jefferson Davis. One hundred and eight pieces of artillery were parked, with limbers, caissons, etc., complete, and about fifteen thousand small-arms were given up. Very few cavalry horses were captured, and even the mules and wagons were given to Johnston's troops to be used in transporting rations and baggage. Officers owning horses were allowed to retain them.

On the 4th of May, General Richard Taylor, commanding in the Confederate Department of Alabama, Mississippi, and eastern Louisiana, surrendered all his forces to General Canby, at Citronelle, Alabama, on terms substantially the same as those granted to Generals Lee and Johnston. This surrender included all the remaining rebel forces east of the Mississippi. General Jeff. Thompson, commanding the rebel forces in Arkansas, on the 11th of May surrendered, at Chalk Bluff, his army of about seventy-five hundred men on the same terms.

May 4.

May 11.

There remained now of the Confederate armies only the force under General Kirby Smith, commanding the rebel Trans-Mississippi Department, who on the 31st of April, after hearing of Lee's surrender, but before having heard of those of Johnston and Taylor, issued an order to the troops under his command urging them to stand by their colors and protract the struggle. This order was dated at Shreveport, Louisiana, where on the 26th a mass meeting of soldiers and citizens was held, and attended by Governor Reynolds, Generals Kirby Smith, Price, Buckner, and others, for the purpose of expressing a general determination to carry on the war. Other meetings were held in various parts of Texas, at which resolutions were passed expressive of an intention never to submit to the United States Government. Measures were, however, promptly taken to put an end to the war in this quarter by setting in motion for Texas a force sufficient to insure an easy triumph over the forces under Kirby Smith. General Sheridan was designated for its command, as well as the Military Division of the Southwest, embracing all the region south of the Arkansas and west of the Mississippi.

In western Texas occurred the last battle of the war. On the evening of the 11th of May, Colonel Barrett with about five hundred troops marched from Brazos to seize a rebel camp at Palmetto Ranch, about fifteen miles above, on the Brownsville road. The camp was captured and burned the next morning,

and some guns and horses were carried off. But various causes having delayed the return of the expedition till the afternoon of the 13th, a superior force of the enemy, principally Ford's cavalry, under the command of General Slaughter, supported by three field-pieces, made its appearance. The Federal troops had no artillery, and a running fight ensued in the direction of Brazos, to within a mile of which place the pursuit was continued by the rebels. The Federal loss was about fifteen in killed and wounded, and sixty prisoners.

Kirby Smith's forces in the mean time began to diminish rapidly by desertion, making it apparent, especially after the surrender of all the rebel forces east of the Mississippi, that resistance would be useless. Accordingly, before any portion of Sheridan's troops had arrived, General Smith sent General Brent and several staff officers to Baton Rouge to ascertain from General Canby the terms of surrender. His messengers arrived on the 23d, and on the 26th arrangements for the surrender of all the Confederate forces in the Trans-Mississippi Department were concluded at New Orleans.

May 26.

CHAPTER LIX.

Evacuation of Richmond.—Views of the Confederate Government on the Evacuation.—Flight of Jefferson Davis and his Cabinet.—Government set up at Danville.—Value of Confederate Notes.—Effect of the News of Lee's Surrender.—Flight of Davis and his Cabinet to Greenboro.—Consultation of Davis, Breckinridge, Beauregard, and Johnston.—Davis and his Cabinet at Charlotte.—Continued Flight after the Surrender of Johnston.—Capture of Davis.—Imprisonment in Fortress Monroe.—Put in Irons.—Petition in his Favor.—Disreputable Measures adopted by the Confederate Government.—Treatment of Prisoners.—Libby, Belle Isle, and Andersonville Prisons.—Captain Henry Wirz.—His Execution.

AFTER the last decisive battle before Petersburg on Sunday the 2d of April, General Lee sent a dispatch to Richmond informing Jefferson Davis of the great reverses and counselling immediate departure. The Confederate government had more than once professed to attach little importance to the retention of Richmond under their control. Mr. Davis had expressed his views on the evacuation not only to public assemblies but in messages to Congress. He contended that if the campaign of the year 1864 had resulted in Federal success; if he had been compelled to evacuate Richmond as well as Atlanta, the Confederacy would have remained as erect and defiant as ever. He argued that such an event would have changed nothing in the purpose of the government, in the indomitable valor of the troops, or in the unquenchable spirit of the people; that the baffled and disappointed foe would in vain have scanned the reports of their proceedings at some new legislative seat for any

1865.

indication that progress had been made in the gigantic task of conquering a free people. There were no vital points on the preservation of which the existence of the Confederacy depended—no military success of the enemy which could accomplish its destruction. Not the fall of Atlanta, nor of Savannah, nor of Wilmington, nor of Charleston, nor of Mobile, nor even of Richmond, could affect the issue of the contest. Members of the Confederate cabinet and many of the public papers expressed similar opinions. There were not wanting those, however, who believed and openly declared that these opinions would be found fatally erroneous; that the evacuation of Richmond would be followed by the loss of all respect toward the Confederate government and the destruction of its authority, the disintegration of the army and the abandonment of the scheme of an independent Southern confederation; that the hope of recognition among nations would be gone forever; and that in a moral point of view it would be absolutely destructive, crushing the heart and extinguishing the last hope of the people.

But the time had now come for evacuation, whatever its consequences might be. About two o'clock in the afternoon orders were issued to the principal military and civil officials to have all government archives ready for removal by seven o'clock, and to meet Mr. Davis at the Danville Railroad dépôt by eight o'clock. Richmond became at once a scene of the utmost hurry and confusion, and at ten o'clock the Confederate President and his cabinet took their departure for Danville, where they arrived on the 3d. It was determined to make this place the seat of government, for as yet, though Richmond and Petersburg had been evacuated, the members of the rebel government were unwilling to believe that General Lee had determined on this measure for other than strategic reasons; and such was their confidence in his military skill, that little doubt was entertained that he would be able at least to withdraw his army in safety and protract the war indefinitely.

April 2.

The people of Danville, not aware that the last days of the Confederacy were come, and hoping to have their little town made the capital, received their fugitive President and his cabinet and the great crowd of refugees that accompanied or followed them from Richmond, with great hospitality. Every house was thrown open to accommodate the unusual influx of guests. On the 5th Mr. Davis issued a proclamation to reassure the public and to persuade the people that it was for the special accommodation of Lee's new tactics—field tactics as opposed to intrenched positions—that Richmond was abandoned. "It would be unwise," said he, "to conceal the moral and material injury to our cause resulting from the occupation of our capital by the enemy. It would be equally unwise and unworthy of us to allow our own energies to falter and our efforts to become relaxed under reverses, however

April 5.

calamitous they may be." "Relieved from the necessity of guarding particular points," he added, "our army will be free to move from point to point to strike the enemy far from his base. Let us but will it, and we are free."

While waiting for further news from General Lee, the various departments of the Confederate government recommenced work; the Masonic Hall was taken possession of for the post-office department; the treasury was opened at one of the banks, and Mr. Trenholm sold forty thousand dollars in Mexican silver for Confederate notes at the rate of seventy dollars in paper for one in silver.*

Admiral Semmes, now a brigadier-general, undertook to put Danville in a state of defence, and mounted guns on all the little hills around the place. Meanwhile no news came from Lee, but rumor of terrible riot and fires in Richmond. Thus things went on till the evening of the 8th, when it was rumored that the following dispatch had arrived from Breckinridge: "We have squarely beaten the Yanks in a two days' fight. Lee is all right and his army well in hand." On the strength of this rumor, Sunday the 9th, the day on which Lee signed his capitulation, was a cheerful day among the Confederates in Danville. Lee was supposed to be falling back at his leisure to hold a defensive line along the Staunton River. On Monday morning unpleasant news began to come in, and no longer in the form of rumor. The railroad at Burkesville was torn up; the Federal army was between Danville and the Confederate army. At last came the stunning intelligence of the surrender of General Lee. Orders were at once given for the evacuation of Danville at five o'clock, and soon after that hour Mr. Davis, still accompanied by his cabinet, started by railroad for Greensboro, in North Carolina, and arrived early on the 11th in safety, having had, however, a narrow escape from capture by a party of raiders, who tore up the track within a few miles of the town ten minutes after the train passed. At Greensboro the people were so little inclined to be hospitable, or had so little regard for their flying President, that he and his cabinet during their stay had to live in the miserable railroad cars.

April 10.

* The following statement shows the value of gold in Confederate currency at Richmond, from October, 1861, to the evacuation of that city:

	For $1 in Gold.
1861.	
October	$1 10 to $1 15
November	1 15 to 1 17
December	1 18 to 1 20
1862.	
January	1 18 to 1 22
February	1 25 to 1 26
March	1 28 to 1 30
April	1 38 to 1 40
May	1 50
June	1 50
July	1 50
August	1 50
September	1 75 to 2 00
October	1 75 to 2 00
November	2 50 to 3 00
December	2 50 to 3 00
1863.	
January	3 10
February	3 38
March	4 20
April	5 00 to 5 50
May	6 00
June	8 50
July	$9 00
August	12 00
September	12 50
October	13 00 to $14 00
November	15 50
December	19 00
1864.	
January	21 00
February	23 00 to 25 00
March	22 00 to 24 00
April	21 00 to 23 00
May	19 00 to 20 00
June	15 00 to 18 00
July	20 00
August	21 00 to 23 00
September	22 00 to 25 00
October	26 00
November	27 00 to 33 00
December	34 00 to 51 00
1865.	
January	45 00 to 58 00
February	45 00 to 60 00
March	60 00

Here Mr. Davis was joined by Breckinridge, Beauregard, and Johnston, and a long consultation took place. Davis ordered Johnston to fight; but the latter disputed not only the wisdom of the order but its power over his action. He considered that the struggle was over, and went away to his headquarters near Hillsboro, reserving to himself the right of deciding his course by the development of events. On the 14th orders were given for the evacuation of Greensboro; but now, as the railroad had been torn up at Jamestown, twelve miles distant, the fugitives had to resort to horses and wagons. These were to have been at the cars by three o'clock on the morning of the 15th, but by some mistake went past to near Jamestown. Heavy rains had now made the roads so bad that they were almost impassable, and to wait for the return of the wagons would have caused much delay. With considerable difficulty Mr. Davis and his party, now reduced to a very small number, procured three ambulances. In these, and on horseback, they went on, and encamped that night, during a heavy rain in the woods, near Jamestown.

April 15.

On arriving at Charlotte, where the people had indulged in hopes of their town being made the Confederate capital, there was considerable show of hospitality, and Mr. Davis lived in a house of his own selection during his stay, which was not, however, very protracted, for the day after the news came of Johnston's surrender the fugitives again set forth, with an escort of two thousand cavalry, directing their course toward the Catawba. Mr. Davis' journey from this time was one of incessant flight. Delays were no longer to be thought of. His design was to join the forces of General Dick Taylor beyond the Chattahoochee, then crossing the Mississippi to join Taylor's forces to those of General Kirby Smith, and to continue the war as long as he could find any Confederate force able to keep the field; not in hope of any important success, but with the view of securing for the South some better terms than surrender at discretion. He was accompanied now by only one cabinet officer, Postmaster-General Reagan, three aides, and an escort of ten mounted men with one pack-mule. Nothing was known at this time by any of the party of a reward of one hundred thousand dollars* which had been offered by the

* On the 2d of May President Johnson issued the following proclamation:

"*Whereas*, it appears from evidence in the bureau of Military Justice, that the atrocious murder of the late President, Abraham Lincoln, and the attempted assassination of the Hon. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State, were incited, concerted, and procured by and between Jefferson Davis, late of Richmond, Va., and Jacob Thompson, Clement C. Clay, Beverly Tucker, George N. Saunders, W. C. Cleary, and other rebels and traitors against the Government of the United States, harbored in Canada:

"Now, therefore, to the end that justice may be done, I, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, do offer and promise for the arrest of said persons or either of them, within the limits of the United States, so that they can be brought to trial, the following rewards: $100,000 for the arrest of Jefferson Davis, $25,000 for the arrest of Jacob Thompson, late of Mississippi, $25,000 for the arrest of George N. Saunders, $25,000 for the arrest of Beverly Tucker, and $10,000 for the arrest of William C. Cleary, late clerk of Clement C. Clay. The Provost-Marshal-General of the United States is directed to cause a description of said persons with notice of the above rewards to be published."

United States Government for the capture of the Confederate President, and he was pursuing his way southward when on the 9th of May he heard that Mrs. Davis with her three children and Miss Howell were in danger from bands of marauders, who were going about the country stealing horses and whatever else might tempt their cupidity. Mrs. Davis had a wagon train of her own, and was travelling at that time about eighteen miles distant from her husband's party, and very anxious to be no embarrassment to him. She had left Richmond more than a month before her husband, and had started from Washington on her way southward just before his arrival, in company with Colonel Harrison, Mr. Davis' private secretary, and a small party of parolled men, who seeing the ladies unprotected had volunteered to be their escort to Florida, whence the family, and not Mr. Davis himself, intended to take ship for Cuba. It was reported that a large quantity of specie was in the possession of Mrs. Davis. Such was not the fact, Mrs. Davis having no money that was not personal property, and very little of that. In the exodus from Richmond a large quantity of specie belonging to the city banks was carried off by its owners in the train of Mr. Davis for greater security. This was all subsequently captured by the United States troops. A little specie belonging to the Confederate government was conveyed as far as Washington, when, it having been determined to give a few dollars to the escort, a scramble took place and the soldiers got the whole of it. Mr. Davis, extremely anxious for the safety of his family, immediately rode back to afford what protection he could, but found Mrs. Davis and her party safe, encamped in a pine-forest near the Abbeville road, about a mile from Irwinsville, seventy-five miles south of Macon. Weary with his ride he went to sleep, intending to retrace his steps in the morning.

May 9.

Active measures had in the mean time been taken by General Wilson to intercept the fugitives. Colonel Pritchard, commanding the Fourth Michigan Cavalry of Minty's division, arrived at Irwinsville near midnight of the 9th, and having learned from a citizen that Mr. Davis' party was encamped two miles out of the town, made dispositions to surround the camp before day. Lieutenant-Colonel Harden also, commanding the First Wisconsin Cavalry of McCook's division, had struck the trail of the fugitives at Dublin, in Lawrence County, on the evening of the 7th, and followed it closely till the night of the 9th, when he encamped at nine in the evening within two miles of where Mr. Davis was. At three in the morning he pushed on again; but when he had moved about a mile, his advance was fired upon by the troops of the Fourth Michigan, by whom they were mistaken for the escort of Mr. Davis' party. A fight ensued which lasted fifteen minutes, and two men were killed and five wounded before the mistake was discovered. This firing was the first warning that Mr. Davis had of the presence

of his pursuers, and he supposing it had occurred between the dreaded rebel marauders and Mrs. Davis' few camp defenders, hurriedly put on his boots and was going out to interpose, when he saw a few cavalry ride up and deploy in front. He had slept in a loose wrapper which he still had on. This his wife fastened before he was aware of it, and bidding him adieu, urged him to go to a spring a short distance off, where his horses and arms were. There was not even a pistol in the tent, and this was his only chance. As he was leaving the tent, followed by a servant with a water pail, Miss Howell flung a shawl over his head. Though supposed at first to be a woman by the soldiers, his boots soon betrayed him, and the race was a very short one. He was taken prisoner as well as Postmaster Reagan and the entire party, and conveyed to Macon, and thence to Augusta, and subsequently to Fortress Monroe, in company with his family, Alexander H. Stephens, Mr. Reagan, Clement C. Clay, and several other state prisoners, the steamer which bore the party arriving in Hampton Roads on the 19th of May. On the 22d Messrs. Davis and Clay were transferred to the fort; Stephens, Reagan, and some others were sent elsewhere.

May 10.

The following morning Mr. Davis was put in irons. Captain Titlow, of the Third Pennsylvania Artillery, entered the prisoner's cell followed by the blacksmith of the fort and his assistant, carrying heavy shackles. Mr. Davis was lying on his bed, feverish and weary after a sleepless night, the food which had been placed near him the preceding day lying untouched on a tin plate near his bedside.

May 23.

"I have an unpleasant duty to perform, sir," said Captain Titlow; and the blacksmith took the shackles from his assistant. Mr. Davis instantly leaped from his recumbent attitude.

"My God!" exclaimed he, "you cannot have been sent to iron me?"

"Such are my orders," said the officer, motioning the blacksmith to do his duty. The fetters were of heavy iron, about five-eighths of an inch in thickness and connected by a stout chain.

"This is too monstrous," said the prisoner, looking round the room, as if for the means of resistance. "I demand, Captain," he continued, "that you let me see the commanding officer. Can he pretend that such shackles are required to secure the safe custody of a weak old man, so guarded and in such a fort as this?"

"It could serve no purpose," replied Captain Titlow; "his orders are from Washington as mine are from him. My orders are peremptory, and admit of no delay. For your own sake let me advise you to submit with patience."

"These are not the orders for a soldier," shouted the prisoner, losing control of himself. "They are the orders for a jailer—for a hangman—which no soldier wearing a sword should accept. I tell you the world will ring with this disgrace!"

"Do your duty, blacksmith," said

Captain Titlow, finding remonstrance useless, and walking toward the embrasure as if not caring to witness the performance. "It only gives increased pain on all sides to protract this interview."

The blacksmith then advanced with the shackles, and seeing that the prisoner had one foot upon the chair near his bedside, his right hand resting on the back of it, made an attempt to slip one of the shackles over the ankle so raised; but with the force sometimes imparted by frenzy even to the weakest invalid, Mr. Davis suddenly seized his assailant and threw him half-way across the room. Captain Titlow then turned, and seeing that Mr. Davis meditated still further resistance, again remonstrated with him, pointing out that such a course was madness and that orders must be carried out at any cost.

"I am a prisoner of war," retorted Mr. Davis. "I have been a soldier in the armies of America and know how to die. Only kill me, and my last breath shall be a blessing on your head. But while I have life and strength to resist for myself and for my people, this thing shall not be done."

Captain Titlow then called in a file of soldiers from the next room, and the sergeant advancing to seize the prisoner, Mr. Davis sprung upon him, seized his musket, and attempted to wrench it from his grasp. Such a struggle of course could have but one issue. In a moment Mr. Davis was flung upon his bed, and before his four powerful assailants removed their hands from him, the blacksmith and his assistant had done their work—one securing the rivets on the right ankle, while the other turned the key in the padlock on the left. Mr. Davis lay for a moment as if in a stupor; then slowly raising himself and turning round he dropped his shackled feet to the floor. The harsh clank of the chain seems first to have recalled him to a sense of his situation, and dropping his face into his hands, he burst into passionate sobbing, rocking to and fro, and muttering at brief intervals: "Oh, the shame! the shame!"*

May 28.

On the 28th, the prisoner's health having begun to suffer seriously, his shackles were removed; though he was for a long time denied the use of all books but the Bible and the Prayer Book, and subject to other restrictions, with the view of preventing his communicating with the outside world. Subsequently the severity of his confinement was somewhat modified; but twelve months after his entrance into Fortress Monroe, he was still a prisoner there, anxiously awaiting his trial for treason. Petitions to President Johnson in favor of Jefferson Davis were prepared in several of the Southern States. "Mr. Davis," said a memorial adopted by the Legislature of Georgia, October 30th, 1865, "was elevated to his high position by our suffrages and in response to our

* The above statements respecting the ironing of the late Confederate President are made on the authority of Dr. Craven, his medical attendant, and the author of that very interesting work, "Prison Life of Jefferson Davis."

wishes. We imposed upon him a responsibility which he did not seek. Originally opposed to the sectional policy to which public opinion, with irresistible power, finally drove him, he became the exponent of our principles and the leader of our cause. He simply responded to the united voice of his section. If he, then, is guilty, so are we. We were the principals; he was our agent. Let not the retribution of a mighty nation be visited upon his head; while we, who urged him to his destiny, are suffered to escape. The liberal clemency of the Government has been extended over us. We breathe the air and experience the blessings of freedom. We therefore ask that the leader who, in response to the democratic instincts of his nature, the principles of his party, and the solicitations of his section, became the head and front of our offending, shall not now be bruised for our iniquities or punished for our transgressions. Mr. Davis was not the leader of a feeble and temporary insurrection; he was the representative of great ideas and the exponent of principles which stirred and consolidated a numerous and intelligent people. This people was not his dupe. They pursued the course which they adopted of their own free-will, and he did not draw them on, but followed after them. It is for these reasons that we invoke the Executive clemency in his behalf. His frame is feeble; his health is delicate—all broken by the storms of state. He languishes out in captivity a vicarious punishment for the acts of his people. Thousands of hearts are touched with his distress. Thousands of prayers ascend to Heaven for his relief. We invoke in his behalf the generous exercise of the prerogative to pardon which the form and principles of the Constitution offer as a beneficent instrument to a merciful Executive. We ask the continuance of that career of clemency which your Excellency has begun, and which alone we earnestly believe can secure the true unity and the lasting greatness of the nation. Dispensing that mercy which is inculcated by the example of our great Master on high, your name will be transmitted to your countrymen as one of the benefactors of mankind. The Constitution of our country, renewed and fortified by your measures, will once more extend its protection over a contented and happy people, founded, as it will be, upon consent and affection, and 'resting, like the great arch of the heavens, equally upon all.'"

Though no satisfactory evidence was at any time brought forward sufficient to implicate Mr. Davis or his cabinet in the assassination plot, there can be little doubt that the members of the Confederate government authorized a series of raids to be made by their agents from the Canada border; that an attempt made to burn New York was not disapproved by them; and that on them rested the responsibility for the inhuman treatment of prisoners of war in consequence of which many thousands of Union soldiers miserably perished.

In September, 1864, John Y. Beall, an officer in the rebel army, organized

a force in Canada for the purpose of a raid on the lakes, and succeeded in capturing and destroying two steamboats belonging to citizens of the United States. In the following December he was arrested in the State of New York near the Niagara suspension bridge, and having been convicted of an attempt to throw a passenger train from Buffalo off the railroad track, he was executed as a pirate, spy, and murderer, on the 24th of February, though he endeavored to shield himself by his commission from the Confederate government.

On the 19th of October, in the same year, a party of well-armed raiders from the Canada border, appeared suddenly in the village of St. Alban's, Vermont, fifteen miles from the frontier line, and after robbing the banks of over $200,000, and firing upon defenceless citizens, one of whom was mortally wounded, rode back with their plunder to Canada, where nearly all of them were arrested and brought to trial, but set at liberty on the ground of a want of jurisdiction. They were, however, re-arrested, and tried before the Superior Court of Lower Canada, but again discharged. The stolen money was subsequently restored to the St. Alban's banks by the Canadian authorities.

The same year an attempt was made by six rebels from Canada, in retaliation for Sheridan's destruction of property in the Shenandoah Valley, to burn the city of New York. It was intended to carry out the plot on the night after the Presidential election; but this it happened the incendiaries were unable to do for want of the phosphorus which they had to use, and it was put off till the 25th of November. Nearly simultaneously, about nine o'clock in the evening, fires broke out in the St. Nicholas, St. James, Lafarge, Metropolitan, Lovejoy's, Grammercy Park, and Belmont hotels, Tammany Hall, and Barnum's Museum. Most of the fires were, however, easily extinguished; but the agents in the crime all escaped to Canada. One of them, Captain Robert C. Kennedy, according to his own confession the most active of the criminals, was subsequently arrested in Detroit, and tried, convicted, and executed, at Fort Lafayette, in New York harbor, on the 24th of March, 1865.

Among the illegitimate means of carrying on the war resorted to by the Confederates, by far the most barbarous was that of destroying the prisoners of war by starvation, neglect, and ill-treatment. For upward of a year the war was carried on without any regular system for a general exchange of prisoners, and it was not till the summer of 1862 that a cartel was signed for the equitable exchange of prisoners, man for man and officer for officer, and for the parolling of prisoners within ten days after their capture. This remained in force till the summer of 1863, by which time the colored regiments in the Federal army had begun to take part in operations in the field, and the officers and privates of these when they fell into the hands of the Confederates, being withheld from exchange, a serious difficulty arose. After a lengthened

correspondence, Mr. Ould, the rebel commissioner of exchange, proposed, in the latter part of October, that all officers and men on both sides should be released in accordance with the provisions of the cartel, and that the excess, on whichever side it might be, should be released on parole; but as the Confederates were unwilling to consider such Union soldiers as had been slaves as prisoners of war, and persistently refused to release them, alleging that they had no power to do so, but were bound to restore them to their former owners as private property, the proposition of Mr. Ould was rejected by the Union commissioner, General Meredith, the Federal authorities of course considering themselves bound to protect their black soldiers as fully as the white. Another consideration which was allowed to have much weight in causing the rejection of Mr. Ould's proposition was, that the number of prisoners of war detained in Federal possession was largely in excess of that of the Union prisoners in the South—at the close of the year not less than twenty-seven thousand; and it was alleged that the Confederates had acted in bad faith with regard to the prisoners parolled by Generals Grant and Banks at Vicksburg and Port Hudson. Under the terrible conscription system prevailing in the South, there could be little doubt that the large excess of parolled men in their favor, if not actually restored to immediate service in the field, would enable the release of an equal number of men from civil service, and thus be a means of recruiting the Southern armies almost as effectually as if they had been restored to the ranks. These difficulties proved to be insuperable. Exchanges ceased, except in a few special instances, and prisoners began to accumulate in large numbers on both sides, much to the disadvantage of the Confederates, with whom the loss of men was a more serious matter than with the Federals.

The prisons in Richmond became crowded to excess, and complaints began to be made by the prisoners of bad and insufficient food and cruel treatment, which were such as to cause an extraordinary mortality among them—amounting at times to as many as fifty a day. The lot of the colored prisoners was in fact much better than that of the whites, as they were not subjected to confinement, but simply restored to their owners, if they could be found. If none claimed them, they were kept at work in the public service, and really suffered little by the change of circumstances.

When remonstrated with, the Confederates alleged that the prisoners in their hands were placed on an equality with their troops in the field, in respect to rations and clothing, and that it was not in their power to give to either troops or prisoners the comforts that were desired, but that the same rations precisely were ordered to be provided for them. For the last two years of the war it was said Lee's army had never more than half, and was oftener on quarter, rations of rusty bacon and corn. There was, it is true, abundance of food within the territory of the Confederates,

but no means for its collection, the holders concealing it after the currency became depreciated, and if it could have been collected, another difficulty would have occurred in connection with transportation. The railroads were overtaxed and the rolling stock soon gave out.

These allegations were in a great measure disproved by the facts that the mortality was much less among the Confederate troops than among the prisoners, and that the former when captured were generally in good condition physically and well clothed, while the few Union prisoners released from time to time by special exchanges, exhibited frightful evidence of suffering and privation. As the war went on without any resumption of regular exchanges, the Libby and Belle Isle prisons* at Richmond, where most of the Union prisoners had been confined, and where the

* The following extracts from a report of the Sanitary Commission give some frightful details respecting these prisons:

"LIBBY PRISON.

"The rooms are one hundred feet by forty. In six of these, twelve hundred United States officers, of all grades, from brigadier down, were confined for months. This was the almost incredible space allowed them in which to cook, eat, wash, sleep, and take exercise. Ten feet by two claimed by each man for all the purposes of living! At one time they were not allowed benches or stools, or even to fold their blankets and sit upon them, but forced to huddle 'like slaves in the middle passage;' at another, only allowed to make stools out of the barrels and boxes they received from the North; at all times overrun by vermin, in spite of constant ablutions, no clean blankets ever being issued by the rebels; and lying down at night, according to Libby phrase, 'wormed and dovetailed together like fish in a basket.' There were two stoves and seventy-five windows, all broken, and in winter the cold was intense. Every prisoner had a cough from the damp or cold. It was among the rules that no prisoner should go within three feet of the window, a rule extremely difficult to observe in the crowded prisons of the South. Often by accident or unconsciously an officer would go near a window and be instantly shot at. In the Pemberton buildings near by, as many as fourteen shots were fired in a single day, and very frequently a prisoner fell killed or wounded. It became a matter of sport to 'kill a Yankee.' Once the guard caught sight of Lieutenant Hammond's hat through a boarded inclosure, where there were no windows, and came within an inch of murdering him. Major Turner, the keeper of Libby, remarked, 'The boys are in want of practice.' The sentry said 'he had made a bet he would kill a d—d Yankee before he came off guard.' Almost every prisoner had such an incident to tell. Throughout the Southern prison system it is a regular sport to kill Yankees. The guards were never reproved for their willingness to commit murder.

"The daily ration in the officers' quarters of Libby prison was a small loaf of bread, about the size of a man's fist, made of Indian meal. Sometimes it was made from wheat flour, but of variable quality. It weighed a little over half a pound. With it was given a piece of beef weighing two ounces. 'I would gladly,' said an officer, 'have preferred the horse feed in my father's stable.' The corn bread began to be of the roughest and coarsest description. Portions of the cob and husk were often found ground in with the meal. The crust was so thick and hard that the prisoners called it iron clad. To render the bread eatable they grated it, and made mush out of it, but the crust they could not grate. Now and then, after long intervals, often of many weeks, a little meat was given them, perhaps two or three mouthfuls. At a later period they received a pint of black peas, with some vinegar, every week. The peas were often full of worms, or maggots in a chrysalis state, which, when they made soup, floated on the surface.

"Those who were entirely dependent on the prison fare, and who had no friends at the North to send them boxes of food, began to suffer the horrible agony of craving food, and feeling themselves day by day losing strength Dreams and delusions began to distract their minds. 'I grew so foolish in my mind,' says Captain Calhoun, 'that I used to blame myself for not eating more when at home. The subject of food engrossed my whole thoughts.'

"But the most unaccountable and shameful act of all was yet to come. Shortly after this general diminution of rations, in the month of January last, the boxes, which before had been regularly delivered, and in good order, were withheld. No reason was given. Three hundred arrived every week, and were received by Colonel Ould, commissioner of exchange; but, instead of being distributed, were retained and piled up in warehouses near by, and in full sight of the tantalized and hungry captives, to the number of three thousand at least. At length five or six were distributed during the week. Scores were stolen.

"For offences, trivial or serious, prisoners were con-

unnecessary cruelties of the rebels commenced, became insufficient to contain all the captured soldiers, and places of confinement farther from the Federal lines, and the scenes of still more inhuman, were erected. These were the notorious prison-pens at Charlotte and Salisbury in North Carolina, and at Millen and Andersonville in Georgia, in which tens of thousands of Union prisoners were starved to death or destroyed by neglect or ill-usage, under circumstances which leave little doubt that the treatment they received was deliberately

signed to cells beneath the prison, the walls of which were damp, green, and slimy. They were never warmed, and often so crowded that some were obliged to stand up all night. Dead bodies, too, were placed in the cellar, and very often partly devoured by hogs, dogs, and rats.

"BELLE ISLE.

"Here is an inclosure variously estimated to be from three to six acres in extent, surrounded by an earth-work about three feet high, with a ditch on either side. The interior has something of the look of an encampment, a number of Sibley tents being set in rows, with 'streets' between. These tents, rotten, torn, full of holes—poor shelter at any rate—accommodated only a small proportion. From ten to twelve thousand men have been imprisoned in this small space at one time—turned into the inclosure, like so many cattle, to find what resting-place they could. So crowded were they that, at the least, according to the estimated area given them, there could have been but a space of two feet by seven, and, at the most, three feet by nine per man—hardly a generous allotment even for a 'hospitable grave.'

"Some were so fortunate as to find shelter in the tents, but even they were often wet with the rain, and almost frozen when winter set in. Every day some places were made vacant by diseases or by death, as some were taken to the hospital, and some to burial. But thousands had no tents, and no shelter of any kind. Nothing was provided for their accommodation. Lumber was plenty in a country of forests, but not a cabin or shed was built, or allowed to be built. Here thousands lay with the sand for their beds and the sky for their covering, under fog, rain, cold, snow; hundreds blanketless, coatless, and shoeless; others with ragged and rotten clothes. There were few fires and little shelter. A severe winter came, in which the mercury was down to zero even at Memphis, and water left in buckets on Belle Isle froze two or three inches deep in the night. The snow lay deep on the ground around Richmond. The ice formed in the James, and flowed in masses upon the rapids on either side of the islands.

"The men resorted to every expedient to keep from perishing. They lay in the ditch, as the most protected place, heaped upon one another and lying close together, as one of them expressed it, 'like hogs in winter,' taking turns as to who should have the outside of the row. In the morning, the row of the previous night was marked by the motionless forms of those 'who were sleeping on in their last sleep'—frozen to death!

"Rock-like husky corn bread (specimens of which we have seen), meat often tainted and suspiciously like mule meat, two or three spoonfuls of rotten beans, soup thin and briny, often with worms floating on the surface, made up their food. None of these were given together, and the whole ration was never one-half the quantity necessary for bare life. Hear the words of the prisoners:

"'There was no name for our hunger.' 'I was hungry—pretty nearly starved to death.' 'I waked up one night and found myself gnawing my coat-sleeves.' 'I used to dream of having something good to eat' 'I walked the streets for many a night; I could not sleep for hunger.' 'I lost flesh and strength for want of food.' 'If I were to sit here a week, I could not tell you half our suffering.' These sentences form the very poem of misery and starvation.

"'Lice were in all their quarters.' Vermin and dirt incrusted their bodies. They were sore with lying in the sand. None—not even the sufferers with diarrhœa—were allowed to visit the sinks during the night, and in the morning the ground was covered and saturated with filth. The wells were tainted; the air was filled with disgusting odors.

"Many were taken sick daily, but were allowed to suffer for days before they were removed to the hospitals; and when this was done, it was often so late that the half of them died before reaching it, or at the very moment their names were being recorded.

"There was a hospital tent on the island, which was always full of the sick. It had no floor; the sick and dying were laid on straw, and logs were their only pillows. 'If you or I saw a horse dying,' said one, 'wouldn't we put some straw under his head? Would we let him beat his head on a log in his agony?'

"THE HOSPITALS.

"The hospitals for our prisoners were virtually worse than the prisons themselves. Dr. Ferguson testifies that, while the wounded were under treatment, the nourishment and stimulation they received were not sufficient to give them a proper chance for recovery. I am surprised that more do not die. Bedding and covering were very dirty and offensive. In three months, out of 2,800 patients, about 1,400 died. The hospitals were nothing less than hospitals for murder."

designed to produce the effects which it actually accomplished.

The prison at Andersonville in particular obtained a hideous notoriety. It comprised an open space of about thirty acres, surrounded by a high stockade, and earth-works on which cannon were mounted. About a quarter of the inclosed space was a swamp through which crept a shallow muddy stream, the receptacle before it entered the inclosure, of much filth and refuse from a neighboring rebel camp; but which was nevertheless the only source from which the prisoners, sometimes numbering thirty thousand, could obtain water. As was said, this prison-pen was simply a stockade; there was no covering of any kind, and though the vicinity abounded in woods, and timber was plenty, the men were not permitted to construct so much as a simple shed to protect themselves from the sun and rain, and they sought a partial shelter in the soil, into which they burrowed like wild animals, so that when the place fell into the hands of the Union troops, the ground was discovered to be completely honeycombed. In addition to the physical hardships of the Union prisoners they were tormented by a cruel suspicion, which their long confinement and the assertions of the rebel authorities went far to strengthen, that their own government had abandoned them. It is said that hundreds believing this, lost all hope and perished miserably, who could have borne up under their privations, severe as they were, with the assurance of relief sooner or later. Some few, indignant at the desertion of their government, took service with the rebels. For about six weeks the deaths at Andersonville averaged a hundred a day. At last, early in September, 1864, the rebel authorities, fearing that an epidemic might be occasioned among their own troops, a large number of whom were required to keep guard, sent several thousand prisoners to a new stockade constructed at Savannah, but not before the bodies of eleven thousand Union soldiers had been deposited uncoffined in the shallow trenches at Andersonville.*

* The following extract from a memorial addressed to President Lincoln, in August, 1864, by Union officers confined in Charleston, contains some frightful particulars respecting the condition of the enlisted men detained at Andersonville:

"The condition of the enlisted men belonging to the Union armies, now prisoners to the Confederate rebel forces, is such that it becomes our duty, and the duty of every commissioned officer, to make known the facts in the case to the Government of the United States, and to use every honorable effort to secure a general exchange of prisoners, thereby relieving thousands of our comrades from the horrors now surrounding them.

"For some time past there has been a concentration of prisoners from all parts of the rebel territory to the State of Georgia—the commissioned officers being confined at Macon, and the enlisted men at Andersonville. Recent movements of the Union armies under General Sherman have compelled the removal of prisoners to other points, and it is now understood that they will be removed to Savannah, Georgia, and Columbus, and Charleston, South Carolina. But no change of this kind holds out any prospect of relief to our poor men. Indeed, as the localities selected are far more unhealthy, there must be an increase rather than a diminution of suffering. Colonel Hill, Provost-Marshal-General, Confederate States Army, at Atlanta, stated to one of the undersigned that there were thirty-five thousand prisoners at Andersonville, and by all accounts from the United States soldiers who have been confined there, the number is not overstated by him. These thirty-five thousand are confined in a field of some thirty acres, inclosed by a board fence, heavily guarded. About one-third have various kinds of indifferent shelter; but upward of thirty thousand are wholly without shelter, or even shade of any kind, and are exposed to the storms

Between sixty and seventy thousand prisoners had accumulated in the Federal prisons, and about as many in those of the Confederates, before the general exchange was resumed in November, 1864. This was brought about by the anxiety on the part of the Confederates to get back their soldiers, of whom they were much in need, and by the desire of the Federal authorities to deliver their troops from the sufferings which were destroying them. An agreement was also made about the same time between Generals Lee and Grant, according to which each belligerent was allowed to send necessary supplies and comforts to its prisoners in the hands of the other.

and rains, which are of almost daily occurrence; the cold dews of the night, and the more terrible effects of the sun striking with almost tropical fierceness upon their unprotected heads. This mass of men jostle and crowd each other up and down the limits of their inclosure, in storm and sun, and others lie down on the pitiless earth at night with no other covering than the clothing upon their backs, few of them having even a blanket.

"Upon entering the prison every man is deliberately stripped of money and other property, and as no clothing or blankets are ever supplied to their prisoners by the rebel authorities, the condition of the apparel of the soldiers, just from an active campaign, can be easily imagined. Thousands are without pants or coats, and hundreds without even a pair of drawers to cover their nakedness.

"To these men, as indeed to all prisoners, there is issued three-quarters of a pound of bread or meal, and one-eighth of a pound of meat per day. This is the entire ration, and upon it the prisoner must live or die. The meal is often unsifted and sour, and the meat such as in the North is consigned to the soap-maker. Such are the rations upon which Union soldiers are fed by the rebel authorities, and by which they are barely holding on to life. But to starvation and exposure, to sun and storm, add the sickness which prevails to a most alarming and terrible extent. On an average one hundred die daily. It is impossible that any Union soldier should know all the facts pertaining to this terrible mortality, as they are not paraded by the rebel authorities. Such a statement as the following, made by —— ——, speaks eloquent testimony. Said he: 'Of twelve of us who were captured, six died; four are in the hospital, and I never expect to see them again. There are but two of us left.' In 1862, at Montgomery, Alabama, under far more favorable circumstances, the prisoners being protected by sheds, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred were sick from diarrhœa and chills, out of seven hundred. The same percentage would give seven thousand sick at Andersonville. It needs no comment, no efforts at word-painting, to make such a picture stand out boldly in most horrible colors.

"Nor is this all. Among the ill-fated of the many who have suffered amputation in consequence of injuries received before capture, sent from rebel hospitals before their wounds were healed, there are eloquent witnesses of the barbarities of which they are victims. If to these facts is added this, that nothing more demoralizes soldiers and develops the evil passions of man than starvation, the terrible condition of Union prisoners at Andersonville can be readily imagined. They are fast losing hope, and becoming utterly reckless of life. Numbers, crazed by their sufferings, wander about in a state of idiocy; others deliberately cross the 'dead line,' and are remorselessly shot down."

The treatment of rebel prisoners at the North was in marked contrast with that which the Union prisoners received in the South. They were comfortably housed and clad; drew abundant rations, and when sick or wounded were attended with as much care as the Union soldiers. When in November ten thousand Union soldiers were released from the Andersonville prison to be exchanged at Charleston for a like number of rebel prisoners, this difference was clearly seen; the former were mere wrecks of humanity, reduced by sickness, starvation, and exposure to living skeletons, disgusting rags scarcely covering their nakedness; hundreds were covered with putrid sores and exhaled a fetid odor. On the other hand, a large portion of the rebels were healthy; and all were comfortably fed and decently clothed.

At the trial, subsequently referred to, of Captain Henry Wirz, the keeper of Andersonville prison, some months after

the termination of the war, the truth of the facts above stated was established by the testimony of many Union prisoners, summoned as witnesses; and Colonel D. T. Chandler, formerly an inspector-general in the rebel service, testified that during his inspection of the Andersonville prison, he had a conversation with General Winder, the commander of the post, in which he seemed very indifferent to the welfare of the prisoners and indisposed to do anything to mitigate their sufferings.* Colonel Chandler stated that he had remonstrated with Winder, pointing out the great mortality in the prison, and suggested, as the sickly season was coming on, that the swamp should be drained, better food furnished, and other sanitary measures adopted. The reply of General Winder was to the effect that he thought it would be better to let one half of the prisoners die, so that better care could be taken of the survivors. Major Hall, Colonel Chandler's assistant, had previously reported that General Winder had in conversation with him used the same expression several times.

Captain Henry Wirz, who became notorious in connection with the cruelties practiced at the Andersonville stockade, was born in Switzerland in 1823, and immigrated to New York in 1849. In 1850 and 1851 he was employed as superintendent of a water-cure establishment at Northampton, Massachusetts, and subsequently was some time in charge of a plantation in Mississippi, whither he took his family in 1857. When the war broke out he enlisted with the rebel army as a private soldier. His first experience in connection with the Confederate prisons was had in Richmond soon after the battle of Bull Run, in doing guard duty at Howard's factory, then used as a military prison. He was at the battle of Fair Oaks, and was wounded there with the fragment of a shell. He was then made assistant provost-marshal of Manchester. For some time after this he was actively employed under the orders of General Winder and Colonel Ould in various service in connection with prisons and prisoners. In 1863 he was made chief of police in the provost-marshal's office in Richmond; but was soon afterward employed to convey arms and ammunition from Charleston to the Trans-Mississippi Department. He got the arms as far as Port Hudson, but was prevented from crossing the Mississippi by the presence of the Union gunboats Hartford and Albatross. He then

* The following is an extract from an official report of Colonel Chandler, addressed to Colonel Chilton at Richmond, August 5th, 1864:

"My duty requires me to respectfully recommend a change in the officer in command of the post, Brigadier-General J. H. Winder, and the substitution in his place of some one who unites both energy and good judgment with some feelings of humanity and consideration for the welfare and comfort (so far as is consistent with their safe keeping) of the vast number of unfortunates placed under their control; some one who, at least, does not advocate deliberately and in cold blood the propriety of leaving them in their present condition until their number has been sufficiently reduced by death to make the present arrangements suffice for their accommodation; who will not consider it a matter of self-laudation, boasting that he has never been inside the stockade—a place the horrors of which it is difficult to describe, and which is a disgrace to civilization—the condition of which he might, by the exercise of a little energy and judgment, even with the limited means at his command, have considerably improved."

obtained a four months' furlough with the view to visit Europe, intending, as he afterward alleged, never to return; but from various causes he was so delayed that his furlough lacked only three weeks of being out when he landed in Liverpool. On returning from Europe he was ordered to Augusta to superintend the transportation of prisoners to Andersonville, and in March of 1864 was ordered to that prison by General Winder to relieve his son, W. S. Winder. It was while here that by unnecessary and wanton cruelties, though only a subordinate, he achieved the bad eminence which led to his arrest and subsequently to his trial by a military commission, which convened on the 21st of August, 1865.

It was alleged that through his cruelty thousands of prisoners of war had lost their lives. The first charge against him was for traitorously conspiring with others to injure the health and destroy the lives of soldiers in the service of the United States, held as prisoners of war. The second charge was for murder in violation of the laws and customs of war, with thirteen specifications. After argument on a motion to quash the charges and specifications as being too general and uncertain, and that the offences charged were cognizable by civil and not by military courts, which motion was overruled by the court, the prisoner pleaded not guilty, and at the suggestion of the judge-advocate, was remanded to prison, and the court adjourned *sine die*. On the 23d of August, at a meeting of the commission, the judge-advocate read an order from the War Department dated August 22d, directing that the commission convened on the 20th be dissolved, and another order convening a special commission to assemble on the 23d, the detail of officers being the same. The charges and specifications were nearly the same as before. The trial was protracted and tedious, large numbers of witnesses being examined. Wirz was found guilty, and in accordance with the sentence of the commission was executed on the 10th of November.

CHAPTER LX.

Rebel Cruisers.—The Olinde or Stonewall at Copenhagen.—At Ferrol.—Description.—Watched by the Niagara and Sacramento.—Escape to Lisbon.—Sails to Teneriffe, Nassau, and Havana.—Surrendered by the Spanish Authorities.—The Sea King or Shenandoah.—Description.—Crew and Armament.—Reception at Melbourne.—Sails for the Arctic Ocean.—Depredations.—Return to England.—Given up to the United States Consul.—Captain Waddell's account of the Shenandoah's Cruise.—Claims for Compensation.—Language of Mr. Seward, Lord Clarendon, and President Johnson.—Summary of the Vessels destroyed or captured by the United States and the Confederates during the War.—Naval Expenditures.

1865.

BEFORE the war closed, two more rebel cruisers got to sea from European ports, the utmost vigilance on the part of the authorities not being sufficient to prevent vessels after leaving port from changing their character and receiving armaments on board.

The Olinde, an iron-clad ram, built at Bordeaux in 1864, for the Danish Government conditionally, was taken thence to Copenhagen, but proving unsatisfactory was not accepted by the authorities, and was sold to agents of the Confederate Government. A number of men and some material being then quietly placed on board, she put out to sea again. Some difficulty in procuring an armament and crew caused a temporary embarrassment in her movements, but she was soon met by the English steamer City of Richmond off the coast of France, and received from that vessel a crew, supplies for a cruise, and an armament.

Feb. 4.

She was next heard from at the port of Ferrol, in Spain, where she arrived on the 4th of February, 1865, leaking badly and much strained in the heavy weather she had experienced in her voyage. At first orders were received from Madrid to apply the twenty-four hour rule, and give her provisions and water enough for one day's supply, and to permit no repairs; but on the following day permission was given to Captain Page, her commander, to repair and refit his ship, which he at once set at work to do, and not only effected the necessary repairs, but found means to smuggle on board additional men for her crew. The Olinde, called the Stonewall by the rebels, was one hundred and ninety-six feet long over all, and had thirty-five feet breadth of beam. She was fitted with a wrought-iron spur or ram extending thirty-three feet forward of the turret, firmly fastened to the ship. Her armor plating was four and a half inches thick, with a solid wooden backing. She had two immovable turrets, more properly casemates—in the forward one three ports and a three-hundred-pounder Armstrong rifled gun, in the other four ports and two seventy-pounder Armstrong rifled guns. The decks were of wood, with

iron plating an inch thick beneath. She had two keels, two rudders, two propellers, and four engines of great power. Her sides were sloped in considerably so as to cause shot to glance off. Being constructed with two propellers, she could turn almost within her own length, and was thus able to keep her bow continually toward any adversary who could not by superior speed keep out of her way.

The Stonewall remained in port till the 21st of March, when having completed her repairs she went to sea, but the weather being too heavy for her, put back again. On the following day she made another attempt to get away; but the sea being still rough, and the Niagara and Sacramento watching her closely, she returned to port. The next day, the water being smooth and the weather fair, she got off to sea, followed but not attacked by the Niagara and Sacramento, and proceeded to Lisbon, arriving in the Tagus on the 26th; but being ordered by the Portuguese authorities to depart within twenty-four hours, sailed away again on the 28th, some twenty hours after her leave of stay had expired. Here, about five hours after the departure of the ram, the Niagara was fired upon by the guns of Belem Castle, under a misapprehension as to her movements; but for this ample apology and reparation were made by the Portuguese Government. The Stonewall arrived at Teneriffe on the 31st, but was not permitted to remain longer than twenty-four hours, and sailed for Nassau. The arrival of this formidable vessel in American waters was looked for with some anxiety, as it was thought not improbable she might enter some Northern port suddenly and do much damage before she could be captured. She was, however, too late for the purpose for which she was intended, which was to break the blockade at Wilmington, and when she entered the port of Nassau, Richmond had already fallen.

Mar. 28.

She left Nassau on the 8th of May, and on the 11th arrived at Havana, where she remained till the arrival of Commodore Godon, on the 28th of May, with the Susquehanna, Chippewa, Monticello, Fahkee, and the two turreted vessels Monadnock and Canonicus, when she was given up by Captain Page to the Spanish authorities, by whom on the 14th of July following she was placed at the disposal of the United States Government. The Stonewall had not been designed to prey upon the commercial marine, and the sudden cessation of the war prevented her being of service to the rebels in any other way; and thus it happened that this vessel, perhaps the most formidable the Confederates ever had, did them the least service. Her shortcomings, however, were more than made up for by the ravages of the Shenandoah.

July 14.

The Shenandoah, formerly the British screw-steamer Sea King, was built at Glasgow in October, 1863. She was a full clipper ship rigged propeller of seven hundred and ninety tons register, and about two hundred and sixty feet long, having hollow iron masts and wire

rigging. She carried all the improved methods of reefing, furling, and setting sails from deck; had rolling topsails, royals, and a fly at each mast head. Her hull consisted of an iron frame covered with wood, and was not very strong. She was a fast sailer and a fast steamer, and calculated to effect more damage by surprise than by action. She was bought in September, 1864, by Richard Wright, of Liverpool, and was placed under command of Captain L. P. Corbett, who received authority to sell her for not less than forty-five thousand pounds within six months from the 7th of October following. On the 8th she cleared from London as an ordinary merchant vessel, for Bombay, with a load of coal; but proceeded to the island of Madeira, where she found the British steamer Laurel, with her guns, ammunition, and an addition to her crew. These were transferred to the Sea King at the barren island of Porto Santo, on the 17th of October. The English flag was then lowered, and the ship was put in commission as a rebel privateer and called the Shenandoah.

She commenced her cruise under the command of Captain Waddell, formerly of the United States navy, with a crew said to be nearly all British subjects, among whom were forty or fifty of the Alabama's men—her armament being four sixty-four pounders, two rifled thirty-two pounders, and two twelve-pounders. Before leaving the Atlantic the Shenandoah destroyed a few vessels in the neighborhood of St. Helena; then, doubling the Cape of Good Hope, she steamed for the Bay of Bengal and the Straits of Sunda, and thence for Melbourne, Australia, where she arrived on the 25th of January, 1865. At Melbourne she was docked, received thorough repairs in her boilers and machinery, and notwithstanding the protests of Mr. Blanchard, the American consul, obtained an addition of about eighty men to her crew, besides a full supply of coal and provisions.

Jan. 25.

Having procured at Melbourne everything requisite for a long cruise, the Shenandoah steamed out of the bay on the 8th of February, and sailed about awhile in the vicinity in the hope of falling in with several large American clippers, due at Melbourne in March. She then turned northward, and when next heard from was cruising about in the Sea of Okhotsk, in Behring's Strait, and the Arctic Ocean, where continuing her depredations four months after the termination of the war, she burnt between the 1st of April and the 1st of July as many as twenty-five whaling vessels and bonded four, making her total captures thirty-seven since leaving Europe.

Feb. 8.

Captain Waddell was more than once informed of the termination of hostilities while cruising in the northern seas, but as his informants were the crews of merchant vessels destroyed by him, he persistently refused to consider their statements authentic; and it was not till August, when he spoke the British bark Barracouta, from San Francisco, and learned that the Confederate armies

had surrendered, that General Lee was on parole, and Jefferson Davis a prisoner, and peace re-established, that he considered himself justified in considering the war at an end. He immediately stowed away his guns and ammunition in the hold and sailed for Liverpool, stopping at no other port. The Shenandoah arrived in the Mersey on the 6th of November, and Captain Waddell obtaining from the pilot full confirmation of the news respecting the fall of the Confederacy, desired him to take the vessel alongside a man-of-war, if there were one in the river. She was in consequence surrendered to her Majesty's ship Donegal, and taken in charge of by a crew and a guard of marines from that vessel.

Nov. 6.

There were on board the Shenandoah at the time of her surrender some thirty-six chronometers, a number of sextants, and a quantity of cabin furniture, money, furs, and other articles of value, mostly obtained from whalers in the Arctic seas. During his long cruise Captain Waddell never encountered a British or American man-of-war. The Shenandoah, with her stores and the property on board, was delivered up by the senior naval officer at Liverpool to the United States consul there. The officers and crew were suffered to depart, Earl Clarendon stating in answer to a remonstrance of Mr. Adams, that no persons known to be British subjects were found on board, and that in the absence of some definite charge of an offence cognizable to British law and supported by legal evidence, the British Government could not assume or exercise the power of keeping any of them under any kind of restraint.* This

* The following is an extract from a letter written by Captain Waddell, from Waterloo, near Liverpool, December 27th, to a friend in Mobile:

"You have seen Mr. Welles' report, I suppose. He does me justice when he writes that I 'ceased my depredations when I heard Mr. Davis was a prisoner.' He willfully lies when he writes that I continued 'cruising against unarmed whale ships when I knew that the armies of the South had surrendered.' The facts are these: After reaching Behring's Sea I captured the ship William Thomson and the brig Susan Abigail; both had left San Francisco in April last. These captures were made about the 23d of June, and from each I received San Francisco papers. Those papers professed to have the correspondence between Generals Lee and Grant concerning the surrender of Lee's army. They also stated that Mr. Davis and cabinet were in Danville, to which the Confederate Government had been removed, and that Mr. Davis had issued a proclamation informing the Southern people that the war would be carried on with renewed vigor. I was made possessor of as late news by these two captures as any of the whalers had, and I continued my work till it was completed in the Arctic Ocean, on the 28th of June, when I had succeeded in destroying or dispersing the New England whaling fleet. I left the Arctic on the 29th of June, and shipped from some of the whalers eight men on that very day—men of intelligence, all trained soldiers. It is not to be believed that those men would have taken service in the Shenandoah if they believed the war was ended. After leaving Behring's Sea I fell in with no vessel until I communicated with the British bark Barracouta, from San Francisco, August 2d, fourteen days, bound for Liverpool. She informed me of the capture of Mr. Davis and a part of his cabinet; also of the surrender of Generals Johnston's, Smith's, and Magruder's armies. The Barracouta furnished that news the first time I heard it, and I instantly ceased to cruise, and steered for Cape Horn. Before communicating with the Barracouta I intended to look into the Gulf of California, and then to await the arrival of a California steamer bound for Panama. The Barracouta's news surprised us, and among some of the officers I witnessed a terror which mortified me. I was implored to take the vessel to Australia; that to try to reach a European port would be fatal to all concerned; petitions were signed by three-fourths of the officers asking to be taken to Cape Town, arguing and picturing the horrors of capture, and all that sort of stuff. I called the officers and crew to the quarter-deck and said calmly to them, 'I intend taking the ship to Liverpool. I know there is risk to be run; but that has been our associate all this time. We will be sought after in the Pacific, and not in the Atlantic.' They supported my views, and then fol

vessel formed the subject of diplomatic correspondence with Great Britain, and claims for compensation for her depredations, as well as for those of other Confederate cruisers, were made by the United States Government, but persistently denied by that of Great Britain.

With regard to the surrender of the Shenandoah to the United States, and the liberation of her crew, whose hostile acts after the cessation of war it was claimed would justify their being considered and treated as pirates, Mr. Seward, in a letter written to Mr. Adams on the 30th of November, 1865, said: "We accept the vessel, but I regret to say that the acceptance is not attended with any sense of satisfaction on the part of this Government. It would have gratified the President if her Majesty's Government had caused proceedings to be instituted for the condemnation of the Shenandoah. The course, however, which the British Government has hitherto pursued in regard to our applications for justice was such as to discourage on our part an expectation of such a disposition of the vessel. We accept her now simply and exclusively upon the prudential consideration that being reduced into our possession, she will not again depart from British waters in hostile character."* After adverting to the facts of the case, Mr. Seward concluded by drawing on behalf of the United States, "the painful inference that her Majesty's Government have assumed to hold guiltless of all crime subjects of her Majesty who have in time of profound peace waged naval war upon the high seas against unarmed citizens of the United States engaged in lawful commerce and navigation." Upon this dispatch being read to him, Lord Clarendon is said to have observed that "his sincere desire to do and say nothing that could impair friendly rela-

lowed a letter from the crew—signed by seventy-one out of one hundred and ten—saying they had confidence in me, and were willing, nay, desired, to go with me wherever I thought best to take the vessel. I had of course a very anxious time, painfully anxious, because the officers set a bad example to the crew. Their conduct was nothing less than mutiny. I was very decided with some of them; I had to tell one officer I would be captain, or die on the deck, and the vessel should go to no other port than Liverpool. So ended my trouble with complaints and supplications from the officers. The men behaved nobly and stood firmly to their decision. When the ship was four hundred miles from the Azores, a suspicious-looking vessel was seen ahead, and apparently lying to, waiting for us to come up with her. It was sunset, the wind very light, and my suspicions being aroused, I steered my course steadily until darkness closed upon us, and then I wore ship and stood southwest till steam could be gotten up, for I had not even banked fires since parting with the Barracouta. It took two hours to get steam up; when it was ready I furled sails, steamed due east for sixteen miles, and hauled on my course, steaming for one hundred miles. I believe she was a Yankee cruiser. She was only six miles off when night came on, but I evaded her successfully. The Shenandoah under sail is a sixteen-knot vessel; under steam, nine knots—a fine sea craft. She ran from the Arctic to Liverpool in one hundred and thirty days; from the line on the Pacific side to the Cape in twenty-six days, and from the line to Liverpool in twenty-four days. Two of my crew died of disease when near Liverpool; otherwise nothing happened to mar our cruise. No accident occurred during the cruise. So ends my naval career, and I am called a 'pirate!' I made New England suffer, and I do not regret it. I can not be condemned by any honest-thinking man. I surrendered the vessel to the British Government, and all are unconditionally released. My obstinacy made enemies among some of the officers, but they now inwardly regret their action in the Cape Town affair."

* The Shenandoah was sold at Liverpool on the 22d of March, 1866, a condition of sale requiring the purchaser or purchasers, at the time of delivery, to sign a certificate or declaration that the vessel had not been bought for any belligerent or warlike purpose, or for any belligerent nation.

tions with the United States, alone prevented him from replying to it in appropriate language." In a dispatch of the 19th of January following, to Sir Frederick Bruce, he repeated this sentiment, adding that her Majesty's Government believed that by not replying to so extraordinary and unfounded a charge they would best consult their own dignity.

Alluding generally to the subject of the British-built rebel cruisers, and to the proposition to refer the questions in dispute between the British and American governments to arbitration, President Johnson, in his Message to Congress of December 4th, 1865, said: "Our domestic contest, now happily ended, has left some traces in our relations with one at least of the great maritime powers. The formal accordance of belligerent rights to the insurgent States was unprecedented, and has not been justified by the issue. But in the systems of neutrality pursued by the powers which made that concession there was a marked difference. The materials of war for the insurgent States were furnished, in a great measure, from the workshops of Great Britain; and British ships, manned by British subjects, and prepared for receiving British armaments, sailed from the ports of Great Britain to make war on American commerce, under the shelter of a commission from the insurgent States. These ships, having once escaped from British ports, ever afterward entered them in every part of the world to refit, and so to renew their depredations. The consequences of this conduct were most disastrous to the States then in rebellion, increasing their desolation and misery by the prolongation of our civil contest. It had, moreover, the effect, to a great extent, to drive the American flag from the sea, and to transfer much of our shipping and our commerce to the very power whose subjects had created the necessity for such a change. These events took place before I was called to the administration of the Government. The sincere desire for peace by which I am animated led me to approve the proposal already made to submit the questions which had thus arisen between the countries to arbitration. These questions are of such moment that they must have commanded the attention of the great powers, and are so interwoven with the peace and interests of every one of them as to have insured an impartial decision. I regret to inform you that Great Britain declined the arbitrament, but, on the other hand, invited us to the formation of a joint commission to settle mutual claims between the two countries, from which those for the depredations before mentioned should be excluded. The proposition, in that very unsatisfactory form, has been declined. 'The United States did not present the subject as an impeachment of the good faith of a power which was professing the most friendly dispositions, but as involving questions of public law, of which the settlement is essential to the peace of nations; and though pecuniary reparation to their injured citizens would

have followed incidentally on a decision against Great Britain, such compensation was not their primary object. They had a higher motive, and it was, in the interests of peace and justice, to establish important principles of international law. The correspondence will be placed before you. The ground on which the British minister rests his justification is, substantially, that the municipal law of a nation and the domestic interpretations of that law, are the measure of its duty as a neutral; and I feel bound to declare my opinion, before you and before the world, that that justification can not be sustained before the tribunal of nations. At the same time I do not advise to any present attempt at redress by acts of legislation. For the future, friendship between the two nations must rest on the basis of mutual justice."

From the commencement to the termination of the war about thirty vessels of all descriptions were fitted out by the Confederates to prey upon United States commerce, and although but seven of these—the Sumter, Nashville, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Tallahassee, and Shenandoah—were very formidable, their operations were extremely disastrous to the mercantile marine, and almost broke up the carrying trade. The evidence of this is seen in the reduction of the tonnage owned throughout the country, between the years 1861 and 1865, from an aggregate of 5,539,813 tons to 4,986,401 tons, including steam vessels, while the tonnage employed in foreign trade was reduced from 2,642,000 tons in 1860 to 1,092,000 tons in 1865, a falling off equivalent to about sixty per cent.

Statistics show that during the continuance of the depredations of the Southern cruisers, two hundred and seventy-five vessels, of nearly one hundred thousand tons in the aggregate, were captured by them. Of these four were steamers, seventy-eight were ships, forty-three brigs, eighty-two barks, and sixty-eight schooners, the aggregate value of which with their cargoes amounted to several millions. On the other hand, the number of blockade-runners and other vessels captured and sent to the United States Admiralty Courts for adjudication, from May 1st, 1861, to the close of the war, was 1,149, of which two hundred and ten were steamers, five hundred and sixty-nine schooners, one hundred and thirty-nine sloops, thirteen ships, twenty-nine brigs and brigantines, twenty-five barks, two yachts, one hundred and thirty-nine small boats, six rams and iron-clads, ten gun-boats, torpedo boats, and armed schooners and sloops, and seven vessels of an unknown class. The number of vessels burned, wrecked, sunk, and otherwise destroyed during the same time was 355, of which eighty-five were steamers, one hundred and fourteen schooners, thirty-two sloops, two ships, two brigs, four barks, ninety-six small boats, five rams, four iron-clads, and eleven gun-boats, torpedo boats, and armed schooners and sloops, making the total number of vessels captured or destroyed, 1,504. Nearly all these vessels were built in neutral ports, and

fitted out and freighted for the purpose of running the blockade. It was estimated by the Secretary of the Navy that the value of the 1,143 captured vessels and cargoes was not less than $24,500,000, and of the 355 vessels destroyed, at least $7,000,000, a total of $31,500,000.

The total expenditures of the Navy Department, from the 4th of March, 1861, to the 30th of June, 1865, embracing a period of four years and four months, and covering not only the expenses of the navy, but such as arose in the purchase, construction, and equipment of vessels, and in the maintenance of the large naval force required during the war, were $314,170,960, an average annual expenditure of $72,500,990, or a little over nine per cent. of the total expenditures of the Government during the same time.

CHAPTER LXI.

Results of the War.—End of Slavery.—Great Mortality among the Negroes.—The National Debt.—Hugh McCulloch on the Prospect of its Liquidation.—Conditions of Restoration of the Southern States.—Policy of President Johnson.—Appointment of Provisional Governors.—Difficulty presented by the Oath required of the Southern Citizens.—Action of Congress in Relation to the Oath.—Adoption by the States of the Constitutional Amendment prohibiting Slavery.

1865.

PERHAPS the results of the great four years' civil war can in no better manner be seen than in contrasting the condition of the country at the close of the contest with what it was at its commencement. The most striking features in the great change which was brought about were the creation of an enormous national debt, to constitute a burden of indefinite duration, and the perpetual extinction of slavery. Before the war the liabilities of the Government were little more than nominal; at its close the national debt, having grown with an unexampled rapidity, had become, if not as large as that of Great Britain, at least equally burdensome. Before the war there were in the United States four millions of slaves: at its conclusion the institution of slavery had practically disappeared totally and for ever.

The change was not effected without an enormous cost to the liberated race; at least a fourth of the slaves perished in the course of the struggle, principally from want and disease. On this subject Senator Doolittle, in a speech delivered at New Haven, Connecticut, said: "Do you not know that the colored population has perished by thousands and hundreds of thousands during the war? We have no accurate data upon which to state the precise number that have perished, but the highest officers in our army state unqualifiedly that in their opinion at least one million have perished. Governor Aiken, of South Carolina,

who has been a Union man, and was one of the largest slaveholders of the South, owning at one time over eight hundred slaves, himself stated to me in Washington the other day, unqualifiedly, that at least a million had perished, and in his opinion a great many more; also, the Hon. Randal Hunt, of the city of New Orleans, states the same opinion; and Captain Haines, of the Union army of Louisiana, who has lived always at the South, states his opinion that at least a million have perished, and these gentlemen tell you the reason on which they found this opinion. Some, of course, have perished in battle; perhaps fifty thousand have perished in battle, or of their wounds, but that has not been the principal source of their destruction. Small-pox and other terrible diseases that follow the march of armies have prevailed among them to a terrible extent, all the way from the Rappahannock to the Rio Grande. The small-pox has swept them away in camp and on plantations, and everywhere by thousands upon thousands. It is also a fact that when these diseases spread among those not accustomed to attend to the diseases among themselves, they have, to a great extent, been neglected by the white people. The masters and those connected with them lost interest in them. They perished by hundreds of thousands. These are the appalling facts, and yet they are true. I have no doubt that when we come to take the census of 1870, two-fifths of the whole colored population will have perished."

Slavery was, however, abolished, and one of the first and most important conditions imposed upon the States seeking restoration to the Union was the ratification of the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery, and security to the persons and property of freedmen, the other requirements being principally the abrogation of the so-called ordinances of secession and the repudiation of the rebel debt. Throughout the Southern States themselves there was a universal acknowledgment and acceptance of the great fact, that whatever else might happen, a system of involuntary servitude could never be restored. This was the great fruit of the victory of the Government, to be followed sooner or later by a more perfect union of the States, and their consolidation into a nation perfectly homogeneous, and no longer consisting of two great hostile sections. This result, not anticipated at the commencement of the war, was attained, however, only at a pecuniary cost which if it could have been counted at the beginning would probably never have been incurred. The debt of the North alone rapidly rose to an amount more than equal to what would have been required to purchase the freedom of every slave in the South twice over, while the expenditures of the States in rebellion, joined to their enormous losses by destruction of property and the waste of war, though more difficult to estimate, were probably in the aggregate equal to those of the North.

The indebtedness of the United States on the 30th of June, 1865, a few weeks

after the total cessation of hostilities, was $2,682,593,026 53. Nevertheless, the growth of the country in wealth and population, it was believed, was undiminished, and though very heavy taxation was necessarily involved in the measures taken to provide payment for the interest alone, the confidence was general in the ability of the Government to meet in the future all demands upon it. If the actual amount were not increased, no one doubted that the relative magnitude of the burden could in a few years be very much lessened by the enormously increased wealth and population of the future. This was the opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury, Hugh McCulloch, who thus expressed his views of the rapidity with which the debt might be paid: "The following estimate," said he, "of the time which would be required to pay the national debt (if funded at five per cent., and at five and one-half per cent.) by the payment of two hundred millions of dollars annually on the interest and principal, and also of the diminution of the burden of the debt by the increase of productions, may not be without interest to Congress and to tax-payers.

"The national debt, deducting moneys in the Treasury, was, on the 31st of October, 1865, $2,740,854,750. Without attempting a nice calculation of the amount it may reach when all our liabilities shall be accurately ascertained, it seems safe to estimate it, on the 1st of July, 1866, at three thousand millions of dollars. The exact amount of existing indebtedness yet unsettled, and the further amount that may accrue in the interval, are not now capable of exact estimation, and the revenue of the same period can be only approximately calculated, but it will be safe to assume that the debt will not exceed the sum named.

"The annual interest upon three thousand millions, if funded at five and a half per cent. per annum, would be one hundred and sixty-five millions, but if funded at five per cent. it would be one hundred and fifty millions.

"Now, if two hundred millions per annum should be applied, in half-yearly instalments of one hundred millions each, in payment of the accruing interest and in reduction of the principal funded at the higher rate of five and a half per cent., the debt would be entirely paid in thirty-two and one-eighth years. At five per cent. per annum, it would be extinguished by the like application of one hundred millions every six months, in a little over twenty-eight years.

"At the higher rate, the sum applied in the first year in reduction of the principal of the debt would be thirty-five millions of dollars; in the last, or thirty-second year, when the interest would be diminished to a little over nine millions, about one hundred and ninety-one millions of the uniform annual payment would go to the reduction of the principal.

"On the assumption that the debt may be funded at five per cent., $50,000.000 would be applicable to the reduction of the principal in the first year, and in the twenty-eighth or last year of the period—the interest falling to less than

$8,000,000—$192,000,000 of the annual payment would go to the principal.

"The annual interest accruing upon $1,725,000,000 of the debt on the 31st of October last averages 6.62 per cent. A part of this sum is now due, another portion will be payable next year, and the balance will be due or payable, at the option of the Government, in 1867 and 1868. If these $1,725,000,000 shall be funded or converted into five per cents by the year 1869, the average interest of the whole debt will be 5.195 per cent. In the year 1871, if the debt then maturing should be funded at the same rate, the average interest would be reduced to 5.15, and in 1881 to five per cent., excepting the bonds for $50,000,000 to be advanced in aid of the Pacific Railroad at six per cent., which will have thirty years to run from their respective dates. The interests of these bonds, added to the supposed five per cents, would, in 1881, make the average rate of the entire debt 5.03 of one per cent. until the whole should be discharged.

"In these calculations of the average rate of interest upon the funded debt, the outstanding United States notes and fractional currency are not embraced. Whatever amount of these $454,000,000 may eventually be funded at five per cent. per annum, will proportionally reduce the average rates of interest upon the whole debt.

"By the terms and conditions of some portion of the debt, the interest on the whole cannot be reduced to exactly five per cent., unless money may be borrowed, at some stage of the process, at a trifle below five per cent. A bonus of one-tenth of one per cent., paid by the bidders for five per cent. loans, would more than cover the excess, the probability of which fully warrants the calculation submitted as to the payment of the total debt at this rate.

"It must be observed, also, that the assumed principal of the debt in July, 1866, must undergo some diminution before the funding in 1867, 1868, and 1869 begins. If only $100,000,000 shall be paid off in those three years, the principal, thus reduced to $2,900,000,000, would be extinguished by the process already stated in twenty-nine years, if funded at five and a half per cent., and, if at five per cent., in something less than twenty-seven years. And, it is well worthy of attention, that $100,000,000 less principal, at the commencement of the process of payment, will save $400,000,000, in round numbers, in the end, if the rate is five and a half per cent., and $300,000,000 if five per cent. The burden of a national debt is, of course, relative to the national resources, and these resources are not, strictly speaking, capital, but the current product of the capital and industry of the country. The annual product, however, is found to bear a certain ratio to capital, and this ratio may be conveniently and safely used in computing the probable resources which must in the future meet the national requirement for the payment of interest and extinguishment of the debt."

The cessation of armed resistance to the National Government was followed by proclamations issued by the President having in view the full restoration to the Union, sooner or later, of the States which had been in rebellion. The terms on which the people of the Southern States could be restored to their rights as citizens of the United States were made known by President Johnson in a proclamation issued on the 29th of May. To all persons, with certain specified exceptions, who had directly or indirectly participated in the rebellion, amnesty and pardon were granted, with restoration of all rights to property except as to slaves, and except in cases where legal proceedings under the laws of the United States for the confiscation of property had been instituted; but on the condition that every such person should take an oath to support the Constitution and all laws made during the rebellion with reference to the emancipation of slaves.*

May 29.

The following classes of persons were excepted from the benefits of the amnesty proclamation: all diplomatic agents of the Confederate government; all persons who had left judicial stations under the United States to aid the rebellion; all army officers above the rank of colonel and all navy officers above the rank of lieutenant; all who had left seats in Congress to aid the rebellion; all who had resigned or tendered resignations of their commissions in the army or navy of the United States to evade duty in resisting the rebellion; all who had engaged in any way in treating otherwise than lawfully as prisoners of war persons found in the United States service; all persons who had absented themselves from the United States for the purpose of aiding the rebellion; all officers in the rebel service who had been educated at West Point; all Governors of States in insurrection; all persons who had passed beyond the Federal military lines into the Confederate States for the purpose of aiding the rebellion; all who had been engaged in the destruction of United States commerce at sea, or elsewhere, or who had taken part in raids from Canada; all persons in confinement as prisoners of war or otherwise at the time of their seeking to obtain the benefits of the amnesty oath; all persons, the estimated taxable value of whose property exceeded twenty thousand dollars; all persons who took the amnesty oath prescribed in the President's proclamation of December 8th, 1863, and afterward violated it. At the same time an order was issued from the State Department stating that the oath prescribed in the proclamation might be taken and subscribed before any commissioned officer, civil, military, or naval, in the service of the United States, or any military or civil officer of a loyal State or Territory, who might be qualified for administer-

* The form of the oath was as follows:

"I, ———, do solemnly swear, or affirm, in presence of Almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Union of the States thereunder, and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all laws and proclamations which have been made during the existing rebellion with reference to the emancipation of slaves, so help me God."

ing oaths. All officers who received such oaths were authorized to give certified copies thereof to persons by whom they were made, and such officers were required to transmit the original to the department, where they were deposited.

Refusing entirely to recognize the authority of any person holding a civil office in the States while at war against the Federal Government, President Johnson appointed provisional Governors for the States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas, with authority to assemble in the State delegates elected by the people, who had taken the amnesty oath, or who had opposed secession, in convention, and amend the State constitution, reappoint or designate local officers, and secure the election of State officers and a legislature and members of Congress under the amended constitutions.* Such was the plan of President Johnson—a plan for the most part peacefully acquiesced in by the Southern people.

* The form of the proclamation under which the Provisional Governors were appointed was as follows:

"Whereas the 4th section of the 4th article of the Constitution of the United States declares that the United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion and domestic violence; and whereas the President of the United States is, by the Constitution, made commander-in-chief of the army and navy, as well as chief civil executive officer of the United States, and is bound by solemn oath faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States, and to take care that the laws be faithfully executed; and whereas the rebellion which has been waged by a portion of the people of the United States against the properly constituted authorities of the Government thereof, in the most violent and revolting form, but whose organized and armed forces have now been almost entirely overcome, has, in its revolutionary progress, deprived the people of the State of —— of all civil government; and whereas it becomes necessary and proper to carry out and enforce the obligations of the United States to the people of ——, in securing them in the enjoyment of a republican form of government;

"Now, therefore, in obedience to the high and solemn duties imposed upon me by the Constitution of the United States, and for the purpose of enabling the loyal people of said State to organize a State government, whereby justice may be established, domestic tranquillity insured, and loyal citizens protected in all their rights of life, liberty, and property, I, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, and commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, do hereby appoint —— Provisional Governor of the State of ——, whose duty it shall be, at the earliest practicable period, to prescribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary and proper for convening a convention, composed of delegates to be chosen by that portion of the people of said State who are loyal to the United States, and no others, for the purpose of altering or amending the Constitution thereof; and with authority to exercise, within the limits of said State, all the powers necessary and proper to enable such loyal people of the State of —— to restore said State to its constitutional relations to the Federal Government, and to present such a republican form of State government as will entitle the State to the guaranty of the United States therefor, and its people to protection by the United States against invasion, insurrection, and domestic violence: *Provided*, that, in any election that may be hereafter held for choosing delegates to any State convention as aforesaid, no person shall be qualified as an elector, or shall be eligible as a member of such convention, unless he shall have previously taken and subscribed the oath of amnesty, as set forth in the President's proclamation of May 29th, A.D. 1865, and is a voter qualified as prescribed by the Constitution and laws of the State of —— in force immediately before the — day of ——, A.D. 1861, the date of the so-called ordinance of secession; and the said convention, when convened, or the legislature that may be thereafter assembled, will prescribe the qualifications of electors, and the eligibility of persons to hold office under the Constitution and laws of the State, a power the people of the several States composing the Federal Union have rightfully exercised from the origin of the Government to the present time.

"And I do hereby direct:

"*First*. That the military commander of the department, and all officers and persons in the military and naval service, aid and assist the said Provisional Governor in carrying into effect this proclamation, and they are enjoined to abstain from, in any way, hindering, impeding, or discouraging the loyal people from the organization of a State Government as herein authorized.

"*Second*. That the Secretary of State proceed to put in

For the States of Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana no provisional Governors were appointed, measures for their reorganization having been taken during President Lincoln's administration. Under the plan of President Johnson and the influence of the numerous pardons, commercial relations between the people of the Northern and Southern States were brought to a great degree of harmony in a few months. In short, desiring the restoration of the Southern States to their former position in the Union without any surrender of their constitutional rights of self-government, and without requiring them, with respect to the negroes, to do more than acknowledge and respect the freedom which had resulted from the exercise of force during a condition of civil war, the President at the same time required that the civil authority should be exclusively in the hands of men who could take and observe the amnesty oath, or who had been steadfast Unionists.

But it soon became apparent that obstacles existed to a complete restoration of the people of the Southern States to civil rights beyond the power of the President to set aside. On the 2d of July, 1862, Congress had passed an act requiring every person who might subsequently be elected or appointed to any office of honor or profit under the Government of the United States, to take the following oath before entering on the duties of such office:

"I, A. B., do solemnly swear (or affirm), that I have never voluntarily borne arms against the United States since I have been a citizen thereof; that I have voluntarily given no aid, countenance, counsel, or encouragement to persons engaged in armed hostility thereto; that I have neither sought nor accepted nor attempted to exercise the functions of any office whatever, under

force all laws of the United States the administration whereof belongs to the State Department, applicable to the geographical limits aforesaid.

"*Third.* That the Secretary of the Treasury proceed to nominate for appointment assessors of taxes, and collectors of customs and internal revenue, and such other officers of the Treasury Department as are authorized by law, and put in execution the revenue laws of the United States within the geographical limits aforesaid. In making appointments the preference shall be given to qualified loyal persons residing within the districts where their respective duties are to be performed; but if suitable residents of the districts shall not be found, then persons residing in other States or districts shall be appointed.

"*Fourth.* That the Postmaster-General proceed to establish post-offices and post-routes, and put into execution the postal laws of the United States within the said State, giving to loyal residents the preference of appointment; but if suitable residents are not found, then to appoint agents, etc., from other States

"*Fifth.* That the district judge for the judicial district in which —— is included proceed to hold courts within said State, in accordance with the provisions of the act of Congress. The Attorney-General will instruct the proper officers to libel, and bring to judgment, confiscation, and sale, property subject to confiscation, and enforce the administration of justice within said State in all matters within the cognizance and jurisdiction of the Federal courts.

"*Sixth.* That the Secretary of the Navy take possession of all public property belonging to the Navy Department within said geographical limits, and put in operation all acts of Congress in relation to naval affairs having application to the said State.

"*Seventh.* That the Secretary of the Interior put in force the laws relating to the Interior Department applicable to the geographical limits aforesaid.

"In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the city of Washington this —— day of ——, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-ninth.

[L. S.]

"ANDREW JOHNSON.

"By the President:

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State."

any authority or pretended authority, in hostility to the United States; that I have not yielded a voluntary support to any pretended government, authority, power, or constitution within the United States hostile or inimical thereto. And I do further swear (or affirm), that to the best of my knowledge and ability, I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion, and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter, so help me God."

By this oath all persons in the Southern States who had either directly or indirectly been engaged in hostilities were excluded from holding judicial, revenue, legislative, military, or naval Federal offices. Also, by an act of Congress passed on the 24th of January, 1865, no person could be admitted as an attorney or counsellor of the Supreme, Circuit, or District Court of the United States, or the Court of Claims, without taking the above-mentioned oath. It still remained, before restoration could be complete, that the oath should be modified and that members from the Southern States should be admitted as Senators and Representatives in Congress. These members had been elected in every Southern State except Texas previous to the commencement of the session of the Thirty-ninth Congress in December, 1865, and were mostly in Washington ready to take their seats. These subjects were properly within the province of Congress, and the question of representation was referred to a joint committee of both Houses in December, together with the credentials of all the Southern members. Subsequently the Secretary of the Treasury and the Postmaster-General appealed to Congress to modify the oath, as they were unable to find in the South a sufficient number of persons who could conscientiously take the oath, to fill a large number of vacant offices; but a committee of the House, of which Mr. Wilson, of Iowa, was chairman, reported against its modification or repeal.

The crowning event of the revolution effected by the war was the adoption by three-fourths of the States of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting slavery. This was introduced in the Senate in the form of a joint resolution on the 11th of January, 1864, by Senator Henderson, of Missouri. It was reported from the committee on the judiciary on the 10th of February, and was adopted by the Senate on the 8th of April by the requisite two-thirds vote; but rejected by the House on the 15th of June. On the 6th of January, 1865, Mr. Ashley, of Ohio, moved the reconsideration of the resolution of the House, and on the 1st of February following it was passed by a vote of 119 yeas against 56 nays. The resolution and article of amendment were as follows:

Feb. 1.

"*Be it resolved* (by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United

States of America in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both Houses concurring), that the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE XIII., *Section* 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"*Section* 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The amendment was then submitted to the States, and was ratified by the Legislatures of Illinois, Rhode Island, Michigan, Maryland, New York, West Virginia, Ohio, Missouri, Nevada, Indiana, Louisiana, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Vermont, Tennessee, Arkansas, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Maine, Kansas, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama, North Carolina, and Georgia, in all twenty-seven States, and the whole number of States at that time being thirty-six, the Secretary of State officially announced from the State Department, on the 18th of December, 1865, that the amendment had been adopted and become valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution of the United States.

ANALYTICAL INDEX.

B.

C.

D.

F.

G.

M.

N.

S.

U.